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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF IRE
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John Mubcahy u

AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

IRELAND,

FROM THE

FIRST INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

AMONG THE IRISH,

TO

THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

COMPILED

FROM THE WORKS OF THE MOST ESTEEMED AUTHORS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC,
WHO HAVE WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED ON MATTERS CONNECTED WITH

THE IRISH CHURCH ;

AND FROM IRISH ANNALS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS,

STILL EXISTING IN MANUSCRIPT.

By THE REV. JOHN LANIGAN, D. D.,

FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, THE SACRED SCRIPTURES, AND
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PAVIA.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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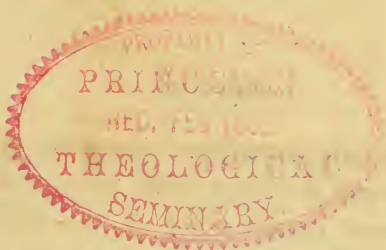
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PREFACE.

IN these times, when a laudable spirit of research pervades almost every civilized people of the globe, and that the histories of the most remote nations, as well barbarous as polite, are sought after with an extraordinary degree of curiosity, and read with proportionate avidity, the publication of an ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF IRELAND must be considered as a useful undertaking, from which much interesting information on the ancient state of the Christian church may be collected. The frigid apathy, however, with which the generality of Irish readers slur over every publication that treats of the ancient state of their native country, might be sufficient to deter an author from an enterprize of that nature; but although discouraging such an unpatriotic feeling as exhibits itself in the great bulk of our countrymen must be, there are still several learned and investigating gentlemen amongst our compatriots, as well as in the Sister Island, and on the Continent, by whom such a work has been long and anxiously desired, and from whom a liberal encouragement may, therefore, be reasonably expected.

When the long established character of Ireland for literature and sanctity is called into remembrance, when the great respectability of the ancient Irish Church is considered, and when we bring to our recollection the numerous places in the Continent to which she has sent her missionaries, who, with the most ardent charity, unceasing labours and fearless courage, have taught the use of letters, disseminated the saving truths of the Gospel, and triumphantly planted the banner of the Cross amidst barbarous and pagan nations, it must be a matter of surprise that her history should remain unwritten for the long period of 1400 years. Yet such is the fact, no connected history of the Irish Church has been hitherto published, although an abundance of materials for that purpose are still in existence; notwithstanding that the devastating hand of barbarism has been unsparingly engaged in the overthrow of our literary establishments, and in the destruction of our ancient records, the monuments of our nation's glory. These documents are, however, widely scattered, and are principally to be found in the decrees of synods and councils, the bulls and briefs of the popes, the rules of our ancient monks, the epistles of bishops, the registries of our churches, the annals of the nation, and the lives of our saints. Of these materials, some have been published through the medium of the press, by Colgan, Fleming, Wadding, Usher, Ward, Ware, Burke, and others; and their respective editions have been enriched by copious notes and illustrations. Others, principally written in Irish, containing matters of the utmost importance

to our national history, and tending to elucidate the history and antiquities of various Celtic nations, are, for want of proper encouragement to translate and publish them, still suffered to remain in manuscript, a prey to moths and vermin, and must in a few years more, unless timely care be taken to prevent it, become irrecoverably lost to the world.

Of those books that have been published, that treat of things connected with the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, the greater part have long since become scarce, are now only to be found in the libraries of Colleges, and in the collections of the curious, and therefore not accessible to the public in general. Besides this, being mostly in the Latin language, they are not accommodated to a large proportion of readers; and no one has hitherto undertaken to arrange them in a continued chronological series, so as to connect them with the general history of the whole Christian Church, or to embody them in one united whole, in the regular form of an Ecclesiastical History.

In the civil histories of Ireland that have been written by Keating, Mac Geoghegan, O'Halloran, and others, little of our Ecclesiastical History is to be found, beyond a few detached anecdotes, in great part fabulous, destitute of chronological accuracy, and often contradictory.

Usher, indeed, has collected much excellent materials for the history of the earliest times of our national Church, to the latter end of the sixth century, in which he was greatly assisted by valuable communications from David Rooth, R. C. bishop of

Ossory, for which he repeatedly returns him thanks in various places of his *Primordia*.

In the accounts of the Irish bishops, published by Ware and Harris, much useful information is also to be found, although in the additions of the latter frequent errors and inaccuracies occur, on which, for the sake of truth, it was found necessary, in the course of the following work, to make some observations. The writers of the Irish *Monasticon*s have also furnished some materials for an *Ecclesiastical History* of the country, but great caution must be observed in using them, as they frequently abound in error, particularly Archdall, who converts into monasteries all the churches founded by St. Patrick and our earliest native Saints, is often inaccurate in his chronologies, and frequently confounds persons and places with each other that are totally different.

The book, miscalled *Antiquities of Ireland*, published by Dr. Ledwich, would, from its title, lead one to suppose that some information on this subject might be obtained from it; but upon examination it will be found to contain a studied misrepresentation of our ancient history, that some of our earliest Saints, of whose existence no doubt can be entertained, are by him attempted to be annihilated, that by the magical effects of his pen he labours to transform St. Senan into a river, St. Kevin into a rock, and St. Patrick, the great Apostle of our nation, into a nonentity. The reputation which this book has obtained with a particular class of readers and authors, who wish to degrade the Irish below the level of the most barbarous nations, called for par-

ticular notice and animadversion, in a work like this, now offered to the public; and if in the course of the observations made on the errors, misrepresentations, and ignorance of its writer, some asperity of language is indulged, the apology is more due to the reader than to the author of such palpably malevolent falsehoods.

In a regular and comprehensive Ecclesiastical History of Ireland there are numberless subjects that require to be treated of, with copiousness, precision, and accuracy. To render the work now offered to the public a book of that description, the author has, with the labour and close application of several years, collected not only every tract and document that he could meet with, written upon the subject of our Church History in Ireland, or by Irishmen, but also the works of numberless British and Continental writers, many of whom are of the first respectability; such as the venerable Bede, the Benedictines, Bollandists, the collectors of German history, Canisius, Muratori, Ughelli, &c. &c. who occasionally, and often largely, have discussed matters belonging to Irish ecclesiastical history, and treated of the very many ancient Irish saints and doctors, who, for several successive ages, continued to instruct and enlighten other nations.

To Muratori we are indebted for making public, in the 13th vol. of his works, printed at Arrezzo in 1771, a very ancient manuscript in Irish characters, which puts beyond dispute the existence of St. Patrick. This is the *Antiphonarium Benchorensis*,

written in the 7th century, and originally belonged to the monastery of Bangor, in the now county of Down, whence it was removed to the monastery of Bobio in Italy, in the library of which latter place it was discovered by Cardinal F. Borromeo, and from which it was afterwards transferred to the Ambrosian library at Milan, where it is now to be found, No. X. Letter C. This curious and authentic document was shewn by Muratori to Montfaucon, a competent judge of ancient manuscripts, who, after the closest inspection, pronounced it to be *above a thousand years old*, and rejoiced that at length the existence of St. Patrick, and the reality of his mission to Ireland, was placed beyond the reach of controversy.

To render the account of illustrious Irishmen, presented in the following work, by far more copious and more accurate than any that has hitherto appeared, no enquiry has been neglected, and no pains have been spared. The mistakes of Colgan, Usher, Ware, and still more, those of Harris, together with the numberless errors of the authors of our Monasticons, have been carefully corrected. The most anxious endeavours have been used that nothing should be omitted that could tend to illustrate our ecclesiastical history, and render it as respectable and worthy of attention as it really is. Care has been taken that every thing essential and authentic belonging to it, in the great variety of works which have been consulted for this purpose, shall be found concentrated and arranged in a strict chronological series, commencing from the earliest

records of Christianity in Ireland, and continued down to the beginning of the thirteenth century, the period at which it is found expedient to conclude the present work.

The existence of St. Patrick having been denied, for the purpose of shewing that the Church of Ireland, in its commencement, had no connection with the Church of Rome, and the acts attributed to our Apostle consequently condemned as forgeries, it was necessary to prove the existence of the one, of which, in reality, very few have entertained a doubt, and to clear up and exhibit the other, divested of many fabulous and strange appendages, by which they have been obscured; and to shew that the Christian doctrine, first preached to the Irish at their conversion from Paganism, was identically the same as that taught at Rome, and in all the churches in communion with the Holy See. For the existence of the saint, authorities the most unequivocal, both foreign and domestic, have been produced, which the most sceptical will hardly deny to be convincing; and for the unity between the Church of Ireland and that of the Church of Rome, it is shown that the doctrine and discipline of the Irish Church has run on in an uninterrupted course for several successive ages, during which she never substantially deviated from the rules and practices of the Catholic Church, which acknowledges the See of Rome, and the Pope as its visible head. It is true, indeed, that in the Irish Church some peculiarities have existed, relative to its liturgy, the

administration of the sacraments, the system of its hierarchy and monastic institutions, its matrimonial regulations, and the mode of providing for the clergy; the nature of all which the author has taken much pains to amply discuss and explain. This he conceived to be particularly necessary, as it has been a practice of long continuance, with a certain class of authors, to labour with all their might to impress the world with an opinion that the Irish were in a stage of savage barbarism before the arrival of the English.

Whether the Irish character has been improved or debased by a connection with England, is a subject the author conceives to be not within the province of a writer of ecclesiastical history to discuss; but he hopes that in the practice of the Irish Church, which he has faithfully exhibited in the course of the following pages, will be found a complete refutation of these slanderers of the Irish character, and villifiers of the ancient religion of the *Island of Saints*.

The great quantities of misrepresentation and error respecting the *Kelidei* or Culdees, that have been published by Toland, amongst our native writers, and by Jamieson, Smith and others, amongst those of Scotland, made a particular enquiry into, and accurate description of the office and duties of that order of ecclesiastics peculiarly necessary. To place this subject in a clear point of view, a variety of the most authentic documents have been consulted and compared, and the results

fairly stated. On the name, office and duty of the Corbes, Erenachs, &c. a full, and, it is hoped, a satisfactory account has been given. In this work also will be found a complete summary of the many Canons of the ancient Irish Church, which lie dispersed in various volumes, and hitherto inaccessible to the generality of readers. On the early ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland, and on the use of our ancient round towers, which have been long the subjects of investigation among the learned and curious in Irish antiquities, some opinions and conjectures are offered, which may perhaps serve at least to throw some new lights on, if not to give a satisfactory account of, these interesting subjects.

Of the numerous missions and evangelical labours of the Irish preachers of the Christian faith in Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and various other nations of the continent, and of the many monasteries and other religious establishments founded by Irishmen in those countries, a full and accurate account is now presented to the public, deduced from the best authorities, and drawn from the clearest sources of information.

By long study and much reading on the subject of Irish Ecclesiastical history, the author has been completely enabled to detect the untruths and malicious aspersions thrown out against the Irish Church and people, by the false and flimsy Giraldus Cambrensis, and by many others of his followers; particularly those which are found to abound with pe-

cular malevolence, in the work miscalled "Antiquities of Ireland," published by Doctor Ledwich. All which are here fully exposed and refuted by proofs drawn from the most indubitable authorities, as well foreign as domestic.

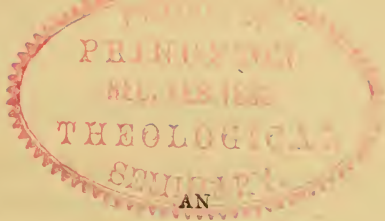
On account of the vast number of disquisitions necessary for wiping away the numerous fables, correcting the anachronisms, and overthrowing the misrepresentations and calumnies by which our ancient Church history has been darkened, and almost overwhelmed, the greater part of the following work has been necessarily thrown into notes, placed respectively after each section of the text. By adopting this mode the thread of the historical narrative is preserved entire, which would be otherwise unavoidably interrupted and broken, if such enquiries were inserted in the body of the work.

In the course of this undertaking, several matters relating to Irish Antiquities are explained, which, although not strictly ecclesiastical, could not be well passed over, as they bear some relation to the state of the Church. On this, as on every other occasion, the most approved authors have been consulted, and their opinions fairly stated.

To render this work more generally useful, and for the greater convenience of the reader, a copious general index is subjoined to the last volume, by which every person, place and thing mentioned in it, that are of any importance to the history, may be found in an instant.

In offering this work to the public the author's chief motive is to exhibit a faithful picture of the

doctrine and practice of the ancient Irish Church, and to shew its connexion, at all times, with the universal Church of Christ. To attain so very desirable an object he has spared no pains in the collection and collation of such documents as materially bear upon the subject. And as his principal design was solely directed to the establishment of truth and the overthrow of error, he is conscious of having proceeded to the enquiry divested of all national or religious prejudices. The result of those enquiries, as they presented themselves to his mind, he has fairly and impartially stated, and to the judgment of a discerning public, he now submits them with the most respectful deference.



ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

IRELAND, &c.

CHAPTER I.

Of Christianity in Ireland, previous to the mission of St. Patrick.

SECT. I.

THE precise time, at which Christianity was originally introduced into Ireland, cannot be ascertained. Nor is it to be wondered at, that, while the first establishment of Christian churches in Britain, Gaul, Spain, and even in many parts of Italy is enveloped in obscurity, a similar inconvenience should affect the ecclesiastical history of an island, to which the arms of the Roman empire had not penetrated, an empire, which had been raised by God for the purpose of contributing to the more easy diffusion of the light of the Gospel. (1) Yet Tertullian informs us, that in his time the name of Christ reigned in places, inhabited by Britons, until then unexplored by the Romans. (2) Eusebius goes still farther back; for he asserts, that some of the Apostles had proceeded beyond the ocean to the islands called *British*, (3) and is followed by Nicephorus in his account of the dispersion of the Apostles. (4) The learned Stillingfleet has laboured hard to show, (5) that St. Paul preached in Britain. Were his argu-

ments of sufficient weight, several of them would tend to prove, that the same Apostle had also visited Ireland. Others, whose testimonies have been collected by Usher, (6) pretend, that St. James the elder announced the Christian faith in Ireland, and even give the names of some of his converts and disciples. We are also told of an Aristobulus, brother of St. Barnabas, preaching together with twelve companions to the Irish in the apostolic age. (7)

(1) "Ut lux veritatis, quæ in omnium gentium revelabatur salutem, efficacius se ab ipso capite (Roma) per totum mundi corpus effunderet." St. Leo, *Serm. 1. de Petro et Paulo*. See also Origen *contra Celsum, Lib. 2.* Tillemont, *Histoire des Emper. Tom. 1. Art. 1.* and Jos. Zola, *Commentar. De rebus Christ. Lib. 1. cap. 1. § 2.*

(2) "Britannorum *inaccessa Romanis loca*, Christo verò subdita, et Sarmatarum, et Dacorum—in quibus omnibus locis Christi nomen, qui jam venit, regnat." Tertull. *lib. adv. Judæos, cap. 7.* Perhaps it will be said, that Tertullian alluded only to the northern parts of Great Britain beyond Adrian's wall, and to the people properly called Britons, as Stillingfleet maintains, *Antiquities of the British churches, Chap. II.* But it is well known, that the ancients used to speak of Ireland as one of the British islands, and there is an instance of even the name, *Britanni*, being applied to the inhabitants of both. Thus Rufus Festus Avienus—

Hæ numero geminæ, pingues sola, cespitis ampli,
Conditur occidui quæ Rheni gurgitis unda,
Dira Britannorum sustentant agmina terris.

See more *ap. Usher, De B. E. Primordiis, cap. XVI. p. 723.* I believe then there can be little doubt, that Tertullian had in view also the inhabitants of Ireland. Stillingfleet's object was to refute Dempster and other such fabulous writers, who pretended that Tertullian alluded to a Scottish kingdom as if then existing in N. Britain, and already Christian; a pretension which could be easily overthrown, as undoubtedly there was no establishment of Scots, at least of any note, settled in Britain at that period.

(3) *Dem. Evang. l. iii. c. 7.*

(4) *Hist. Eccl.* See Usher, *Pr.* p. 740.

(5) *Antiq. of the Br. churches, chap. I.*

(6) *Pr.* p. 5. & 743. It is very probable, that this story of St. James preaching in Ireland has proceeded from a confusion of *Hibernia* with *Hiberia*, one of the names of Spain, in which country St. James is said to have been.

(7) *Ib.* p. 744.

§. II. It is very much to the credit of our old annalists and ecclesiastical writers, that none of these uncertain traditions are to be found in their works, and that they never claimed for their country the honour of its having been visited by any of the Apostles, or of their immediate disciples. (8) Whenever Irish Christians are mentioned as having been instructed by the Apostles, it will be invariably found, that they were supposed to have lived in foreign countries, and that the accounts concerning them have originated with foreigners. Thus, to omit St. Beatus, (9) whose memory is celebrated in Switzerland, and who is said to have been a disciple of St. Peter, the name of Mansuetus is famous in Lorraine, who is likewise stated to have been instructed by St. Peter, and to have been sent by him to that country and appointed first bishop of Toul. That a person of that name governed the church of Toul, and that he was an Irishman, cannot indeed be denied, considering the concurrent testimonies of so many authors and the constant tradition of the inhabitants. (10) There is, however, no sufficient authority to prove, that he lived in the times of St. Peter; and it is more than probable, that his mission to Toul did not take place until late in the fourth century, or perhaps about the beginning of the fifth. (11) Nor is he to be confounded (12) with Mansuetus bishop of the Armorican Britons, who assisted at the first council of Tours *A. D.* 461.

(8) The fable concerning a famous Irish champion, Conal Cear-

naigh, having been present at the passion of our Saviour, and of the wrath of an Ulster king on hearing of it (Usher *p.* 739) is very different from those traditions of the apostolic foundation of churches.

(9) Beatus is usually set down as a native of Britain ; but some one having said, that he was baptized *in Scotia*, (Usher *ib.* *p.* 745) hence it has been assumed that perhaps he was born in Ireland, as in St. Peter's time there was no British *Scotia*. Colgan accordingly ranks him among the Irish saints, *Tr. Th.* *p.* 750. It would be a waste of time to dwell upon such in every respect uncertain statements.

(10) His memory is highly revered at Toul under the name of St. Mansuy. His Life was written in the tenth century by the abbot Adso, who has some verses prefixed to it beginning thus :

Inclyta Mansueti claris natalibus orti
 Progenies titulis fulget in orbe suis.
 Insula Christicolæ gestabat Hibernia gentes ;
 Unde genus traxit, et satus inde fuit.

This Life without the verses has been published by Bosquet, *Part II.* and afterwards together with the verses by Calmet, *Hist. Eccl. et Civ. De Lorraine, Tom. 1. App. p.* 86 *seqq.* Among these verses I do not find this quotation by Dempster and from him by Usher, *p.* 750, "Protulerat quemdam generosum Scotia natum—Mansuetum." But even admitting it to be genuine, the name, *Scotia*, is clearly explained by *Insula—Hibernia*.

(11) Several churches of Gaul, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Toul, claimed their origin from disciples of the Apostles. The traditions concerning them may be seen in Bosquet, *Historiarum Eccl. Gallic. Part. I.* who has also given in the second part the so called Lives of some of those founders. Thus the church of Treves boasted of Eucharius, that of Metz of Clemens, that of Chalons sur Marne of Memmius, &c. With these and some others Mansuetus is classed as their contemporary and colleague by persons zealous for the honour of the church of Toul. Yet the very learned De Marca, who was a great stickler for those traditions, has not a word about Mansuetus in his *Ep. ad Henr. Vales. de tempore quo primum in Galliis suscepta est Christi fides*, although he expressly mentions Eucharius, Clemens, Memmius. He had, however, before him the works of Bosquet and Usher,

as appears from his letter. According to Adso Ireland was well peopled with Christians in the times that Mansuetus lived——
 “*Insula Christicolæ gestabat Hibernia gentes.*” Now it cannot be supposed, that such was the state of Ireland in the apostolic age. Calmet in a *Dissertation sur les eveques de Toul*, prefixed to the first vol. of his History of Lorraine, maintains that Mansuetus was sent from Rome to Toul about the middle of the fourth century, as, to omit other arguments of his, he shows from the succession of the bishops of Toul; “1. S. Mansuet, ou Mansuy. 2. S. Amon. 3. S. Alchas. 4. S. Celsin. 5. S. Auspice, vers l’an 450. 6. S. Ours, ou Urse, vers l’an 488. 7. S. Apre, ou Evre, l’an 500,” &c. In the little poem prefixed to the Life above mentioned is this distich,

*Sedulus Ausonii per tempora longa magistri
 Obsequio Petri hæsit amore sui.*

If by *Ausonii* is to be understood the poet Ausonius, master of St. Paulinus, we should place Mansuetus at a later period, charging however poor Adso with a huge anachronism. But it is more probable that by *Ausonii* he meant *Itali*, particularly as in another verse he has *Ausonias* for *Italas*. As to Mansuetus having been sent by St. Peter, it is easily reconciled with the truth of his story, by referring to the well known idiom of using the founder’s name for that of the church, over which he had presided; thus *ad S. Petrum*, for to the church of Rome; *a S. Petro*, from or by the said church; *ad S. Martinum*, to the church of Tours; and, what was very common among ourselves, *ad S. Patricium*, *a S. Patricio*, to, or by the see of Armagh. I shall add no more about Mansuetus than that our learned Rothe, notwithstanding his zeal for the honour of Ireland, admits (*Hibernia resurgens*, p. 197) the uncertainty of his having been a disciple of St. Peter.

(12) See Bosquet, *Part. 1. cap. 20.*

§. III. Descending from the days of the Apostles, we hear of the renowned St. Cataldus bishop of Tarentum, now Taranto, in Italy. The two brothers Moroni, who have written his Life, one in prose and the other in verse, and some other Tarentine writers

would have us believe, that St. Cataldus arrived in Tarentum about the year 160 or 170. (13) But as, not to mention other circumstances, they tell us, that he had publicly taught in the great school of Lismore, which did not exist until 630, (14) it is plain, that his arrival at Tarentum cannot be placed earlier than some time in the seventh century. Even Colgan rejects those statements of the Tarentines after adducing unanswerable arguments to prove, that St. Cataldus did not leave Ireland until after *A. D.* 630, nor perhaps until after 636. (15) The history of this saint shall be given in its proper place. St. Firminus, the first bishop of Amiens, who is said to have suffered martyrdom in the persecution of Diocletian, has been taken by some for a native of Ireland, although the only authentic accounts (16) relative to him positively state, that he was of Pampeluna in Navarre, and son of Firmus a senator of that city. (17) Nor is there much better foundation for supposing, that St. Eliphius, his brother Eucharius, and sisters Menna, Libaria, and Susanna, all of whom, except Menna, are said to have been crowned with martyrdom at or near Toul in the persecution of Julian the apostate, were from Ireland. (18) Without remarking on their names not sounding as Irish, it is not easy to understand, what, admitting even that Eliphius might have left his country to preach the Christian faith, could have induced princesses (for such they are represented to have been) to travel from Ireland in those times as far as Lorraine. About the same period, according to some writers, lived Augulus, bishop, as some say, of London (19) and martyr, who by others is called *Augurius a bishop in Ireland*, without the addition of *martyr*. (20) It would be difficult to reconcile these statements; and I am convinced that, at whatever time Augurius of Ireland lived, he ought not be confounded with the British bishop Augulus or Augulius, as he is constantly

called in the old martyrologies. (21) Equally obscure is the account given of the martyr St. Gunifort, whose memory was celebrated at Pavia on the 22d of August, but now on the 1st of September. He is said to have been of the Scottish (Irish) nation, and of a noble family. It is stated that, having left his country, where a violent persecution was raging against the Christians, he went, together with his brother Gunibald and two sisters, to Germany, whence, after the sisters had suffered martyrdom in that country, the two brothers removed to the North of Italy, where they also sealed their profession with their blood. The time of these transactions is not marked; (22) we do not read of any persecution, at least of a general nature, having raged in Ireland in the early ages of the Church; and the names of these saints appear more like Teutonic or Lombard than Irish ones. (23)

(13) See Usher *p.* 759. (14) Usher, *Ind. Chron. ad An.* 630.

(15) Colgan, *AA. SS. at VIII. Mart.* *p.* 560.

(16) See his Acts in Bosquet, *Part II.*

(17) Usher (*p.* 761 *seqq.*) has with his usual ability cleared up this matter, and exposed the nonsense and lies of that impostor Dempster concerning St. Firminus. It happened that in one or two legendary accounts of this saint *Hibernia* was substituted for *Hiberia* through a mistake, which has often occurred. But the name *Scotia* is not met with, except in Dempster's forgery. Strange that, in De Burgo's (Burke's) *Officia propria sanctorum Hiberniæ, ad 25 Septemb.* Firminus appears as an Irishman, and that even Bosquet, who has quite the reverse, is quoted among the authorities for the account there given of him. This error has been since corrected. See *Note to Synopsis Decretorum* at the end of the Supplement to the Breviary for Ireland.

(18) A German writer, P. Merssaëus Cratepolius, quoted by Usher (*p.* 785) says, that Eliphias was *filius regis Scotiæ*, that is, of Ireland. Baronius, (*ad an.* 362) who had before him the Acts of his and his relatives' martyrdom, calls him *Tullensem virum*; and Saussay (*Martyrolog. Gallican.*) makes them

patria Tullenses. But, what is of greater weight, the abbot Rupert, author of the Acts of S. Eliphius (*ap. Surium, Tom. 5. ad 16 Octob.*) has not a word about *Scotia*. He begins his narrative by stating, that in the time of Julian “florebat—clarissimus vir Eliphius in urbe Tullensi, quæ civitas est Galliarum.” He then gives a short account of Eucharius and the three sisters Menna, Libaria, and Susanna, the two latter of whom, as well as Eucharius, also suffered martyrdom. Calmet in the fifth book of his History of Lorraine, where he treats largely of St. Eliphius, &c. does not even hint at Ireland or Scotland. He tells us that some authors make him a native of Soulosse, others of Gran, places not far distant from Toul, and the son of one Baccius of royal blood. He quotes an old inscription at the *Hermitage de St. Euchaire*, which begins thus: “Ex *Catalauniæ* regia prosapia Baccii et Lientrudis editi sunt nobilissimi sanctique subscripti; videlicet S. Eucharius, S. Eliphius, S. Libaria, S. Susanna;” &c. Calmet is of opinion, that by *Catalaunia* was meant Chalons. The story of Eliphius being the son of a king of *Scotia* originated in mistaking *Scotia* for *Catalaunia*, or more probably for *Soulosse*, which name was latinized into *Scotia*.

(19) Usher *p.* 169, and after him Colgan *AA. SS. ad vii Febr.* where he has Augulus among the Irish saints, understand the *civitas Augusta* in Britain, of which he was bishop, as the same as London. The Bollandists, at said day, doubt of it, as it does not appear, that London was the only city of Britain distinguished by the name of *Augusta*.

(20) See Usher, *p.* 988, and Colgan *loc. cit.*

(21) The Bollandists, without deciding in what persecution Augulus suffered, or how his being called *Episcopus Hiberniæ*, can be explained, sum up their disquisitions concerning him in these words: “Fuit ergo in Britannia, civitate Augusta, S. Augulus episcopus et martyr. Cætera, quæ e variis adjecta, nil solidæ rationis habent.”

(22) Tillemont (*Memoires, &c. Tom. XVI. at St. Patrice Not. 1. on Art. 1.*) observes from Ferrarius, that the history of St. Guni-fort was made up at a time when the chief magistrates went in Italy by the name of *Potestas*, (whence the *Podestà* of the cities of Lombardy) and consequently at rather a late period. To this observation may be opposed the well known verse of Juvenal,

X. 100. "An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse *Potestas*;" from which it appears that the word was used in that sense, at least in some places, much sooner than Tillemont imagined. Yet, considering every circumstance, I entertain no doubt that the history of St. Gunifort belongs to a later age than that, of which we are now treating. Dempster's nonsense concerning those saints having suffered martyrdom during the reign of the great and pious Theodosius, and even while he was at Milan, is well exposed by Usher, *p.* 795. Were we to believe Dempster, the name of one of St. Gunifort's sisters was Dardalucha, as he found that a St. Dardalucha or rather Derlugdacha is revered on the 1st of February at Frisingen in Germany. But this saint, who succeeded St. Brigid as abbess of Kildare and died A. D. 524, never left Ireland. (See her Acts in Colgan, *AA. SS.* at 1st February.)

(23) Perhaps the words *Scotica gente*, on which is founded the opinion of those saints having been Scots, have by mistake been substituted for *Scythica* (Scythian) *gente*. As a proof of the probability of such a mistake, there seems to be another in the mention made of a city *Camara* in the North of Italy, where Gunibald is said to have suffered. Usher thought it the same as Como, which, however, was constantly called *Comum* or *Noviocomum*. Could it have been the same as Camariano, a place near the North side of the Po in the ancient Insubria, mentioned by Alberti (*Descrittione di tutta Italia*, *p.* 394) ?

§. iv. It is, however, universally admitted, that there were Christian congregations in Ireland before the mission of Palladius, which took place in 431, of which, were there no other proof, the testimony of Prosper forms sufficient evidence. For in his Chronicle at that year he says, that Palladius was sent to the Scots *believing* in Christ, (24) that is, as he informs us elsewhere, (25) to the Scots living in Ireland. But how, or by whom, the Christian faith was first introduced into this country, it is impossible to determine. It would be impertinent to detain the reader with the story of Ireland's conversion having originated

through the means of a Christian woman, by whom an Irish queen was instructed, who in her turn instructed the king, and he his subjects ; (26) whereas the famous transaction of this kind belongs to the history of Iberia (27) a country in Asia lying near the Black sea. Several Scottish writers from old John Fordun down to nearly our own days pretend, that a Donald king of Scotland, and his subjects, embraced christianity in the year 203, having, as some of those writers tell us, been taught by missionaries sent by Pope Victor, to whom Donald had applied for that purpose. (28) But, passing by the anachronism in supposing Victor to have been alive in that year, it is well known at present, that no Scottish kingdom existed at that time in Britain, (29) and, were there any foundation for this fable, it should be referred to Ireland, (30) the *Scotia* of those times, rather than to modern Scotland. Yet we do not pretend to this honour of having received missionaries from Pope Victor, or of having had a christian king at so early a period ; and it is more than probable, that the whole statement was fabricated by some Scotch zealot as a counterpart to the tradition maintained by their southern neighbours of having had a christian king Lucius, who corresponded with Pope Eleutherus before the latter end of the second century. (31)

(24) *Ad Scotos in Christum credentes.* That this is the true reading will appear hereafter, when treating of Palladius.

(25) *De Gratia Dei contra Cassianum ; cap. 41.*

(26) See Hector Boëthius, *Scot. Hist. l. 6.* and others quoted by Usher, p. 767. *seqq.*

(27) See Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 10.* and after him all the Ecclesiastical historians.

(28) Boëth. *Scot. Hist. l. 5.* Dempster, *Appar. ad Histor. Eccl. Scot. l. 6. &c. &c.* See Usher p. 612. *seqq.* Buchanan, without mentioning the year or Pope Victor, simply says ; (*Rer. Scot. lib. IV. ad XXVII. Rex.*) “ Donaldus regum Scotorum primus Christianos ritus receperat.” Spottiswood (*History of the Church, &c. of*

Scotland, B. 1.) will not allow, that the Scots were instructed by any Roman teachers; so averse was the good man to any connexion with Rome; but he still maintains that king Donald was a Christian.

(29) Usher *p.* 610 *et alibi passim*. Colgan, *Tr. Th.* *p.* 114 and 246, *seqq.* Lloyd *on Church government*, *Chap.* I. Stillingfleet, *Antiquities*, &c. *Chap.* II. and *Preface*. O'Flaherty, *Ogygia vindicated*, *Chap.* VIII. and all through, &c. &c. The matter is now so well understood, that the very Scots themselves admit and even prove it. See Innes, *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*, *Vol.* 2. *Dissert.* II. *Chap.* 2. and Chalmers, *Caledonia*, *Vol.* I. at *Scottish period*. The only question now remaining between learned men is whether, before the first establishment of a Scottish kingdom in Albany, in the year 503, under Fergus son of Erk (Usher, *Ind. Chron. ad an.* 503. Innes *loc. cit.* &c.) or, as others say, (see *Tr. Th.* *p.* 115, O'Flaherty, *Ogygia p.* 472, and *Ogygia vindicated loc. cit.* Chas. O'Connor, *Preface to Ogyg. vind.* *p.* 4) Loarn Fergus's eldest brother, there was a Scottish colony, dependent however on the Irish Dalriadans (of Antrim) planted in that country about the middle of the third century. Chas. O'Connor, however positive in maintaining (*Dissertation on the first migrations and final settlement of the Scots in N. Britain, and Note to Ogyg. Vind.* *p.* 162) that such a colony was settled in N. Britain A. 258 under Carbre Riada, does not pretend to call it a kingdom, but tells us that it was weak and struggling with difficulties, until the sons of Erk in the beginning of the sixth century laid the foundation of the first Scottish kingdom out of Ireland.

(30) Bozius, (*lib.* 8. *de sign. eccl. cap.* 1.) quoted by Usher, *p.* 615. understood it so; for he writes; "Tradunt in Scotia, quæ tunc erat Hibernia, Christi cultum disseminatum eodem tempore, quo in Britannia, sub annum sc. CCIII. Victore sedente."

(31) See about king Lucius, &c. Usher, *Pr. capp.* III. IV. V. VI. Stillingfleet, *Antiq. chap.* 2. and Dr. Milner's *History of Winchester*, *Vol.* 1. *chap.* 3.

§. v. Dr. Ledwich, after stating that the Britons (of G. Britain) were the first teachers of the Irish, (32) throws out some loose and incoherent assertions as if

to show, that christianity made its way into Ireland through the exertions of Greek and Asiatic *missioners*, as he calls them. For, says he, Colman in his conference with Wilfrid (33) asserted, that the Easter, which he kept, was the same as that, which St. John the Evangelist observed. Not to inquire at present into the truth of Colman's position, of which in its own place, were the Doctor's inference of any weight, it would go to prove, that St. John or some of his immediate disciples had preached the Gospel in Ireland. It was thus that old Spottiswood concluded, (34) that, when St. John was relegated to Patmos, some of his disciples came over to Scotland, because the Scots maintained the correctness of their Paschal cycle by alledging his authority. Another equally potent argument adduced by the Doctor is, that Pothinus and Irenaeus, who were bishops of Lyons in the second century, were Greeks. But it does not appear, that they sent any missionaries either to Ireland or Britain; nor is there in the ancient history of the Church any account of Greek or Asiatic teachers coming to Ireland at that early period. He adds, that the Irish liturgy was not the same as the Roman; an argument, which he borrowed from Tolland, (35) who, however, was not fool enough to use it as a proof of the oriental origin of the Irish church, whereas he observes, that divers liturgies were formerly used in Ireland. Then the Doctor talks of the Gallican office, liturgy, or *cursus*, which, he says, was adopted by the British church, and "no doubt by the Irish." Stillingfleet, he adds, has shown, that this liturgy agreed with the Greek. This is not true; nor has Stillingfleet even undertaken to show it; who, on the contrary, in his long and learned dissertation (36) concerning that Gallican *cursus* expressly states, that it was distinguished from the Eastern liturgy or *Cursus Orientalis*. The fact is, that according to a little treatise on the origin of ecclesiastical *cursuses* or liturgies and offices, quoted

by Usher, (37) St. German of Auxerre and St. Lupus of Troyes are said to have delivered to St. Patrick a *cursus*, which they had learned in the island of Lerins from Cassian, Honoratus, and others. (38) German and Lupus were neither Greek nor Asiatic *missioners*. Nor, although natives of Gaul, and consequently, should we believe the Doctor, of the Oriental school, were they full of *horror and detestation of the Romish corruptions*. (39) This *soi-disant* antiquary has read so little, that he does not know that several Popes of those days, and at the very period to which he alludes, were Greeks or Asiatics, such as Anacletus, Evaristus, Telesphorus, Higinus, Anicetus, Eleutherus, Anterus; nor that St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Polycarp of Smyrna, St. Irenaeus, &c. were on the best terms with the see of Rome; nor that there was no Greek schism until many centuries after the times he refers to; nor that the variety of liturgies did not in any age of the Church, (40) nor does at the present time clash with the great principle of Catholic unity. (41)

(32) *Antiquities of Ireland*, 1st Ed. p. 358.

(33) Bede *Eccl. Hist. Angl. L. 3. c. 25*.

(34) *History of the Church, &c. of Scotland, Book I.*

(35) *Nazarenus, Letter 11. §. 3.* (36) *Antiquities, &c. Chap. 4.*

(37) *Prim. p. 343, 840, and 917.* This treatise may be seen in Spelman's *Councils, &c. vol. 1. p. 176. seqq.* and in Wilkins's, *Vol. 4. p. 741.* We shall see more about it elsewhere.

(38) See Usher's remarks p. 343. on the inaccuracy of some parts of that statement.

(39) Ledwich, *ib. p. 360.* O'Halloran, who knew nothing of ecclesiastical history, has some of this stuff about Asiatic Missions, &c. in his *History of Ireland*.

(40) See Gregory the great's third answer to Augustin's questions; *Works, L. XII. Ep. 34,* and in Bede, *Eccl. Hist. L. I. c. 27.*

(41) The Greek, Syrian, Armenian, &c. liturgies are practised in the very city of Rome. The Ambrosian liturgy is observed in the diocese of Milan. The Mosarabic liturgy is still kept up at Toledo.

Several Religious orders, with whom the *detestation of Romish corruptions* will certainly not be found, have their peculiar liturgies. I am really ashamed to mention facts so well known to the learned. But, as the Scripture says, *answer a fool according to his folly.*

§. VI. Not to dwell further at present on Ledwich's unlearned conjectures and wild corollaries, there is no authority or document to prove, that the first preachers of christianity in Ireland were Britons rather than persons from Gaul, Spain, or of any other country, that carried on trade with Ireland in those times. That a foreign trade with this country existed as far back, at least, as the period, in which Tacitus lived, is evident from his telling us, that the harbours of Ireland were better known in the line of commerce and among commercial people than those of Britain. (42) It is certain, that an intercourse of trade was kept up between Ireland and Gaul. (43) And not to inquire into the communication maintained with Spain after the arrival of the colony, commonly called the Milesian, from Gallicia in that country, it appears from various remains of antiquity discovered in Ireland, (44) that it was occasionally resorted to by traders from Carthage or other parts of Africa, and perhaps by some from more eastern tracts. It is very natural to suppose, that Christians of the countries now mentioned, on arriving in Ireland for commercial purposes, might, particularly considering the zeal of the primitive faithful, endeavour to convert some of the natives to the Christian faith and succeed in so doing. It might also have happened, that among the captives taken in the predatory excursions of the Irish along the coasts of Britain or Gaul, such as those under Niell Naõigiallach about the latter end of the fourth century and beginning of the fifth, there were some well informed Christians and even priests, who certainly did not lose any opportunity of instructing their masters. Nor is it improbable, that as early as the time of the persecu-

tion of Diocletian and Maximian, (45) the only one recorded as having raged in Britain, (46) some Christians and particularly of the clerical order thence took refuge in Ireland, as also perhaps from the Gauls and Spain, from which latter countries such persons might have fled hither during former persecutions. Whoever were the first founders of Christianity in Ireland, or whatever the time of its first introduction, there is reason to believe that Christians were to be found, at the period now under discussion, not only in the eastern and southern parts, but likewise in places more remote from Britain and the continent of Europe. (47)

(42) *Melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti.* Tacitus, *Vita Julii Agricolaë.*

(43) See Probus, *Vita S. Patricii*, L. 1. §. 13, 14.

(44) See Governor Pownall's *Account of some Irish Antiquities*, *Archæologia*, Vol. 3.

(45) This persecution, which began A. D. 303, lasted in *Britain, Gaul, and Spain* not much more than one year. Usher, p. 167. *seqq.* Stillingfleet, *Antiq. Chap. II.*

(46) See Bede, L. 1. *capp.* 4, 6, 8.

(47) A very remarkable circumstance is related in the Tripartite history of St. Patrick (published by Colgan, *Tr. Th.*) *Part II. cap. 35.* St. Patrick, having crossed the Shannon on his way to Connaught, arrived at a place called *Dumha-graidh* (somewhere, it seems, in Leitrim, perhaps Drumahare, or in Roscommon) where he ordained one Ailbe (different from Ailbe of Emly) priest. As there was a deficiency of sacred utensils for celebrating mass, the saint pointed out to him a subterraneous stone grotto, where he would find an altar of nice workmanship and four chalices of glass. From a quotation in the narrative it appears, that this fact rested upon old authority. Jocelin also relates it *cap. 105*, but not so distinctly, and adds, that some persons thought those articles had belonged to Palladius or some of his companions. But, as Colgan remarks, Palladius or his followers had not penetrated so far into the interior of Ireland before the arrival of St. Patrick.

§. VII. Some Irish Christians used in those times to repair to other countries, where christianity had already risen to a flourishing state. This can be easily accounted for, considering the wish many of them naturally entertained of being better instructed in matters of religion than they could in their own country. A memorable, although unfortunate, instance occurs in the case of Celestius the favourite and most able disciple of the heresiarch Pelagius, whom St. Jerome more than once (48) exhibits as a Scot or Irishman. Pelagius, according to the generality of writers, was a Briton, and is so called by the ancients. (49) Were we to believe some obscure writers, he was abbot of Bangor in Wales; (50) but, as Stillingfleet has observed, (51) this cannot be true; for there was no monastery of Bangor at the time Pelagius broached his heresy, which he first disclosed about the year 405 at Rome, where he had lived for a long time before and kept a school. (52) Nor was it in a British monastery, as Ledwich says, (53) that Celestius became a disciple of his, but at Rome, after he had, when young, spent some time in a monastery, (54) but in what country is not known. While in that monastery his faith was sound; but, having afterwards met with Pelagius and Rufinus at Rome, he adopted their pernicious principles. (55) Marius Mercator states (56) that he was of a noble family, and St. Augustin has acknowledged that he was a man of an exceedingly sharp genius, (57) which indeed appears from the dexterity, with which he managed his arguments and endeavoured to puzzle his adversaries. (58) Some writers are of opinion that the passages of St. Jerome, from which it is usually concluded that Celestius was a Scot, refer not to Celestius but to Pelagius (59) himself and his master Rufinus, or, as St. Jerome used to call him, Grunnius. Without entering into a further detail on the subject, the authority of St. Prosper, who was well aware of the difference between Britons and Scots, is too explicit (60) to leave any doubt that Pelagius was a Briton.

(48) Ipseque (Pelagius) mutus latrat per Alpinum canem grandem et corpulentum—Habet enim progeniem Scoticæ gentis de Britannorum vicinia. *Prol. ad L. 3. Comment. in Jeremiam.* And, *Prol. ad L. 1.* of the same commentaries he says of him “Scotorum pulibus prægravatus.” Hence not only Usher, (*Prim. p.* 208 and 786) but also Noris, (*Historia Pelagiana L. I. c. 3.*) and Martianay (*Not. ad Prol. l. 1.* now quoted) conclude, that Celestius was a Scot.

(49) Prosper, in *Chronico*, has *Pelagius Brito*, and *Poem. de Ingratis*,

Dogma quod antiqui satiatum felle draconis

Pestifero vomuit coluber sermone Britannus.

See more in Usher's *Prim. p.* 206.

(50) See Usher, *ib. p.* 208.

(51) *Antiq. Chap. 4.* (52) Noris, *Hist. Pelag. l. I. c. 3.* (53) *p.* 358.

(54) Gennadius, *De Scriptor. Eccles. No. 44.* (55) Noris *loc. cit.*

(56) *Commonitor. ad Pintam cont. Julian.*

(57) “*Acerrimi ingenii.*” S. August. *L. 2. cont. duas Ep. Pelagii, cap. 3.*

(58) See Usher, *p.* 231.

(59) Browerus thought so; *Not. ad Venant. Fortunat. l. 3. epigr. 8.* This opinion is ingeniously maintained by Garnier, *Dissert. 1. in Marium Mercator. c. 5.* Tillemont leans to it, *T. XIII. Art. 216.* I might add Skinner, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Letter 3.* did that work deserve to be noticed.

(60) See above *Not. 49.*

§. VIII. We come now to an illustrious poet and theologian, of whom, if it shall appear that he was an Irishman, we may be justly proud. The celebrated Sedulius, according to several critics, belonged during at least part of his life, to the period we are treating of. Among the distinguished men of the ancient church there is scarcely any, concerning whom so many questions have been started and such a variety of opinions is to be met with.

The first question is whether he was an Irishman, or a native of some part of the continent. Following a crowd of older writers Usher (61) and Colgan, (62) who

have discussed every thing relating to Sedulius, maintain, as do also Ware and Harris, (63) that he was a native of Ireland. Some British Scots have, as usual, put in their claim for Sedulius on account of his being generally designated by the appellation *Scotus* or *Scotigena*. But it has been clearly proved, and is now universally admitted, that, if he was a Scot at all, he was an Irish one, whereas in the very passages, from which his Scottish origin is deduced, he is called not merely *Scotus* but *Scotus Hybernensis*. (64) Others have said that he was a Spaniard (65); and some later writers have thrown out, as a mere conjecture, that he was an Italian. Labbe, (66) without determining to what country he belonged, confines himself to showing, that there is no sufficient proof of his having been an Irishman, and that he ought to be distinguished from another Sedulius, the commentator of St. Paul's Epistles, who was undoubtedly of Ireland and flourished in the ninth century. Bayle (67) follows Labbe, of whose dissertation he has merely given a summary. Mabillon (68) also has observed, that there were two of the name, one the great poet in the fifth century, the other who flourished in the eighth, and was certainly an Irish priest. But even Mabillon did not pretend to show, that the great Sedulius was not a native of Ireland. Amidst these doubts and disputes, and while nothing is adduced to overturn the assertion that he was an Irish Scot, an argument occurs, which has been overlooked by Usher, derived from the name *Sedulius*, a name quite common in Ireland, (69) and of which, except that of the poet, I believe no instance can be traced of old in any other country. And even admitting with Labbe that the Sedulius, whose annotations or Collectaneum we have on the Epistles of St. Paul and who is called *Scotus Hybernensis*, lived in the eighth and ninth century, which I allow to be very probable, (70) what is to be said of the collection of letters mentioned by Trithemius and beginning with

the words, *Sedulius Scotigena?* (71) It is indeed objected that it should be proved first, that they were written by the poet; but I should rather think that, did it not appear from the correspondence that they were written to persons contemporary with the poet, Trithemius, however he might have been mistaken on some other points, would not have attributed them to him.

As to the precise time, in which he lived, it is generally agreed, that he flourished during some part of the fifth century. Trithemius says under Theodosius (the younger) A. 430. Colgan (72) places him about the same period. Usher thinks, that he belonged rather to the latter part of that century and died about A. 494. (73) It is certainly difficult to explain, why Sedulius does not appear in Gennadius' catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, were his works published before that time, whereas until that very year 494 Genadius brought down his work. In opposition to Usher's calculation a passage is quoted from ancient manuscripts, (74) in which Sedulius is expressly stated to have written his books in the time of Theodosius the younger and Valentinian the third, consequently before the year 450. If this is to be considered as decisive authority, we must suppose, to reconcile it with the silence of Gennadius, that Sedulius' writings were not generally known until many years after he had composed them. Some say that he was a bishop; but from the testimony of St. Isidore of Seville (75) it is clear that he rose no higher than to the rank of a priest; nor, as has been properly observed by Labbe and others, does the title, *Antistes*, given to him by some ancients, prove any thing to the contrary. (76) Some of the most beautiful hymns, (77) that are read in the Church, have been taken from Sedulius' poems.

(61) *Primord.* p. 769, *seqq.*

(62) *AA. SS. Life of Sedulius at XII. Febr.* (63) *Irish Writers.*

(64) See Usher, *p.* 771. Colgan, *loc. cit.* *p.* 321.

(65) See Usher, *p.* 770. yet F. Bivarius, though himself a Spaniard, leans to his having been an Irishman. *ib.*

(66) *De Scriptor. Eccl. Tom. 2.*

(67) *Diction. Crit. at Sedulius.* Dr. Ledwich says, *p.* 162. that Bayle has *proved* there were two Seduliuses. Now in the first place whatever has been proved was not by Bayle, but by Labbe; and, secondly, neither Labbe nor any one else has proved, that the older Sedulius was not an Irishman as well as the younger.

(68) *Vet. Anal. Vol. 1. p.* 363. Having quoted a passage concerning Sedulius, which see below (*Not. 74*), he adds, “Ex quibus apparet quantum a vero aberrant, qui hunc Sedulium eundem esse putant cum Sedulio Scotto seu Hiberno presbytero itidem *poeta*, quem seculo *octavo* floruisse constat.” As to his placing the younger Sedulius in the eighth century, it is easy to reconcile him with other writers; for Hepidanus the monk of St. Gall has at A. D. 818, *Sedulius Scottus clarus habetur.* Consequently he may be said to have flourished during part of the eighth century. But where Mabillon found, that he also was a poet, I cannot discover. There seems no doubt but that he was the same as Sedulius, abbot of Kildare, whose death is mentioned in the Irish Annals at the year 828. See *AA. SS. p.* 315.

(69) Colgan says that the name is written in Irish *Siedhuil*; I suppose the same as *Shiel.* He reckons eight eminent men of that name known in Irish history. *AA. SS. p.* 315.

(70) If Sedulius the poet was the same as the commentator, it is rather strange that St. Isidore of Seville, who in his *Catalogue De Illustr. Eccl. Scriptor.* mentions his poetical works, says nothing of his Annotations on St. Paul, as neither do Sigebertus Gemblacensis nor Honorius of Autun where treating of him in their catalogues. There is extant also a *Collectaneum Sedulii in Matthaeum*, which indeed cannot be attributed to the poet, whereas, to omit other observations of Labbe's, the poet himself is quoted in it. Trithemius, who attributes the *Collectaneum* on St. Paul to the poet, makes no mention of that on St. Matthew. In the *Bibliotheca Patrum, Lyons 1677, Tom. 6.* it is stated, that the author of the Commentary on St. Paul seems to have been the Sedulius of the year 818.

(71) See Usher, *p.* 771. These letters have not, as far as I know, been as yet published.

(72) *AA. SS. ad XII. Febr.*

(73) *Pr. p.* 777. Usher is followed by Ware, *Irish Writers at Sedulius.*

(74) Labbe gives it from an old *MS.* of Pithoeus, and Mabillon from a *MS.* of the monastery of Lerins in these words; "Incipit ars Sedulii poetæ, qui primo laicus in Italia philosophiam didicit; postea cum aliis metrorum generibus heroicum metrum Macedonio consulente docuit in Achaia; libros suos scripsit tempore Impm. minoris Theodosii filii Arcadii et Valentiniani filii Constantii." *Vet. Anal. Vol. 1. p.* 363.

(75) *De Illustr. Eccl. Scriptor. at Sedulius.*

(76) See Bingham, *Origines Eccles. Book II. Chap. XIX. sect. 14.*

(77) *Ex. c. A solis ortus cardine—Hostis Herodes impie* (since changed into *Crudelis Herodes, Deum*) &c. See Ware and Harris, *Irish Writers, at Sedulius.*

§. ix. It has been said that St. Briocus, from whom the town of St. Brieux in Britany got its name, was a native of the territory of Cork, (78) and was brought over to Gaul by St. German of Auxerre on his return from one of his missions in Great Britain. Fitzsimons has him in his catalogue of Irish saints. (79) But Lobineau, without even alluding to his supposed Irish origin, states (80) that he was a native of Great Britain, being of the same country and family with Rival one of the British princes, that emigrated to Armorican Gaul about the year 458.

(78) See Usher *p.* 997. Camden, *Hibernia at Co. Cork.*

(79) *At 1. May.* (80) *Histoire de Bretagne; Vol. 1. p.* 73.

§. x. Hitherto we have inquired into the history of such distinguished persons, as have been represented by foreign writers as born in Ireland, and concerning whom little or nothing is to be found in our old Irish Annalists, whose records of our ecclesiastical history usually begin with Palladius and St. Pa-

trick and are, for the period we are now treating of, confined to an account of persons, who became eminent in their own country. To this description belong Ailbe of Emly, Declan of Ardmore, Ibar of Begery, and Kieran of Saigir, who, according to certain writers of their Lives, were bishops in Ireland before the arrival of St. Patrick. Of these saints we shall treat in the proper places; at present let it suffice to show, that there is no foundation for the high antiquity assigned to them, nor for their having been bishops as early as mentioned in those legends. That the three former, (for Kieran belongs to a much later period) were partly contemporaries with St. Patrick will not be denied; and that is as much as can be granted consistently with the truth of history. It is also to be observed, that these fables occur chiefly in the very tracts, called the Lives of those saints, tracts abounding with anachronisms and contradictions, while the old Irish annals and the most correct Lives of St. Patrick are in direct opposition to them. (81)

(81) Hence Warner had no right to say; "It seems agreed among all the Irish writers, that before Patrick or Palladius there were four bishops in Ireland." *History of Ireland*, p. 270. Nor did he know, that Sir James Ware, one of our most accurate and impartial antiquaries, did not recognize this agreement. (See *Annot. ad Opusc. S. Patricii*, p. 106.) Hanmer, in his *Chronicle of Ireland*, had detailed these stories as he found them in the legends, and Usher, who seemed inclined to believe them, copied the principal passages of the so called Lives relative to them. Colgan greedily swallowed them, (*Tr. Th.* p. 250. *seqq.*) but has been often obliged to contradict himself with regard to these subjects. Lloyd, *On Church Government*, (chap. 2.) says he dared not wholly reject those Irish legends of Kiaran, &c. and Harris, a servile follower of Usher, preferred (*Bishops*, at *Ailbe* and *Kieran*, and at *St. Patrick*) his statements concerning them to the authority of Ware.

§. XI. St. Ailbe is said to have been born in Eliach (82) in Munster. Then the following account of him is given. His father's name was *Olcnaïs*. When a boy, he wished to be enlightened concerning the creator of all things. On a certain occasion, while with uplifted eyes praying for this grace, he was overheard by a Christian priest, who had been sent to Ireland by the Apostolic see *many* years before St. Patrick. This priest accosted him, afterwards instructed him in the Christian faith, and then baptized him. (83) After some time we find St. Ailbe at Rome studying under a bishop Hilarius, and we are told that this same Hilarius *sent* (84) Ailbe to the Pope, that he might be ordained bishop by him; that he was very kindly received by the Pope, with whom he remained a year and fifty days; that in the mean while fifty holy men arrived from Ireland at Rome, among whom were Declan, twelve of the name of Colman, twelve Coemgens, and twelve Fintans; and that the Pope gave to those fifty men a separate habitation under the presidency of Ailbe. (85) Being ordained bishop, Ailbe was commissioned to preach the faith, but in what country we are not informed, to certain gentiles, which he did with great success. Having fulfilled this mission he returned home, preached all over Ireland, and converted many persons but not all; "because it was the will of God, that the holy bishop Patrick, who came to Ireland *after* Ailbe, should bring over all the Irish to the faith." (86)

Now this narrative is directly contradicted not only by Prosper, who expressly states that Palladius was the *first* bishop sent from Rome to Ireland, but likewise by the most respectable documents of our domestic history. Tirechan, one of our most ancient writers has, as quoted by Ware, (87) recorded that Ailbe was ordained priest by St. Patrick. In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, (88) published by Colgan, the bishops Ailbe and Ibar are spoken of

as obeying a certain injunction of their *father* Patrick, and Jocelin(89) distinctly calls them disciples of his. Hence Colgan himself reckons (90) Ailbe among the disciples of our great saint. And, what decides the question at once, the very accurate annals both of Ulster and Innisfallen place the death of Ailbe in the year 527. (91) Who will believe, that he could have been a preaching bishop some years or even one year before A. 432, the year of St. Patrick's arrival on his mission ?

(82) Hanmer explains this name by Ely O'Carrol. But there were other districts known by that name, which signifies a level tract of country. The *Eliach* or *Eile*, now called Eliogarty, is also in Munster, as indeed Ely O'Carrol formerly was.

(83) See Usher, *p.* 782.

(84) If Hilarius *sent* him to the Pope, it would seem that he was not a resident in Rome. Should there be any truth in what is said of Ailbe's expedition to Rome, I am inclined to think that Hilarius, bishop of Arles, who lived until the year 449, was the person alluded to, particularly as St. Patrick had spent some time among the celebrated monks of Lerins, of whose congregation Hilarius had been a member and probably a contemporary there with St. Patrick, who might accordingly have sent Ailbe and perhaps others for their theological education to that renowned school. I think this conjecture as probable as that of the Bollandists, according to whom (*Commentar. præv. ad S. Patric. §. 4. Mart. 17.*) said Hilarius was Pope Hilarius, or rather Hilarius, who, they say, ordained A. 464 Ailbe bishop as also Declan. It may be objected, that this conjecture accords better with the time of Ailbe's death, which was A. 527. Yet we may observe, that even between A.D. 464 and 527 an unusually long incumbency must have taken place. But I do not mean to insinuate, that Ailbe was ordained bishop during the life time of Hilarius of Arles. My conjecture goes no further than that Ailbe was perhaps, when young, sent to Hilarius for his education. Of this more hereafter.

(85) See Usher, *p.* 789.

(86) *Ib.* *p.* 793.

(87) *Antiquities, chap.* 29.

(88) *L. III. cap.* 33.

(89) *Cap. 83.*

(90) *Tr. Th. App. V. ad Act. S. Patr. cap. 23. p. 265.*

(91) Ware uses this argument, which is indeed invincible. (*Annot. ad Opusc. S. Patric.*) Usher was staggered by it; for, after quoting those Annals, (*Ind. Chron. ad an. 527*) he adds, that their statement cannot "*cum illorum rationibus consistere, qui Ailbeum ante adventum Patricii Christianam fidem Hibernis annuntiavisse statuunt.*"

§. XII. Of Declan we read, that he was son of Ercus prince of Nandesi (Desies Co. Waterford,) and born in the house of one Dobran, where his father and mother, whose name was Dethidin, happened to be on a visit. While they were still there, Colman a holy priest, who afterwards became a bishop, came and preached to them the Christian faith and foretold the future greatness of the child. They believing delivered the infant to him to be baptized, which he did calling him *Declan*. Dobran, who was a relative of Ercus, on observing these circumstances, requested to be allowed to rear Declan, which his parents agreed to. After seven years, during which time he was taken particular care of, he was entrusted for his education to a religious and well informed Christian named Dymma, who having not long before returned to Ireland, of which he was a native, had constructed a cell in the neighbourhood. Declan had a schoolfellow of the name of Carpre or Carbre, who afterwards became a holy bishop. Having spent a long time under Dymma, his reputation became very great, and several persons came to put themselves under his direction, among whom are mentioned Mochelloc, Bean, Colman, Lachnin (or Lactin), Mobys, Findlug, and Caminen (or Caymin,) who afterwards erected cells in the vicinity of where Declan then was, not far from Lismore. (92) After these transactions Declan, taking some disciples with him, set out for Rome, where he arrived at the time Ailbe was there. He was most graciously

received by the Pope, and highly honoured by the clergy and people of Rome. Having remained there a considerable time, he was ordained bishop by the Pope, and on being invested with power to preach in his own country, and receiving the apostolical benediction, set out on his journey for Ireland accompanied by several pious persons, among whom was Lunanus *son of the king of the Romans!* On his way he met in Italy St. Patrick, who was going to Rome, and who was *afterwards* sent by Pope Celestine to Ireland. Usher calculates, (93) that this meeting took place in the year 402. When returned to Ireland, he spent some time in Nandesi, and then having an occasion to go again to Rome was entertained on his way through Great Britain by the famous St. David of Wales. (94) Returning a second time to Ireland, he took up his residence at Ardmore on land granted to him by the lord of that country. (95)

To clear up the whole matter, it might be unnecessary to refer to any other authority than the very tract called Declan's Life, in which it is expressly stated that he survived Ailbe, (96) who, as we have seen above, died A. 527. This is more than sufficient to show, that he was not a bishop in the year 402 nor at any time before the mission of St. Patrick. Colgan, in opposition indeed to what he has elsewhere, reckons Declan among St. Patrick's disciples, and refers for a proof of it to several parts of his Life. (97) But I think it probable that Declan did not live early enough to be a disciple of our Apostle, although he might have been born before his death. Otherwise how can it be accounted for, that his name is not to be met with in Tirechan's list, (98) nor, what is much more remarkable, in any of the old Lives of St. Patrick, notwithstanding the minuteness, with which some of them make mention not only of such of his disciples as founded churches or monasteries, but likewise of very many of inferior note? From what

is related of Declan it appears, that his reputation was very great in his time. It would have been therefore very strange to omit the name of so eminent a disciple, had he really belonged to their number. Calculating from the times of such of Declan's disciples, or friends, as we have some records of, we may conclude that he became distinguished during some part of the sixth century. Mochelloc (or Kelloc) (99) was, according to all probability, the same as Mochelloc, who is highly spoken of in the Irish Calendars and Martyrologies, and died very old in Fiodh Lethan a district not far from Lismore, in which was formerly a city called *Cathuir mac Conchaidh*. (100) His death is assigned to some year between A. 639 and 656, and his festival affixed to the 26th of March. (101) As to Colman we find several saints of that name in the sixth and about the beginning of the seventh century, (102) some of whom were of the same province (Munster) as Declan; for instance, Colman son of Lenine. (103) St. Lactin or Lactan was probably the abbot Lactean contemporary with St. Senan (104) in the sixth century. A St. Cayman of Dar-inis (105) is mentioned as having flourished in the early part of it. Then we have as contemporary with Declan St. David of Wales, who lived until a late period of said century. (106)

(92) Usher, *Pr. p.* 782 *seqq.* Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 251.

(93) *p.* 790. Usher is followed by Smith, *History of Waterford*, *p.* 5.

(94) Hanmer, *Chronicle*, *p.* 69 *New Edit.* Usher omits this circumstance, as it did not square with his system.

(95) Hanmer, *ib.*

(96) Ailbe died *vivente S. Declano*. See Colgan *AA. SS. p.* 608. and Ware, *Annot. ad Opusc. S. P. p.* 106. Ledwich in his usual inaccurate manner says *p.* 361, that the annals of Ulster and Innisfallen, as cited by Ware, place the death of Declan later than that of Ailbe. Now in those Annals the name of Declan is not men-

tioned, nor does Ware cite them to that purpose, as he refers only to Declan's Life.

(97) *Life of Declan, capp.* 30, 31, 32, 33—49. *Tr. Th. p.* 269.

(98) *Ap. Usher, p.* 951.

(99) *Mo*, which signifies *my*, is frequently found prefixed, as an indication of affection, to the name of Irish saints; as *ex. c.* Moedoc, the celebrated prelate of Ferns, *my Edoc or Edan, Mochocmoc, my Choemoc, &c.*

(100) Archdall (*Monasticon Hib. ad locum*) could not guess at the precise situation of that town. Q. Might not *Mocollop*, the name of a parish not far from Lismore (See Smith's *Waterford, p.* 21,) be a corruption of *Mochelloc*?

(101) *AA. SS. ad 26 Mart.* Colgan has at 7 *Mart.* another *Mochelloc*, whom he places in the beginning of the 5th century as having been a disciple of Declan. But he alleges no other authority for his so early existence than the stuff contained in Declan's Life.

(102) Usher, *p.* 960. Colgan, *AA. SS. p.* 427.

(103) See below Chap. XII. §. 8. (104) *AA. SS. p.* 525.

(105) *Ib. p.* 393 and 397. There are two islands of this name, one, now called *Molana* in the river *Blackwater* below *Lismore*, and the other near *Wexford*. It is not clear in which of these islands *Cayman* resided. Colgan thinks it was the latter, and is followed by Archdall at *Darinis*.

(106) Usher from certain chronological supputations would fain place *St. David's* death in the year 544. See *Pr. p.* 526, and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 544. The fact, however, as shall be proved hereafter, is that he lived many years later, and it is doubtful, whether he was even a bishop in that year.

§. XIII. We come now to *Ibar*, whose history is much less involved and obscure (107) than that of *Declan*. There is no mention of his journeying to *Rome* or any other place out of *Ireland*. He is stated to have been a native of *Ulster*, (108) a bishop before the arrival of *St. Patrick*, (109) and to have resided chiefly in his monastery in *Beg-erin*. (110) The history of *Ibar* is easily cleared up. In some of the *Lives of St. Patrick* he is, as has been seen above, expressly

named together with Ailbe as a disciple of his. He is also mentioned as such in Tirechan's list (111). Colgan, contradicting himself, reckons him accordingly among the disciples of our great Apostle; (112) and that he was one of them cannot be doubted. He died in the year 500. (113)

(107) Usher quotes (*p.* 1061) a Life of Ibar, which seems to have been very short, as the account given of him is chiefly taken from incidental scraps of other documents.

(108) Usher *p.* 784. and 1061. (109) *Id.* *p.* 781.

(110) *Id.* *p.* 794. Beg-erin, that is, *little Ireland*, (*Parva Hibernia, ib.*) is a small island near the harbour of Wexford. It is now called *Begery*, which name is but a corruption of the old one *Begerin*, and not, as Seward says, (*Topogr. Hibern.*) signifying the *little land in the water*.

(111) Usher *p.* 950. (112) *Tr. Th.* *p.* 265.

(113) *Annal. Ulton. and Innisfal. Ware Annotat. ad Op. &c. p.* 106. Usher *Ind. Chron.*

§.xiv. Whatever claims any one of the saints we have now treated of might have had to a priority of time, compared with St. Patrick, Kieran of Saigir certainly had none at all; and it is surprising that men of learning, particularly such a man as Usher, could have received the incoherent and ridiculous accounts given of the times, at which he lived. Two Lives of his, which, I am compelled to say, abound in fables, have been published by Colgan, (114) from which alone it is evident, that he lived at a much later period than what has been usually assigned. After honouring him with the title of the *first-born of the saints of Ireland*, they proceed to inform us that his father was Lugneus a noble Ossorian, and his mother Liadain of Corcalaighde (Carberry) in South Munster. St. Kieran was born in Cape Clear island. (115) Having spent thirty years in Ireland still unbaptized, he heard of the Christian religion as flourishing at Rome, and went thither for the pur-

pose of being instructed. There he was baptized and remained twenty years (116) studying the scriptures and canons, after which he was ordained bishop and sent to preach in his own country. On his way to Ireland he met St. Patrick in Italy, who was not as yet a bishop, and who told Kieran that he would follow him to Ireland in thirty years from the date of their meeting. This must have happened in the year 402, and accordingly Kieran, being then 50 years of age, was born A. 352. When arrived in Ireland he was miraculously directed, as St. Patrick had told him he would, to the place since called Saigir, (117) where he erected a monastery. Having ordained an innumerable multitude of bishops, priests, &c. he died at the age of about 300 years!!!

Other accounts state, that Kieran's meeting with St. Patrick somewhere out of Ireland occurred several years after the latter had commenced his apostolical labours in this country. Jocelin (118) places it at a time when St. Patrick was returning from Britain, whither he had gone some time before to procure a supply of additional helpers for his mission, and tells us that Kieran was then one of six Irish clergymen, who were proceeding to foreign countries for religious improvement, and all of whom afterwards became bishops in *their own country*. In Colgan's Tripartite history of St. Patrick (119) the precise place of meeting is not given; but, what is more to the purpose, it is represented as having occurred at least twelve years after St. Patrick had begun his mission in Ireland, and Kieran is stated to have *then* received directions from the saint concerning the district, in which he should erect his monastery. Accordingly Colgan, notwithstanding his credulity elsewhere, reckons him among the disciples of St. Patrick. (120)

It will however appear, that he is not to be ranked among those disciples. His name does not occur in Tirechan's list nor in any of St. Patrick's

Lives except the two, which have been just quoted ; and even its appearing in them was evidently owing to the stories concerning him having got into circulation, which stories the authors of those two Lives endeavoured to reconcile with the true history of St. Patrick. (121) Had he been a disciple of our Apostle, how could he have become a scholar of St. Finnian of Clonard in the sixth century ? For such he is stated to have been not only in the Life of Finnian, (122) and in that of his illustrious namesake Kieran of Clonmacnois, (123) but likewise in the tract, (124) which is called his first Life, and which enters into more particulars than the other. At what time Finnian's school first became distinguished, is not accurately known, but we shall see hereafter that it could not be much earlier than the year 534. He died A. 552. (125) In both of Kieran's Lives (126) his namesake of Clonmacnois, who died, rather young, in the year 549, (127) and the two Brendans, one of Clonfert, who died A. 577 (128) and the other of Birr, whose death happened but a few years before, are spoken of as having had transactions with him. We may then safely conclude, that he belonged to the sixth century, became distinguished towards the middle of it, and died during its latter half. As this was known to be the case, his blundering biographers strove to reconcile their nonsense concerning the antiquity and privileges of the monastery of Saigir with the true date of his life by making him die at the age of about 300 years, although, had they calculated better, about 220 might have been sufficient.

(114) *AA. SS. ad 5 Mart.* The Bollandists reject them as incorrect and fabulous. Usher had the first of these Lives in *MS.* as appears from his quotations, *p. 784. seqq.*

(115) The first Life has ; “ *Conceptus est electus Dei Kieranus natusque et nutritus est in regione Corcalaigndi, videlicet in Clera insula.*” The second Life agrees with the first as to his father and mother, but has not the place of his birth. Ware was mistaken

in making him a native of Ossory (*Bishops—Ossory*) although his father was from that country. The memory of Kieran is kept up in that island, some places and remains being honoured with his name. See Smith, *History of Cork*, Vol. 1. p. 287.

(116) Another account has fifteen years. Usher, p. 788.

(117) Seir-keran in the King's county.

(118) *Vita S. Patric. cap.* 93. Usher quotes p. 790. a part of Jocelin's text, but omits what did not agree with his system; for, while he gives some of Jocelin's words in such a manner as to make the reader think, that Jocelin alluded to the pretended meeting in the year 402, the whole context shows that the meeting spoken of took place, according to Jocelin, many years later; and that it happened not in Italy nor on St. Patrick's coming from Rome; and that, in direct opposition to Usher's calculation, Kieran, so far from being a bishop at Rome in the year 402, was not one until a considerable time after St. Patrick's mission to Ireland, when Kieran having returned from abroad was consecrated.

(119) *L. 2. c. 9.* (120) *Tr. Th. p. 266.*

(121) This will be seen particularly from the jumbled, aukward, and hesitating manner, in which Kieran is spoken of in the Tripartite, *loc. cit.*

(122) *Vita S. Finniani cap.* 19. *AA. SS. ad 23. Febr.* Several of his fellow students are mentioned there, such as Kieran of Clonmacnois, Columbkil, the two Brendans, Cannech, or Kenny, &c. all of whom flourished in the sixth century. Colgan refers to another life of Finnian, in which these same eminent persons are named as his contemporaries at that great school. See also Usher, p. 909.

(123) *AA. SS. p. 471.* There likewise the two Kierans, Columbkil, and the two Brendans are spoken of as fellow-students.

(124) *Cap. 33. AA. SS. p. 463.* The author of that Life well knowing, that Finnian's school was held in the sixth century, and acknowledging that Kieran was universally considered as a pupil of Finnian, cunningly endeavoured to reconcile this circumstance with his former positions by telling us, that Kieran was then very old, but that he was so humble as not to be ashamed to attend Finnian's lectures. "Iste S. Kieranus valde erat humilis in omnibus, qui multum diligebat divinam scripturam audire et

discere usque ad decrepitam aetatem. Fertur enim de eo, quod ipse cum caeteris sanctis Hiberniæ illius temporis ad virum sanctum Finnianum abbatem sapientissimum monasterii Cluain Eraird exivit in sua senectute, et in divinis scripturis in sancta schola ejus legebat. Inde vero beatissimus Kieranus *alumnus* S. Finniani, sicut alii sancti Hiberniæ, *dicitur.*" A strange thing indeed that, after 20 years of study at Rome, and having been a bishop A. 402, he should be found studying under Finnian about the year 540. Nor can these studies of his be reconciled with his having been a disciple of St. Patrick or a bishop during his time. In the Lives of Finnian and Kieran of Clonmacnois above quoted there is not the least hint of his great age, when attending at the school of Clonard; and he is simply mentioned as one of the ordinary pupils. Ware in his *Annotat. ad op. S. P.* p. 106. refers to the Life of Finnian as if showing, that Kieran was very old when he attended at his school. But he confounded what is said of him in his own Life with what is stated in that of Finnian. And yet in another place (*Antiquities, c. 29.*) he throws out a conjecture as if Kieran might have been alive in the time of Pope Gregory the great.

(125) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* The 4 Masters quoted by Colgan *AA. SS. p. 406.* have A. 548 (549). I should think the authority of the Annals of Innisfallen referred to by Usher the better one.

(126) *1st Life, cap. 33.* *2d Life, cap. 11.*

(127) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* (128) *Ib.*

§. xv. From what has been hitherto observed it appears, that there is no foundation for the opinion that a hierarchy existed in Ireland before the arrival of Palladius. (129) The Christians of those times, and who from various concurring circumstances seem to have been chiefly in the South-eastern parts of the island, were undoubtedly assisted by priests either natives or foreigners, or probably both, who however had been ordained in other countries. Their situation in this respect was similar to that of the Catholics of North America, who had no resident bishop among them until within these few years, and to

that of the Catholics of even some parts of Europe at this day, who are destitute of bishops. Yet, as is the case in the countries now alluded to and was until lately in North America, they were not totally bereft of spiritual attendance, being, at least occasionally, visited by priests and religious teachers. (130) Their situation began to be better known at Rome after the mission of St. German of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes in the year 429 (131) to Britain for the purpose of extirpating the Pelagian heresy out of that country. During that mission they could easily obtain information concerning the progress of Christianity in Ireland, and there is no doubt but that they were encouraged and assisted in their inquiries by St. Patrick, who, as will be seen hereafter, accompanied them in their spiritual expedition, and had been long intimate with St. German, whom Pope Celestine had deputed his legate on this occasion. It is natural to suppose, that, in giving an account to the Pope of the result of his labours, St. German did not omit to communicate some particulars relative to the state of the Irish Christians. Nor is it improbable, that some of those converts, who, as has been already observed, used to repair to the Continent for instruction, might have penetrated about that period as far as Rome, and there given some useful information with regard to the same subject. In consequence of such information, whatsoever quarter it proceeded from, and considering the increasing number of Christians in Ireland, the Pope deemed it advisable to appoint a bishop, to preside over them (132) and to superintend the ecclesiastical affairs of the country.

(129) Usher, although not very positive on the subject, was strongly inclined towards that opinion in consequence of what had been said in the legends concerning Ailbe, Declan, &c. (*See Prim. p. 800.*) On the same principle Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 250 seqq.*) maintains, that there were some bishops in Ireland before Palla-

dius. Not to quote O'Connor and others, who follow in the same track, Dr. Ledwich, having rejected (*p.* 361.) the traditions relative to Ailbe, &c. and their episcopacy, stoutly asserts (*p.* 388) that there was abundance of bishops in this country, but that they would not submit to Palladius or the Pope. He does not indeed tell us who they were, and it would be a hard matter to find them out. The Doctor in his fury against Popery did not like the accounts given of Ailbe, &c. not because they contain anachronisms, (for such trifles he could easily swallow) but because it was said, that those holy men had "travelled to Rome and there received ordination. This is incredible." Then this great antiquary and logician, finding himself puzzled by the mission of Palladius likewise from Rome, unblushingly tells us, that the Irish had many bishops among them before him, and even attributes to them (*p.* 389) the departure of Palladius from Ireland. Strange that Usher, Colgan, Ware, Harris, &c. had never heard of those Anti-Roman prelates, who routed Palladius out of this country. *Mentita est iniquitas sibi.*

(130) Upon this circumstance some anti-episcopalians have endeavoured to build a system concerning the ancient church government of the Scots, as if there existed among them, before the arrival of Palladius, an entire national church under a merely presbyterian form. To reconcile the fable of a great Scottish church in Britain, from at least the time of Pope Victor, with the want of bishops old John Fordun had said (*Scotichr. l. 3. c. 8.*) that the Scots of those days were governed only by priests and monks, "according to the mode of the primitive church." The Scotch presbyterians seized upon this idea as justificatory of their ecclesiastical discipline. The very learned French Calvinist Blondel came forward (*Apolog. pro Hieronymo*) as an auxiliary on this question, in the supposition, which it is strange so erudite a man could admit, of the existence of such a great church in Scotland at that early period. The deductions drawn by him and others gave occasion to Dr. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, to inquire into the truth of those Scottish stories, and to demonstrate, as he has done in his Treatise on Church government, that there neither was nor could be any such thing as a considerable church of British Scots in those times. As several circumstances relative to the civil history of the Scots and their pretended antiquity in

Britain were discussed in this work, Sir G. Mackenzie endeavoured to answer it, but was most ably refuted by Dr. Stillingfleet in the Preface to the *Antiquities of the British churches*. The Culdees, an order of men, of whom we shall treat elsewhere, have been introduced into this controversy, concerning which, notwithstanding the assertions of Toland (*Nazarenus Part II. sect. 3*) and others, it is needless to add any thing further, it being at present universally admitted, that the whole fabric was founded on fiction; and it matters little what such a fabulous writer as Fordun might have thought as to the primitive nature of ecclesiastical government.

(131) See Usher, *Pr. p. 325 seqq.* and *Ind. Chron.*

(132) The words of Prosper, *Chron. Basso et Antiocho Coss.* (A. D. 431) are decisive on this point. "Ad Scotos in Christum *credentes* ordinatus a Papa Celestino Palladius *primus* Episcopus mittitur." This is the reading of Labbe's edition, which is considered as very accurate, *Nova Biblioth. MSS. librorum, Tom. 1.* The edition of Canisius and another from an Augsburg MS. both extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum, Lugdun. Tom. 8.* agree in substance with it. The former has "Ad Scotos in Christum *credentes* ordinatur a Papa Celestino Palladius et *primus* episcopus mittitur." The latter, "Ad Scotos in Christum *credentes* ordinatus a Papa Celestino Palladius *primus* episcopus missus est." Bede reads it also in a similar manner, as appears from his *Chronicle* and *Hist. Eccl. Angl. L. 1. c. 13*, in both of which he has the important words *Credentes* and *Primus*. Smith observes in a note to *c. 13.* now quoted, that the most ancient MSS. have these words. He says "*Credents—Primus.* Verba hæc sunt antiquissimorum Bedæ MSS. nec ullam mutationis admittunt suspicionem." The same reading is found in a heap of Chronicles mentioned by Usher, (*p. 799.*) who however was inclined to prefer the reading of a certain copy of Prosper, in which the word *primus* happened to be omitted. But he was too good a critic to rely on that single authority, and accordingly endeavoured to make it appear that, admitting the genuineness of that word, it might be understood of Palladius having been the first sent of the two bishops appointed by Celestine for Ireland, whereas St. Patrick was the second; or that *primus* may be explained *primarius* or chief bishop. These are forced explanations, and never would have occurred to Usher,

had he not wished to support the credit of the stories concerning Ailbe, Declan, &c.; nor do they agree with what Prosper has elsewhere; for, speaking (*De Gratia Christi contra Cassianum, cap. 41.*) of the spiritual benefit conferred upon the island by Celestine, he says simply, that he ordained a bishop for the inhabitants, *Ordinato Scotis episcopo*, whence it is clear that according to him they had no other bishop at that time; and Tillemont (*Not. 1. at St. Patrice*) was right in observing, that Usher's conjectures relative to *primus* were far from being solid. Some difficulties have been started also with regard to the word *Credentes*, chiefly founded on a passage of Nennius, (*Hist. Brit. cap. 53*) "Missus est Palladius episcopus primitus a Celestino Papa Romano ad Scotos in Christum *convertendos*." Hence it might be inferred, that Palladius's mission was to a land of mere heathens, among whom Christianity was until then scarcely heard of. Without entering into further disquisitions, it is sufficient to state, that the authority of Nennius, a comparatively late writer, does not deserve to be placed in competition with that of Prosper, who lived at the period of which we are treating and had the best opportunities of knowing the true state of Christianity in Ireland. Nennius, or whoever he borrowed that passage from, seems to have had the true text of Prosper before his eyes; but thinking it odd that Palladius should have been sent to a people, who were already believers, he changed *credentes* into *convertendos*, not reflecting that Prosper's object was not to exhibit Palladius as the first preacher of the Christian faith in Ireland, but as the first bishop appointed for the faithful there, and that it has frequently occurred, as the Bollandists justly observe (*Comment. Praev. ad S. Patr.*) that bishops have not been appointed for countries until a certain number of Christians were already living in them. He retained from Prosper's text the words *in Christum*, which agree very well with *credentes*, but not so with *convertendos*.

§. XVI. The person chosen for this purpose was Palladius, a deacon of the Roman church or, as some writers have called him, archdeacon, (133) who had already distinguished himself by his exertions for the object of delivering Britain from the infection of the Pelagian heresy. (134) From this and some other circum-

stances it appears very probable, that he was a native of that country, (135) as he is expressly called in an old document quoted by Usher. (136) Being consecrated bishop he set out for Ireland accompanied by some missionaries, four of whom, Sylvester, Solonius, Augustin, and Benedict, are mentioned by name in some of St. Patrick's Lives. (137) Where he landed is not particularly recorded; but it is very probable it was not far from where Wexford now stands; for we find him soon after in the territory called Hy-garchon, (138) of which Nathi son of Garchon (139) was then sovereign. It seems his arrival in that country was rather early in the year 431, the year of his departure from Rome, (140) whereas some time must be allowed for the first operations of his mission, which appear to have been successful. The most authentic accounts of it agree in stating that, besides having baptized some persons, he erected three churches, one called Cell-fine, in which he deposited the sacred books, and some reliques of St. Peter and Paul and of other saints, which he had brought from Rome, besides his writing tablets, all of which were preserved there with veneration for a long time after; another called Teach-na-Roman, that is, the house of the Romans; and a third under the name of Domnach-arda. (141) These churches are generally supposed to have stood in the territory now called the county of Wicklow, (142) and Domnach-arda is stated to have given its name to Donard (143) a village in the interior of that county.

As soon as the news of the progress of the mission and of its advancement into the very heart of the country reached Rome and other parts of the continent, fame, as usual, added to the pleasing information, and excited a confident assurance of its general success throughout the whole island. Hence Prosper did not hesitate to say, that through the exertion of Pope Celestine Ireland was become a Christian country. (144)

Prosper was not acquainted, when he announced such joyful tidings, (145) with the change which in the mean time had occurred with regard to Palladius. The success of his exertions alarmed the sticklers for polytheism, and he was denounced to Nathi as a dangerous person. That prince entered warmly into the views of the opponents of Palladius, who accordingly feeling himself unable to resist their violence, and being ordered to quit the country, found it necessary to withdraw, leaving however some of his companions, (146) who as being less known were not so much objects of persecution, to take care of his converts (147) and watch the more favourable opportunities for propagating the Gospel. He sailed from Ireland towards the latter end of the same year A. D. 431, (148) and, after being tossed about by storms, arriving in Britain, with the intention of thence proceeding to Rome, died not long after at, as is commonly said, Fordun in the district of Mearns in Scotland. (149)

Whoever considers the foregoing circumstantial account of Palladius' mission given by ancient writers at a time, when no rivalry existed between the Irish and British Scots, must wonder that persons could have been found either so ignorant, or so infected with national vanity, as to maintain, that he was sent by Celestine not to Ireland but to Scotland, (150) and that the object of his mission was not to preside over a new church and to propagate the Gospel, but to eradicate the Pelagian heresy. (151.)

(133) See Usher, p. 802. Alemand in his superficial book, *Histoire Monastique d'Irlande*, makes (*Introd. p. 2.*) Palladius a Canon Regular. But there was no such Order then at Rome. (See below *Chap. IV. §. 15.*)

(134) In Prosper's *Chron. Coss. Florent. et Dionys.* (A. D. 429) *ed. Labb.* we read, "Actione Palladii diaconi Papa Celestinus Germanum Antissiodorensem episcopum vice sua mittit, et deturbatis hæreticis Britannos ad Catholicam fidem dirigit."

(135) See Lloyd *On Church, &c. Chap. 2. § 4.*

(136) *P.* 1043.

(137) Second Life in *Tr. Th. p. 13.* Jocelín, *cap. 25, &c.*
See also Usher, *p. 812. seqq.*

(138) Colgan in a note *Tr. Th. p. 9.* says (and is followed by O'Flaherty and others) that Hy-Garchon is a maritime tract of the county of Wicklow; but the passage of Fiech's Scholiast, to which that note refers, runs thus: "Palladius—appulit in regione de Hy-Garchon in *extremis Lageniæ finibus.*" And Marian Gorman, quoted by Colgan (*ib. p. 374*), speaking in his Calendar of a St. Ermineus has, "Ermineus, id est, Mernocus de *Rath-noi* in Hy-Garchon, id est, in *Fotharta Lageniæ.*" By *Fotharta*, or, as pronounced in Irish, *Foharta*, most probably he meant a tract of country, of which the barony of Forth in Co. Wexford formed a part. The ancient Fotharta, or rather the seven districts of that name so called, as Keating and after him Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 143*) inform us, from Eochaid Fionn Fothairt a prince of the second or third century, comprized a very great part of Leinster. The town of Wexford, or the site on which it has been built, was in Fotharta. (See Archdall at *Fionmagh.*) But, as Rathnoi, mentioned by Marian Gorman, seems to be the same as Rathnew a place within a few miles of Wicklow, on comparing this circumstance with Fotharta and Hy-Garchon being as if identified, and with the statement of Fiech's Scholiast that Palladius landed in Hy-Garchon at the *extremity* of Leinster, it appears probable that Hy-Garchon comprized a great part of the present counties of Wicklow and Wexford, and that the landing place of Palladius was in some part of the latter county rather than of the former. Add to this that Nathi seems to have been a powerful prince and of sufficient weight to force Palladius to quit Ireland, and consequently sovereign of a more extensive country than a maritime district of the county of Wicklow. It may seem odd, that neither Hy-Garchon nor even Fotharta are mentioned by Harris, *Antiq.* or Beauford, *Ancient Topography of Ireland*, in Vallancey's *Collectan. Vol. 3d*; but I have frequently found, that those and other accounts of the ancient divisions of Ireland are very imperfect.

(139) According to O'Flaherty, (*Ogygia vindicated, chap. 16.*) the words, *son of Garchon*, are not to be understood as if Nathi was the immediate son of Garchon, but that he was of the family of

Garchon, and prince of the sept and country called Hy-Garchon, which name was derived from Garchon or Garchuo a personage well known in Irish history, and whose genealogy O'Flaherty, *ib.* traces up to Conchabar a king of Ireland in the first century.

(140) See above *Not.* 132.

(141) In the second Life of St. Patrick, which the Bollandists considered as one of the best, we read, *cap.* 24. “ Nam beatus
 “ simus Papa Celestinus Romanæ ecclesiæ archidiaconum nomine
 “ Palladium episcopum ordinavit, et in Hyberniam insulam, tra-
 “ ditis sibi beati Petri et Pauli et aliorum sanctorum reliquiis, ve-
 “ teris quoque et novi testamenti voluminibus datis, transmisit.
 “ Palladius terram Scotorum intrans in Lageniensium fines per-
 “ venit, ubi Nathi filius Garrechon comes erat, qui sibi contrarius
 “ erat. Aliis vero, divina misericordia stimulante ad divinum
 “ cultum, beatus Palladius in nomine S. Trinitatis baptizatis tres
 “ ecclesias in eodem pago construxit; unam quæ dicitur Cell-fine,
 “ in qua usque hodie libros suos, quos a S. Celestino accepit, reliquit,
 “ et capsam reliquiarum B. Petri et Pauli sanctorumque aliorum, et
 “ tabulas, in quibus scribere solebat, quas ex ipsius nomine Scotice
 “ *Pall-ere* (al. *Pallad-ere*) id est, onus Palladii vocant, cum
 “ veneratione habentur; alteram, id est, Thech-na-Roman; ter-
 “ tiam Domnach-ardec, (al. *Domnach-aracha*) in qua sunt (re-
 “ quiescunt) sancti viri de familia Palladii Sylvester et Salonius et
 “ ibi honorantur.” Fiech’s Scholiast says §. 13; “ Palladius ibi
 “ (in Hy-Garchon) fundavit ecclesias aliquot, nempe Teach-na-
 “ Roman, *ædem Romanorum*, Kill-fine, et alias.” An ancient
 author, quoted by Usher, (*p.* 812) agrees as to the three churches,
 and adds at Domnach-arte “ quam *dicavit* Silvestro et Solonio;”
 that is erected for their use and to be governed by them. Hence
 we may explain the origin of the mistake committed by the author
 of Usher’s Tripartite (*p.* 813.) in attributing the construction of
 that church and also of Teach-na-Roman to the disciples of Pal-
 ladius. In the fourth Life of St. Patrick (*cap.* 28.) we are first
 told that Palladius erected three churches, one of which was
 Cell-fine, and then it is said that his disciples built Teach-na-Ro-
 man, and a *third* church called *Dominica Arda*. Together with
 this incoherent statement, the author tells us that Palladius re-
 mained but a few days in Ireland, as if he could have made in so
 short a time as many converts as would require three churches.

Jocelin has also (*cap.* 25.) three churches, as erected by Palladius, and over which he left some of his disciples ; and in Colgan's Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 38.) they are mentioned by name and with all the circumstances given in the above quoted passage of the second Life.

(142) After a lapse of so many centuries it must be very difficult to determine the particular situation of those churches. As to Cell-fine or Kill-fine, none of our antiquaries have attempted to mention the place where it stood. Teach-na-Roman is placed, under the name of *Teachromham*, by Archdall, (*Monast. Hib.*) near the harbour of Wicklow. This he has done, as far as I can understand, on no other authority than on the supposition that the territory of Hy-Garchon did not extend far beyond that neighbourhood. For I do not find any church or place of that name in the modern topography of that country. Nor had he any right to say that Palladius founded an abbey there, as it was nothing more than a church with probably an habitation annexed for a few missionaries.

(143) Archdall *Mon. Hib.* and Seward *Topogr. Hib.* at *Donard*.

(144) Speaking of Celestine he says, *Lib. de gratia Christi contra Cassianum. cap.* 41. "Nec signiore cura ab hoc eodem morbo (Pelagian) Britannias liberavit, quando quosdam inimicos gratiæ, solum suæ originis occupantes, etiam ab illo secreto exclusit oceani: et ordinato Scotis episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam *Barbaram Christianam*." I hope none of my countrymen will be offended at the epithet *Barbaram* given by Prosper to Ireland. Whatever country did not form a part of the Roman empire was so called at that period. But there was a time, when that epithet was applied to Rome itself, considered relatively to Greece. Thus Plautus, *Prolog. ad Trinummum*; "Huic nomen Græce est *Thesaurο* fabulæ. Philemo scripsit, Plautus vertit *barbare*." Prosper's words have been strangely misunderstood by some writers. Ware, (*Annot. ad Op. S. Patr. p.* 107.) could not reconcile *fecit Barbaram Christianam* with *Scotos in Christum credentes*, of which above, *Note* 132. He interprets *Barbaram* by *infidelem*, and supposes that Prosper's meaning was that Ireland was quite an infidel country before Palladius' mission. But surely there is a great difference between a

country, in which some Christians may be found, and one in which Christianity is spread far and wide, as Prosper imagined was the case in Ireland after he had heard of the progress Palladius had made at first. Ware would fain strike out the word *credentes*, but finding the authorities for it too stubborn he says, that it is probably to be referred to the time when Prosper wrote his Chronicle, which was several years after he had written the tract against Cassian, and at which time the greatest part of Ireland was become Christian through the preaching of St. Patrick. This explanation is too absurd to merit any attention. It comes to this; Palladius was sent in the year 431 to the Scots, who were believers in Christ about the year 450. O'Flaherty (*Ogygia vindicated*, chap. 15.) stumbled upon a similar explanation of the word *credentes* in consequence of supposing, that by the *Scots believing in Christ*, as Prosper expressed himself, the whole nation was to be understood. Lloyd also, (*On Church, &c. chap. 2. §. 4.*) found himself puzzled in endeavouring to explain, how the island could be said to have been made Christian in Palladius' time, whereas in truth it was not; but at last he comes to this solution of the difficulty; "I should rather think with bishop Usher (*Prim. p. 798.*) that those words were only a good omination of Prosper's upon the sending of Palladius thither *possibly* upon his hearing at first better news than proved afterwards true." That *possibly* is not in Usher, and it is plain that Prosper had actually heard favourable accounts of Palladius' mission, although exaggerated, as Usher observes, by the trumpet of fame.

(145) Usher has with his usual sagacity observed, (*p. 798.*) that Prosper's book against Cassian was written not long after the mission of Palladius. Hence we may easily infer, that he had not then heard of the reverse, which Palladius met with.

(146) According to Jocelin (*cap. 25*) he left Augustin, Benedict, Sylvester, and Solonius in Ireland. Probus, (*Vita S. Patr. L. 1. c. 25.*) makes mention of Augustin and Benedict as having been in Britain with Palladius after his departure from Ireland. And in the other Lives of St. Patrick Sylvester and Solonius alone are spoken of as having remained behind, and being buried at Domnach-arda or Donard; (*2d Life c. 24.—4th c. 28.—Colgan's Trip. L. 1. c. 38.*) See above *Note 141.*

(147) Some writers speak in general terms of Palladius' mission

as if had been nearly fruitless; see Usher *p.* 812—814. But their words must be understood as referring to his not having succeeded in converting the great body of the nation, which was reserved by the Almighty for St. Patrick; and hence the adage so common in Ireland, “Not to Palladius but to Patrick did God grant the conversion of Ireland.”

(148) See Usher *p.* 814. All accounts agree that his stay in Ireland was not long, although not so short as to be confined to a few days. The Annals of Innisfallen (*ad A.* 431) state, that he remained one year in Ireland.

(149) Fiech’s Scholiast in *Tr. Th.* *p.* 5 says of him; “Coactus circuire oras Hiberniæ versus aquilonem, donec tandem *tempestate magna* pulsus venerit ad extremam partem *Modhaid* versus Austrum, ubi fundavit ecclesiam Fordun; et *Pledi* est nomen ejus ibi.” An old writer quoted by Usher (*p.* 814) says; “Palladius vero reversus est ut iret Romam, sed mortuus est in regione Britonum.” By the part of Britain, in which he died, is to be understood the country of the Picts, as appears from Nennius, Probus, Jocelin, and others quoted by Usher, (*p.* 812) as also from the 2d Life of St. Patrick, (*cap.* 23) the 4th Life (*cap.* 28.) and Colgan’s Tripartite *L. 1. c.* 38. They all agree as to *terra Pictorum*. The last mentioned work has; “Et cum ad suos reverti statuisset, morbo correptus in terra Cruthiniorum sive Pictorum decessit.” From so many concurrent testimonies it is evident, that the story of his having suffered martyrdom in Ireland (see Usher *p.* 814, and the 4th Life of St. Patrick, *cap.* 28.) was entirely without foundation, not to enlarge upon the silence of Prosper and of the Roman and other martyrologies as to such an event. Fordun or Fordoun, a small town in Kircandineshire or Mearns, which formed a part of Pictland, is stated not only by Scottish writers, (*ap.* Usher *p.* 671) but likewise in some old Irish documents to have been the place of his death. For instance, in the second Life of St. Patrick, *cap.* 24, we read; “Post parvum intervallum (after his leaving Ireland) defunctus est Palladius in campo *Girgin*, in loco qui dicitur *Forddun*: dicunt vero alii *martyrio coronatum* esse eum illic.” As to this martyrdom at Fordoun there is as little foundation for it, as for that in Ireland; the Picts of that part of Great Britain were at that time, at least a great proportion of them, Christians. *Campus Girgin* in Irish *Mag-Girgin*

(O'Flaherty marginal note to *Tr. Th.* p. 248) is the tract since called by corruption Mearns. By the country, which Fiech's Scholiast calls *Modhaid*, I should imagine he meant that of the *Mæatæ*, under whose name and that of Caledonians seem to have been comprized at a certain period all such parts of Great Britain as were not subject to the Romans. (See Usher, p. 1032.) If Fordun was a town of the *Mæatæ*, it will follow that some tribes of that name lived much more to the northward than Camden, who placed them in Northumberland, or H. Lhuyd who assigned to them the country about Lothian, were inclined to admit. (See Gibson's *Camden col.* 1065.) The memory of Palladius is still revered at Fordun, under the name of *Paldi* or *Pad*, and a chapel adjacent to a church is called Palladius' chapel. (Playfair's *Geography at Fordoun*.) It may be inquired how Palladius, after leaving Ireland, happened to arrive at a place so remote and in the North East of Britain. According to Fiech's Scholiast he had been driven by a storm as far as that country, and consequently should have sailed round the North of Scotland. It seems, however, more probable, that he landed somewhere in the North West, and thence continued his course by land until he arrived at Fordun, where he fell sick. I am inclined to think, that he wished to visit the newly converted Christians of that part of Scotland, *viz.* the Southern Picts, who, as Bede informs us, (*Eccl. Hist. L. 3. c. 4.*) had been instructed by the celebrated Ninian bishop of Candida casa, Whitehern in Galloway, now Whithorn in Wigtonshire, and whose country was included between the frith of Forth and the Grampian hills. (See Usher, p. 668.) The day of Palladius' death is variously given; 15th December, 25th December (both A. D. 431.) 27th January, and 6th July (A. D. 432.) See Colgan *Tr. Th.* p. 18. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. vind. chap.* 16. and below *Chap. IV. Not.* 153.

(150) It would be tiresome to repeat the fables of John Fordon, Hector Boethius, Polydore Virgil, and others concerning Palladius' arrival about the year 429 at Fordoun, by order of Pope Celestine; how splendidly he was received by Eugenius king of the Scots; how well treated were his followers by king Dongard successor of Eugenius; and how, during many years, which he spent among the Scots in Britain, he ordained bishops and archbishops, sent missionaries to the Orkney islands, &c. &c. A heap of this stuff has

been collected by Usher, *p.* 670. *seqq.* Now the fact is that Fordoun was not comprized in any Scottish kingdom until some hundreds of years afterwards, whereas, according to those same writers, the conquest of the country of the Picts, to which Fordoun belonged, by Kenneth, son of Alpin, did not take place until about the year 839. See Usher *p.* 715 *seqq.* and *Ind. Chr.* ad *A.* 838. Nor was there any such kingdom in G. Britain at the period we are treating of. Not to fatigue the reader with further authorities, Chalmers shows, (*Caledonia, Book 2. Chap. 6.*) where he has collected almost every thing that could be said on the subject, that the Scottish kingdom in the West of N. Britain did not commence until the year 503 under Loarn, who was succeeded by his brother Fergus. See also above *Note 29.* Besides all our old domestic historians, who agree as to Palladius having been sent to Ireland, we have Nennius, who, after mentioning his want of success, says that he went from Ireland to Britain; “*Et profectus est ille Palladius de Hibernia, pervenitque ad Britanniam, et ibi defunctus est in terra Pictorum.*” *Hist. Brit. cap. 53.* Prosper’s mention of an island as the theatre of Palladius’ exertions, an island distinct from Britain (see above *Not. 144*) is another incontrovertible argument against the foolish pretensions of Fordoun and his followers; the name of *island* could never have been given to what is now called Scotland. This argument has terribly puzzled some Scotch zealots. Poor Sir G. Mackenzie endeavoured to show, that Scotland might have been called an island in consequence of the Roman wall, by which it was separated from the rest of Britain. He might as well have said that China is an island on account of the great wall, that had been raised to keep out the Tartars. For a refutation of this silly evasion I refer to *Ogygia Vind. Chap. 15.* The same nonsense is repeated in Skinner’s *Eccl. History of Scotland, Letter IV.* in which we are told, that by the *barbaram insulam* Prosper meant the *barbarous* part of Britain, and that the country beyond the friths might be called an island. This is exactly in the manner of that notorious liar Dempster, Baron of Muresk, who in his rhapsodies here and there, *ex. c. Menolog. Scot.* at 14th March says, that the mountainous parts of Scotland were called Ireland. It is no wonder then, that some learned Scots now living reject the authority of such fabulous scribblers, or nu-

gatores, as Pinkerton calls H. Boethius, Dempster, &c. (*Pref. to Vitæ antiquæ sanctorum, qui habitaverunt in ea parte Britannicæ nunc vocata Scotia, &c.*) See also Chalmers, *Caledonia, passim*. I shall conclude this subject with referring the curious reader to Usher p. 671. Colgan *Tr. Th. p. 245. seqq.* Lloyd on *Church, &c. Chap. 2. §. 4.* Stillingfleet, *Antiq. Pref. and Chap. 2.* O'Flaherty *Ogyg. Vind. &c.*

(151) No ancient writer has said that Palladius was sent to Britain for that purpose, although he had been instrumental in procuring the mission of St. German. (See above *Not. 134.*) But to admit with Prosper and all others, who had treated of him, that he was sent to a nation as yet little advanced in Christianity, ill accorded with the Scottish stories concerning the flourishing state of religion in N. Britain since the time of Pope Victor and the beginning of the third century. Accordingly Boethius and some other authors of the like stamp found it necessary to give a new object to his mission. They have been followed by Buchanan, (*Rer. Scot. L. 5. at king Dongard*) Spotswood, (*History of the Church, &c. of Scotland, B. 1.*) Mackenzie, &c. This unfounded notion seems to be still prevalent with some people in Scotland; for I find in the *Statistical Account* of that country, compiled by Sir J. Sinclair, Palladius spoken of as having been sent by Pope Celestin to oppose the Pelagian heresy! *Vol. IV. p. 499, at Fordoun.*

CHAPTER II.

*The existence of St. Patrick demonstrated.
Objections to it answered.*

SECT. I.

THE great work of the general conversion of the people of Ireland was reserved by the Almighty for the ministry of St. Patrick according to the Irish adage, that *not to Palladius but to Patrick did God grant the conversion of Ireland.* (1.) Notwith-

standing this adage and the constant testimony and tradition of all the old writers and inhabitants of the country, corroborated by the universal consent of all the ecclesiastical historians, who have touched upon the affairs of Ireland, and the extraordinary reputation, which our great Apostle has enjoyed throughout the Christian world, some persons have ventured to throw out certain ridiculous objections against the very existence of so celebrated a saint. A Dr. Ryves, a Master in Chancery about the year 1618, had some doubts concerning the time, at which St. Patrick lived, but did not dare to contest his existence. (2) This audacious paradox was to appear in our own times, and has been ushered into the world by Dr. Ledwich in that book, to which he has given the title of *The Antiquities of Ireland*. Whether he be the original inventor of it, or, as rumour says, the copyist of some papers on this subject handed over to him by a late ingenious Irishman very little versed in Ecclesiastical history, who, it seems, was ashamed to announce it in his own name, is of small consequence; and Dr. Ledwich must remain responsible for this daring outrage on learning and truth. As to Ryves, who having applied to Usher on the subject wished also to consult Camden, Usher, enclosing a letter of his, thus writes to the latter; (3) "I gave him good leave to discredit, as much as he list, that pack of ridiculous miracles, which latter writers had fastened upon St. Patrick; but wished him in no wise to touch the credit of that worthy man himself, nor to question his succession to Palladius, nor to *cast him unto lower times*, contrary to the consent of all writers, that ever make mention of him." Camden agreed with Usher as to the *ridiculous* miracles being fabricated by late writers, and consequently affording no argument against the true history of St. Patrick. The mighty Ledwich, coming forward to support Ryves, accuses those two great men of "deviating strangely from strict veracity." "For (he continues)

the Roman martyrology, Erric of Auxerre, Nennius and others never omit St. Patrick's miracles, when they name him; they are both coeval and from the same mint." (4) What a medley of equivocation and bad reasoning? The Roman martyrology has in general terms at 17 *Mart.* that St. Patrick was distinguished by very great miracles and virtues; *maximis miraculis et virtutibus claruit*. Erric of Auxerre merely says, (*De Miraculis S. Germani, cap. 12.*) that St. Patrick illustrated Ireland by his learning, miracles and virtues, &c. "*Eam (Hiberniam) doctrina, miraculis nunc quoque et in perpetuum mirificis apostolatus sui illustrabat (Patricius) privilegiis.*" Nennius indeed goes farther, (*Hist. Brit. cap. 58.*) attributing to him the healing of the blind, lepers, and deaf, casting out devils, as likewise the recalling of some persons to life; "*Sanctus itaque Patricius Evangelium Christi prædicabat, virtutes apostolicas faciebat, cæcos illuminabat, leprosos mundabat, surdos audire faciebat, dæmones ex obsessis corporibus fugabat, mortuos IX resuscitavit.*" Will the Doctor say, that these were ridiculous miracles? If so, he must apply the same epithet to those of the Gospel. This is not the sort of miracles that Usher alluded to, but some truly ridiculous ones, related by Jocelin, and in two or three other Lives of St. Patrick, none of which, however, occur in Fiech's hymn or in his Scholiast. Many similar foolish miracles are attributed to St. Dunstan and others. But surely no man of common sense would thence conclude, that such persons never existed. The fact is, that stories of that kind are in themselves strong proofs of their having existed, and of their having been held in great estimation.

The other argument adduced by Ryves was founded on the silence of Platina, (at Pope Celestine) concerning St. Patrick, although he had mentioned the mission of Palladius. Upon this Usher remarks in the above quoted letter; "You easily may see what little credit the testimony (or the silence rather)

of so late an author, as Platina is, may carry to bear down the constant agreement of all our own writers." Ledwich does Platina the honour to say, (5) that "few were more conversant in ecclesiastical history than he." This alone is sufficient to show, how little the Doctor knows about ecclesiastical history; and every one, who has read Platina's meagre accounts of the Popes, cannot but perceive, that they are miserably deficient and frequently incorrect. The fact however is, that Platina in the few words, which he has about Palladius having been sent to the Scots, merely followed Prosper; nor was he bound to mention the mission of St. Patrick, as it was sufficient, according to his abridged method, to name the chief of that mission, who was Palladius. For, as we shall see hereafter, St. Patrick had been already appointed a member of that same mission, and not, as many have thought, newly constituted for that purpose by Celestine after Palladius' death. It might as well be asked, why did not Platina, or Prosper before him, give us the names of such of the members of that mission, as accompanied Palladius to Ireland; for surely no one will imagine, that he went all alone upon such an important errand. In the same manner Platina (*ib.*) mentions the mission of St. German to Britain, without saying a word concerning Lupus of Troyes or his other companions.

(1) Jocelin *cap.* 25. Usher *p.* 813.

(2) The sceptical conjecture of Maurice, *Defence, &c. cap.* Ledwich, (*Antiq. p.* 364, first edition, the one which I usually quote) thrown out without any sort of argument, is not worth the pains of inquiring into. I do not find in Hanmer any denial of the existence of St. Patrick, as Dr. O'Connor insinuates, *Columbanus' third Letter, p.* 48. 53. What Hanmer says (*Chron.*) is, that the Christian religion did not *first begin* in Ireland by St. James the Apostle, nor by St. Patrick. He then talks of Colman, who baptized Declan, and relates the old stories about the said Declan, Ailbe, Kieran, and Ibar. Next he proceeds to an account of St.

Patrick, which he gives in the usual manner, without the least indication of his having doubted of his existence. As to Keating's answers to Hanmer mentioned *ib.* (p. 53) they have nothing to do with the present question. Keating's animadversions on Hanmer (*Pref. to History of Ireland*) refer to his having said, that St. Patrick ought not to be called the first Apostle of Ireland, to something observed by Hanmer about Patrick's purgatory, and to other trifling matters. Dr. Ledwich must not be robbed of the honour of being the first writer, that has exerted his powers to strip St. Patrick both of soul and body.

(3) Usher's Letters; No. 33. (4) *Antiq.* p. 363. (5) *Ib.*

§. II. Having now done with Ryves, let us see what Ledwich gives us from himself. He does not scruple to say; (6) "It is an undoubted fact that St. Patrick is not mentioned by any author or in any work of veracity in the 5th, 6th, 7th or 8th centuries;" and he adds that Nennius and Erric of Auxerre, who lived in the ninth, are the oldest writers, that make mention of him. In answer to this false and, as will soon be seen, wilfully false statement, I shall first adduce St. Patrick himself, of whom there are two tracts still extant, one entitled his Confession, and the other his Letter against Coroticus. Not to anticipate what the reader will find elsewhere (7) concerning these most valuable documents, it is sufficient at present to observe that, besides their being considered as genuine by Ware, who first published them (8) from very ancient manuscripts, by the Bollandists, (who gave a new edition of them (9) from a *MS.* different from those used by Ware) and by Tillemont, (10) &c. &c. they bear internal marks of their high antiquity. Of these I shall here mention but one, which has been already noticed by Tillemont. In the Letter against Coroticus St. Patrick says, that "it was the custom of the Roman and Gallic Christians to send holy men with large sums of money to the *Franks* and other nations (or Gentiles) to redeem the baptized captives. (11)" This letter there-

fore must have been written while the Franks were still pagans, and consequently before A. D. 496, the year that Clovis and his followers became Christians. The fervour of Clovis after his conversion is too well known to leave any doubt, that any of his Franks would have dared to make Christian captives after that period. But the fact is, that the Franks were still hovering on the frontiers of Gaul, when the Letter was written, and had not yet advanced much into that country, their progress having been but slow until after the decisive battle of Soissons in the year 486. It is ludicrous enough to observe, how the Doctor refers to the very passage now quoted as a proof of the Letter not being genuine. "Whoever" he says (12) "writ this was but little acquainted with the state of Italy under the Gothic princes, or of the French under the Merovingians." What has the state of Italy to do with the question? Is it because *Roman* Christians are spoken of? The Doctor seems not to know, what every one moderately versed in history is acquainted with, that the name, *Romans*, used to be given to the Roman colonists and their descendants, who were settled in the provinces belonging to the Roman empire. Thus there were Romans living in Britain, which Prosper calls a Roman island; Romans living in Gaul, to whom St. Patrick alludes, Romans in Spain, &c. The truth is, that no one but a person well informed of the state, not of France but of Gaul before it became France, and of the predatory incursions of the Franks before their conversion to Christianity, could have written in the manner we have seen.

This mighty critic declares the Confession to be a rhapsody of travels, miracles, &c. (13) It is not, however, a rhapsody of misrepresentations and sophisms. It is really a most edifying tract, breathing all through sentiments of the most profound humility and a zeal truly apostolical. I allow that such profane scoffers at truth and religion, as Ledwich,

cannot feel any relish in the perusal of such works. There is scarcely any miracle mentioned in it, and in the visions therein recorded we find nothing puerile or unworthy of the operation of the Almighty. Tillemont was so struck with the spirit, that pervades it and the letter against Coroticus, that he considered St. Patrick as more like the Prophets and Apostles than the other saints who appeared after them. (14) The Doctor urges against the authenticity of the Confession the omission of some circumstances, which are mentioned in some of St. Patrick's Lives, *ex. c.* his "relationship to St. Martin and his advancement to the episcopate of Ireland by Pope Celestine." One would imagine, that such omissions should be considered by him as proofs of its authenticity, whereas he rejects those very circumstances as fabulous, (15) where it suits his plan to do so. The works, in which such matters occur, are denounced by our Aristarchus as fabulous; but here comes a work in which they do *not* occur; therefore, he says, it is spurious. Bravo, thou mighty reformer of Irish history! As to the rest, St. Patrick's object in writing the Confession was not to give an entire history of his own life.

(6) *Antiq.* p. 375.

(7) Below *Chap.* VI. VII.

(8) *S. Patric.—Opuscula.* London, 1656.

(9) At 17 *Mart.* The Bollandists or, as Ledwich calls them, Bollandus, (for he seems not to know, that after the death of Bollandus there were such men as Henschenius, Papebrochius, &c. who continued with extraordinary learning and judgment the great work first undertaken by him) are on one occasion, together with Tillemont, favourites with our Doctor, "liberal, learned, and enlightened Roman Catholics" (p. 366.) because they have said, that several of the writers of St. Patrick's Lives were very fabulous. They, however, admitted and maintained the authenticity of those two tracts of St. Patrick. Nor is it true that, as he states, (*ib.*) Bollandus, *i. e.* the Bollandists, declared the whole of the Irish sanctology to be a "compilation of arrant fblers, and

not older than the 12th century." For, besides their acknowledging that some of those Lives of St. Patrick were derived from more ancient documents, yet with many interpolations, *ex. c.* Colgan's *Tripartite*, they allow, with regard to other parts of what Ledwich calls the *Irish sanctology*, that many of the Lives of our saints are very ancient, such as those of Pulcherius, Ytha, Maidoc, &c. See at *Pulcherius*, 13 *Mart.*

(10) *Memoires*, &c. *Tom.* 16. at *St. Patrice*. I am really astonished at Dr. O'Connor's assertion (*Columbanus' 3d Letter*, p. 49.) that St. Patrick's Epistles are rejected as spurious by Tillemont. Under the name *Epistles* he must have meant to include that against Coroticus, and I know of no other epistle now extant as supposed to be of St. Patrick, unless his Confession may be so called, as it seems to have been by some persons. (See Ware's *Præf. ad Opusc.* &c.) Dr. Milner, whom Dr. O'Connor was animadverting upon, had appealed to the Confession and the *Ep. ad Corot.* (*Tour in Ireland*, Letter XI.) Hence I suppose, that Dr. O'Connor comprized the Confession under the title of *Epistles*. Now Tillemont expressly maintains the genuineness of both tracts, and lays it down that they are the surest authorities for a true Life of St. Patrick. He doubts indeed of the Canons, that go under St. Patrick's name, being entitled to so remote a date, but does not insinuate the least suspicion against the antiquity of either the Confession or the Letter.

(11) "Consuetudo Romanorum et Gallorum Christianorum; mittunt viros sanctos idoneos ad *Francos* et cæteras *gentes* cum tot mil. solidorum ad redimendos captivos baptizatos." It is probable, that by *gentes* he meant gentiles, in which sense I find it used in the Confession, p. 7. Ware's *Ed.* Whether or not is of little consequence, whereas the Franks, who used to carry off Christian captives, could not have been Christians themselves at that time.

(12) *P.* 161.

(13) *P.* 160.

(14) *Memoires*, &c. at *St. Patrice*, *Art.* 1.

(15) See p. 371, 372, and the whole of *Chap.* XV.

§. III. The Canons attributed to St. Patrick, (16) and in which his name so often occurs, afford another invincible argument against Ledwich's assertion. I

will not now inquire, whether they were all collected during St. Patrick's life time, or all actually delivered by him or in synods held under his presidency; but this much I can state as certain, that several of them were drawn up at a time, when paganism was far from being extinct in Ireland. Among the canons of the synod of Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus the eighth begins thus: "Clericus si pro *gentili* homine fidejussor fuerit." In the thirteenth we read; "Eleemosynam a *Gentibus* offerendam in Ecclesiam recipi non licet." And in the fourteenth; "Christianus qui—more *Gentilium* ad aruspicem meaverit." See also *Can.* 20. 24. From these Canons it appears, that Pagans were generally mixed with Christians at the time they were framed. Now it is certain that since, at the latest, the middle of the sixth century (17) very few traces of paganism were to be found in Ireland; and from that period the zeal of the holy men of this country for propagating the Gospel began to be directed to foreign parts, as there was little or no necessity for their exertions at home. Witness the spiritual labours of Columb-kill, Columbanus, Gallus, &c. Accordingly, should it be even admitted, which however I see no reason for, that the above quoted canons were not made by our Apostle, yet, as they existed before the middle of the sixth century, and were given to the public in his name, it is plain that he must have been well known in Ireland at that distant period.

(16) They have been published by Ware, (*Opusc. S. P.*) Spelman, (*Concil. Vol. 1.*) and Wilkins (*Concil. M. Britannicæ et Hibernicæ Vol. 1.*). Several of them, together with other Irish Canons, have been published also by D'Achery (*Spicilegium Tom. 9,* and in De la Barre's edition *Tom. 1.*). Dachery in a *Monitum* says, that the whole of them were made before the eighth century. Martene and Durand have added some more old Irish Canons. (*Thesaur. nov. Anecd. Tom. 4.*)

(17) It is scarcely worth while to notice a Ledwich-like assertion of Campbell, who in his flimsy book, *Strictures on the Ecclesiastical and Literary history of Ireland*, objecting to the rapid progress of Christianity in this country says, p. 98, that in *after-ages*, that is, after St. Patrick's time, paganism was found "loitering in the land, and sometimes maintaining its ascendancy in the highest stations." And yet for his *after-ages* he appeals only to the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh. According to him Dermot, monarch of Ireland, who, having reigned 20 years, was killed in battle about the year 560 (4 Masters, and Colgan *Tr. Th.* p. 6—450—663.) was a pagan. If so, he was a strange sort of one; for it was he, who granted to the great Kieran Clonmacnois, the island Inis-Aingean, and very many other places for his monasteries; Usher *Pr.* p. 957. As to his transactions with Columbkil, to which Campbell alludes in a very ignorant manner, and of which O'Donnel has written largely in his *Life of Columbkil*, it is sufficient at present to observe that, so far from showing that he was not a Christian, they prove directly the reverse. I wish Campbell had told us where he read that Dermot had a Druid in his retinue; he had, I know, bards or poets according to the custom of the Irish princes; but those bards were Christians. Then he says that Congall, who reigned in the beginning of the 7th century, was a pagan, and is said to have burnt all the clergy at Kildare. Now there was no Congall king of Ireland at that time, nor is there the least mention, in any authentic document, of such burning of the clergy at that period. There was a Conal (or Congal) who together with his brother Cellach began to reign over Ireland A. D. 642, (Usher *Ind. Chron.*) but they were both Christians. A king of the name of Congal reigned in the beginning of the eighth century. O'Flaherty says he began to reign A. D. 704, and that his reign lasted seven years; *Ogygia*, p. 432. Some stories had been fabricated concerning him, as if he had been a persecutor of the Church, and committed great atrocities at Kildare, of which, however, not one word is to be met with in the detailed account of that place given by Colgan, *Tr. Th.* and Archdall *Mon. Hibern. &c. &c.* Keating has these stories, *Book 2.* at A. D. 693. Warner adds that Congal was a pagan; *Hist. of Ireland* p. 315. Campbell followed Warner, but he mistook the eighth for the seventh cen-

ture. The least knowledge of Irish history is sufficient to show, that the nation would not have recognized a pagan sovereign at that period. So far from Congal being a pagan and a persecutor, his reign was remembered with gratitude as prosperous and peaceable, and himself represented as a beneficent prince. O'Flaherty quotes an Irish distich to that purpose. See also O'Halloran, *Hist. of Irel. Book IX. Chap. 5.* He is spoken of as a Christian in Colgan's *AA. SS. p. 454—744, &c.* was a near relative of Dunchad, who became Abbot of Hy in the year 710, and grandson of the pious king Donald the second. (See *Tr. Th. p. 448.*) Next he quotes a passage full of lies from a so called Life of Gildas, the falshood of which Usher had exposed long ago, *Pr. p. 907.* and after him Colgan *AA. SS. p. 189. seqq.* To their remarks I shall merely add, that, as the blundering author of that stuff to other praises of his saint adds that of having refuted and reclaimed heretics in Ireland, it would follow, according to him, that Christianity had been already widely diffused through the country. The fact however is, that no heresy existed among us in Gildas' time, for which we have the authority of the great S. Columbanus, who survived him by some years, and who writing to a Pope asserted, that Ireland had never yet been tainted with heresy. "*Nullus hæreticus, nullus Judæus, nullus schismaticus fuit.*" So much for, as Ledwich calls him, *p. 159,* "the learned and ingenious Dr. Campbell, whose talents and accomplishments do honour to his native country." Yet this pair of worthies do not always coincide in opinion; for Campbell did not call in question the existence of St. Patrick; but on the contrary, as if knowing what his comrade was about to give to the world, he writes, *p. 87;* "Nor should it impeach the history of St. Patrick, that its unlearned writers have interspersed it with miracle and blemished it by fable. Livy abounds with prodigies, yet Livy is the prince of historians," &c.

§. iv. I shall pass over the Irish hymn or Metrical account of St. Patrick attributed to Fiech bishop of Sletty, who certainly lived in the fifth century. The Bollandists and some other judicious critics doubt of his having been the author of it. But it does not follow, that it is not very ancient, and most pro-

bably not later than the seventh, or perhaps the sixth century. The discussion, however, of this point might lead us too far at present. For the same reason I shall not here enlarge on the argument furnished by the Latin hymn ascribed to Secundinus one of St. Patrick's first companions, (18) and in which the saint is spoken of as still living. From the style and other circumstances it is easy to perceive, that it was composed long before the Doctor's favourite century, the ninth, as will evidently appear lower down.

(18) See below, *Not.* 28.

§. v. In the seventh century we have a witness of unquestioned authority, Cumman author of the learned letter to Segienus, abbot of Hy, concerning the Paschal question. (19) This letter was written, according to Usher's calculation, in the year 634, (20) and is more than once highly praised and even analyzed by Ledwich. Cumman arguing from various cycles refers in the first place to that, "which," he says, "St. Patrick our Pope brought with him. (21)" This was well known to the Doctor, who, it appears, had read the whole epistle with attention, and even tells his readers that Cumman "enters on an account of the various cycles, as those of *Patrick*, *Anatolius*, *Theophilus*," &c. (22) But in another place, (23) giving likewise an analysis of the same epistle, and referring to the cycles adduced by Cumman, he omits that of Patrick, while he carefully mentions those of *Anatolius*, *Theophilus*, *Cyrl*, &c. What shall we say of such a proceeding as this? Is it not a wilful suppression of the truth, and a shameless imposition on the public? Or what can we think of a man, who, knowing that Cumman had spoken of St. Patrick, as the Pope or bishop of the Irish nation, has the effrontery to appeal to that same Cumman to prove, that St. Patrick was an ideal personage? (24)

(19) It is the 11th letter in Usher's *Sylloge Ep. Hibern.*

(20) *Pr. p.* 937 and *Ind. Chron.*

(21) “Primum illum, quem sanctus Patricius Papa noster tulit—secundo Anatolium—tertio Theophilum,” &c. In ancient times the title *Papa, i. e. Father*, used to be given to other bishops besides the bishop of Rome.

(22) *Antiq. p.* 63. (23) *p.* 169. (24) See *p.* 368.

§. VI. A very interesting document, belonging to the same century, has been published by Mabilion. (25) It consists of Litanies for the use of the Anglican church in that age. He found them together with a copy of the Psalms in the library of Rheims, written in the old Anglo-Saxon characters. Besides St. Gregory the great and other saints prior to that period, they contain the names of St. Patrick, St. Brindan (Brendan), St. Carnach, St. Munna, Columcille, St. Brigid, &c. Not one of the saints famous in England about the latter end of the seventh century is mentioned in them; not Cuthbert, Wilfrid, Aidan, Aldhelm, Laurentius, Mellitus, &c. whose names would certainly not have been omitted, had those Litanies been of a later period.

The *Antiphonarium Benchorense* is probably of equal antiquity. It belonged to the monastery of Bangor in the county of Down, and is now in the Ambrosian library of Milan, whither it was removed from the monastery of Bobio. It has been published by Muratori, who considered it as written in the seventh or, at least, the eighth century. (26) Dr. O’Conor maintains, that it must have been written before the year 691. (27) It contains a hymn in honour of St. Patrick *teacher of the Scots*. (28)

(25) *Vet. Anal. Vol. 2. p.* 669. *seqq.*

(26) “Edidi jam ego vetustissimum Antiphonarium celeberrimi monasterii Benchorensis in Hibernia, seculo Christi septimo aut saltem octavo exaratum, quod temporibus Caroli magni Dungalus monachus Scotus Ticinum deportavit, et Bobiensi deinde monasterio dono dedit.” Muratorii *Opera, Arezzo, 1771. tom. 13. part. I. p.* 240. This Antiphony may be seen in Muratori’s *Anecdota Am-*

broisiana, Tom. IV. Patavii, A. 1713. He thought, that it was about a thousand years old. It may be doubted whether Dungal was, as Muratori says in the above quoted passage, the person that presented it to the monastery of Bobio; for, although he gave many books, among which some antiphonaries, (see below *Not.* 138 to *Chap.* XX.) to that monastery, yet that of Bangor is not specially mentioned in the catalogue of said books; and it is not improbable that it was in the library of Bobio, before Dungal went to Italy in the early part of the ninth century. As St. Columbanus, the founder of said monastery, had been a monk of Bangor, a certain intercourse was kept up between both places. In his preface to it in *Anecdota Ambros.* Muratori makes no mention of Dungal, but strives to make out the age of it from what is said towards the end concerning Cronan, abbot of Bangor, who seems to be spoken of as alive when it was written.

(27) In his *Epistola nuncupatoria (Rerum Hibern. Scriptor.)* he treats learnedly of the age of the *Antiphonarium Bencho-reuse*, and states that the copy, published by Muratori, was written at a time when Cronan was abbot of Bangor. He then asserts (*p.* 167.) that this Cronan died in 691, although Archdall (at *Bangor*) assigns his death to 721. Thus it appears that said copy belonged to the seventh century. Dr. O'Connor refers to said work, in his Third Letter under the name of Columbanus, (*p.* 58) for what he had said of that *MS.* But in this letter there must be an error of the press; for, instead of A. 640, before which it is here said that it was written, we ought to read, conformably with the *Epistola*, &c. A. 691.

(28) *Hymnus S. Patricii magistri Scotorum.* It is the hymn attributed to St. Secundinus, of which more elsewhere.

§. VII. The illustrious Adamnan flourished in the seventh century, and died early in the next. (29) His *Life of St. Columba*, or *Columb-kill*, in three books, is most highly esteemed by the best critics, none of whom have called its genuineness into question. It is frequently referred to by our Doctor, as a work of authority. For example, arguing against the rights of the see of Armagh and the mission of St. Patrick, he urges, (30) that Adamnan in his *Life*

of Columba has not a word about Armagh, its bishop, or primacy. Let me observe incidentally, that this is a ridiculous argument; for surely Adamnan was not writing an ecclesiastical history of Ireland, nor does he speak of any Irish bishop except such as some particular circumstance of the acts of St. Columba had a reference to. We might as well ask the Doctor, why Adamnan has not made mention of the Asiatic missionaries, who, according to him, were the founders of Christianity in this country. In another place, (31) talking of his favourite church of Aghaboe, he tells us that it was noticed by Adamnan in the *sixth* century. The poor Doctor must be always bungling. Adamnan lived not in the sixth, but in the seventh and eighth centuries. Now this same Adamnan makes express mention of St. Patrick in the second preface to his work; “*Quidam proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, sancti Patricii episcopi discipulus, Maveteus* (32) *nomine, ita de nostro prophetavit patrono,*” &c. The Doctor knew this well, whereas he quotes (33) four long lines of that same short preface relative to the name *Columba*. Notwithstanding all this he appeals, in the same barefaced manner that, as we have seen, he did to Cumian, also to Adamnan, to prove that St. Patrick was an ideal personage. (34) It was, I dare say, the apprehension of his being obliged to acknowledge that Adamnan has spoken of our Apostle, that induced him to omit, in his paltry review of Irish literature, (35) an account of the writings of Adamnan. And elsewhere (36) he has endeavoured to undermine the genuineness of the three books of Columba’s life; 1st, because miracles and visions are recorded in them; and 2d, because the author “never mentions the sentiments of Columba or his Culdees on the points disputed between them and Rome, as Bede does, nor his dying command to his disciples to continue Quartadecimans,” As to miracles and visions, it would be useless to attempt a discussion with such

a staunch *philosophe* as Ledwich ; but his other argument contains almost as many falsehoods as words. Columba never had any dispute with Rome, nor does Bede say any such thing. Columba died in the year 597, the very year, in which the monk Augustin arrived in England from Rome, (37) and consequently several years before the paschal and tonsural disputes began. The monks of Hy were not Culdees. The Irish were never Quartadecimans, as Ledwich might have learned even from Bede, and it is a most impudent assertion to state, that Columba gave any such dying command as this audacious scribbler has invented. On these subjects more in their proper place.

(29) A. D. 704. Usher *p.* 702 and *Ind. Chron.* The 4 Masters (*Tr. Th. p.* 498.) have A. 703 ; which, considering their mode of reckoning the years, was the same as A. 704.

(30) *p.* 390. (31) *p.* 396.

(32) Usher calls him Mochtheus ; *Pr. p.* 855. 1047. (33) *p.* 59.

(34) *p.* 368. (35) *Chap.* VII. (36) *p.* 404.

(37) See Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

§. VIII. We find St. Patrick's name in a very ancient little tract concerning the Liturgy, of which Usher writes thus in his above quoted letter to Camden ; “ Yet have I seen in Sir Robert Cotton's “ library an ancient fragment written *before the time* “ *of Bede*, wherein St. Patrick is not only menti- “ oned, but also made to be as ancient in time as “ hitherto we have still believed him to have been. “ It was found among Mr. Josseline's papers.—If “ you—will be pleased to transcribe that place of it, “ where the tradition of the Liturgy from man to “ man is described (for there this mention of St. Patrick is to be found)” &c. The Doctor alluding to this fragment says ; (38) “ A Cotton *MS.* recording “ St. Patrick is much boasted of ; surely we might “ expect to find in Usher's *Primordia*, published

“ twenty-one years after his writing this letter to
 “ Camden, an account of its possessors, its letters,
 “ and language, so as to enable us to form some
 “ judgment of its antiquity ; but none of these ap-
 “ pear, if I recollect right, in that work. A Cot-
 “ tonian *MS.* occurs, but *it is not noticed as remark-*
 “ *able for age or contents.*” It is almost impossible
 to read this man’s silly effusions with patience. In
 direct opposition to what he here says, Usher has
 given extracts from that fragment, and in the lan-
 guage (Latin) in which it was written, in various
 parts of his *Primordia*, and quotes it as a *MS.* in
 the Cotton library, adding that it was written nine
 hundred years before ; that is, early in the eighth
 century, and calling it an anonymous tract on the
 Origin of ecclesiastical or liturgical offices. (39) In
 one of the passages quoted by Usher it is said, that
 German and Lupus had instructed the blessed Pa-
 trick, and placed him as archbishop in Ireland, &c.
 (40) The *MS.* referred to by Usher may be seen
 at this day among the Cotton *MSS.* in the British
 Museum. (41)

(38) *p.* 363.

(39) See *Pr.* *p.* 343, 840, 916. The whole tract has, as already
 observed (*Not.* 37. to *Chap.* I.) been published by Spelman *Con-*
cil. &c. *Vol.* 1. *p.* 176, and Wilkins, *Concil.* *M. B.* &c. *Vol.* 4.
App. *p.* 741.

(40) *Beatum Patricium* spiritaliter sacras literas docuerunt atque
 enutrierunt, et ipsum *episcopum* per eorum prædicationem (*pro*
eorum prædicatione, Spelman,) *archiepiscopum* in Scotiis ac Bri-
 tanniis posuerunt.” *Pr.* *p.* 840.

(41) *Columbanus’ third Letter ; p.* 54.

§. ix. Next comes Bede, in whose Martyrology,
 as well as in the Roman, and those of Usuardus, Ra-
 banus, Ado, &c., the festival of St. Patrick in Ire-
 land is marked at the 17th of March. (42) This is
 acknowledged by the Doctor, (43) who, however, after

having railèd most indecently against Calendars and Martyrologies in general, (44) says, without adducing any argument, that it is very doubtful whether Bede wrote a Martyrology or not. This is really carrying too far the system of imposing on his readers; for Bede tells us himself, not by a bare hint, but in express terms, that he had composed such a work. (45) It is true that some additions have been made to it, which have been carefully distinguished by critics from Bede's original text. Not to quote Giorgi and others, let it suffice in this place to refer to the truly excellent and accurate edition of that work given by Smith, (46) in which the words above quoted (47) are set down as those of Bede himself. Here then is a most respectable witness, prior to the ninth century; for Bede died before the middle of the eighth, viz. A. D. 735. Notwithstanding all this, the Dr. is not ashamed to say, (48) that St. Patrick "was not heard of when Bede died in 735." But, it is objected, Bede has not mentioned our saint in his Ecclesiastical history, although he speaks of Palladius. What then? was he bound to do so? What had St. Patrick to do with the ecclesiastical affairs of the Anglo-Saxons, who did not become Christians until much more than a hundred years after his death? As to Bede's having made mention of Palladius, it is plain that he has done so only incidentally in consequence of, while having Prosper's chronicle before him, his entering upon some transactions in Britain during the reign of Theodosius the younger. Meeting on his way the passage relative to Palladius, he introduced it, in Prosper's own words, into his text in an indirect manner, and not as concerning any main object of his narrative. (49) And it is clear that, had he not so met with that passage, most probably he would not have left us a word about Palladius. Bede was in the habit of copying passages verbatim from old writers, *ex. c.* from Orosius, Eutropius, &c. Nor does he mention in that

work any Irish saints, except such as had been engaged in converting the Anglo-Saxons, or other inhabitants of G. Britain, such as the northern Picts; or those Irishmen, who distinguished themselves on the paschal and tonsural questions. In like manner he has not mentioned several eminent British saints, of whose existence no doubt is entertained, whereas their acts did not come within the sphere of his undertaking; for instance, Kentigern, David, and many others. (50) I wish the Doctor would explain to us, how it has happened that the *Asiatic missionaries*, of whom he is so fond, are not to be met with in any of Bede's works. St. Patrick's name is also in the very ancient Martyrology, which existed before the times of Bede, usually called that of St. Jerome.

(42) "In Scotia S. Patricii Confessoris." *In Scotia i. e. Hibernia*; Smith, *ed. of Bede's Historic. &c.*

(43) *p.* 366.

(44) Not meaning to follow Ledwich through all his wild and incoherent vagaries, I refer the reader on this subject of Calendars, &c. in general, to Dr. Milner's Tour in Ireland, *Letter XII.* where he will find some just castigatory remarks on our hero's sceptical positions. I shall merely add, that Usher, Camden, Stillingfleet, Cave, &c. did not treat those venerable registers with disrespect. This unlearned impudence was reserved for our times.

(45) In the enumeration of his works given by himself at the end of his History, *L. 5. c. 24.* or *Recapitulatio*, he mentions "Martyrologium de natalitiis sanctorum martyrum diebus, in quo omnes, quos invenire potui—diligenter adnotare studui." D'Achery has published *Spicileg. Tom. 4.* a short martyrology in verse, said to have been written by Bede, in which St. Patrick is mentioned at March. It is certainly very ancient; for the last saint mentioned in it is Wilfrid, who died in 732, the year after Bede finished his history. It was written in England, and is particular in marking English saints.

(46) Bede's *Historical works*; Cambridge, 1722.

(47) *Not.* 42. (48) *p.* 375. See also *p.* 368.

(49) Bede's text runs thus; "Anno dominicæ incarnationis

423. Theodosius junior post Honorium—regnum suscipiens viginti et septem annis tenuit, cujus anno imperii octavo Palladius ad Scottos, &c.” *L. 1. cap. 13.*

(50) Pinkerton, (*Vitæ antiquæ Sanct. &c.*) in a note to the Life of Kentigern, very judiciously observes; “Beda non meminit Kentigerni; sed æque siluit de *Patricio*, Davide, Dubritio, Asapho, et aliis sanctis Brittonum: nam historia ejus solummodo ad Anglos spectat.”

§. x. It would be useless to trouble the reader with further testimonies (51) on a matter so clear, and concerning which no doubt has been entertained by any of the numerous critics, who have appeared during the last 200 years, and who have with indefatigable industry examined and collated a multitude of documents, that exist relative to the ecclesiastical history of Europe, and particularly to the lives of Saints. And it would be very extraordinary, that so many Memoirs of St. Patrick should have been written, as there have been ever since the sixth century, if no such person had ever been amongst us. For, whatever may be thought of some of the tracts still extant called his Lives, it is certain that much older documents did once exist. (52) Or how could it have happened, that so many places not only in Ireland, but in Scotland should have been distinguished by his name, and that so many churches or chapels should have been erected under the title of St. Patrick not only in the British Islands, (53) but in other parts of Europe? (54)

(51) See Columbanus' third Letter, *p. 58.* A passage there partly quoted, as from the *Metrical Life of Willibrord* by Alcuin, is not in that work but in his *Miscellaneous poems*, and is as follows; “*Patricius, Cheranus, Scottorum gloria gentis—Atque Columbanus, Congallus, Adamnanus atque—Præclari patres, morum vitæque magistri—Hic pietas precibus horum nos adjuvet omnes.*” Alcuin's *Works—Poemata. No. 246. p. 1736. Paris. 1617.* Alcuin died A. D. 804.

(52) Jocelin says, *cap.* 186. that sixty-six tracts or Memoirs (not Lives as some have understood him) had been written concerning the Acts of St. Patrick, the greatest part of which were destroyed during the Danish persecution. Colgan's Tripartite has the same number *L. 3. cap.* 99. and gives the names of some of the authors, (*ib.* and *L. 1. c.* 69.) for instance Columb-kill, Ultan, Adamnan, Eleran the wise, &c. Columb-kill lived in the sixth century, the three latter in the seventh. The Memoirs of Tirechan, so often quoted by Usher, were probably the same as those here ascribed to Ultan; see *Pr. p.* 818. In the Calendar of Cashel, one of the most respectable monuments of our ecclesiastical history, and written early in the eleventh century, St. Kienan of Damliag (Duleek) is stated to have written a Life of St. Patrick. He died, according to the four Masters, A. D. 488 (489). Archdall has followed them at *Duleek*. Colgan was inclined to assign him to the sixth century (*Tr. Th. p.* 217). One of his arguments is of no weight; viz. that, if he died in that year, he should have written the Life of St. Patrick, while still alive. For, as will appear hereafter, St. Patrick died several years before 489. At any rate, the age, in which Kienan lived, was long prior to the ninth century.

(53) Wherever the Scoto-Irish settled in G. Britain, there were churches erected under the name of St. Patrick; ex. c. in Argyle, &c. Several of the old churches in the Hebrides went under his name. (Martin's *W. Isles*, p. 27. Chalmer's *Caledonia*, V. 1, p. 266.) Will it be said, that the inhabitants of those countries and islands adopted from Ireland a saint, who was unknown to their forefathers, and to Columba and the others who had introduced Christianity among them? And this long after the Scots of Ireland and those of Britain ceased to be closely united. There was a St. Patrick's church in the Isle of Man. (Camden, *col.* 1449. Gibson's *ed.*) It is worthy of particular notice, that the old church of Glastonbury in Somersetshire, which existed before the reign of Ina, king of Wessex, and consequently before A. D. 689, was called the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of St. Patrick. (*Monast. Anglic. Tom.* 1. p. 12.)

(54) See Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 7—315. Until within not many years there was a church under the name of St. Patrick just close to the city of Pavia, erected perhaps not long after the great Co-

lumbanus, whose name is still famous in that part of Italy, was kindly received by the Lombards, of whose kingdom Pavia was the capital.

§. XI. I shall now briefly touch upon some objections brought forward by the Doctor. We have already seen of what little avail is the silence of Platina in this question, and that Adamnan and Bede, far from favouring his system, are unexceptionable witnesses to the contrary. He asks why Cogitosus has not given certain particulars relative to St. Patrick. (55) A strange question as coming from a man, who says, (56) that the work of Cogitosus is supposititious and unworthy of credit. Yet I allow that it is genuine, although not so ancient as some have imagined. But why expect an account of St. Patrick from a writer, whose only object was to give some acts of St. Brigid, and whose tract is not properly a Life of that saint, but a panegyrical discourse concerning her virtues, miracles, &c. ? Cogitosus enters so little into historical facts, that he does not even tell us in what part of Ireland St. Brigid was born, nor mentions the names of any of her contemporaries except those of her father and mother, of bishop Machille, from whom she received the veil, and of Conlaeth bishop of Kildare.

Next he appeals to the disagreement between the Irish clergy and the Roman missionaries, who had been sent to preach to the Anglo-Saxons. How, he argues, (57) could such a disagreement have taken place, if St. Patrick had received his mission from Rome? It will be seen hereafter how it could have occurred, and that it was very natural it should. Meanwhile it will be sufficient to observe, that this argument, admitted in its fullest extent, would prove nothing more than that St. Patrick did not come to Ireland direct from Rome; but it would not follow that he had never existed, nor that we should go as far as the Doctor's favourite Asia to look for the

apostles of Ireland. In this rambling discussion of his I find some falshoods as usual. He says that the letter of Laurence, bishop of Canterbury, and two other prelates to the Irish Clergy (58) was written about A. D. 604. He could have easily learned from Usher, that said letter was written in the year 609. (59) He tells us, that St. Patrick was then dead but a hundred years. Now, even according to the vulgar opinion, which places the saint's death A. D. 493, he was then dead 116 years. But it will appear in its proper place, that St. Patrick died near thirty years earlier. He adds, that the letter of the clergy of Rome to five Irish bishops, &c. was in the year 630. The same great authority, Usher, might have taught him, that the date of this letter was A. D. 640, or, at the earliest, 639. (60) Then he repeats his nonsense, on which I have remarked already, concerning Columba and his Culdees differing from Rome in doctrine and discipline.

Another mighty objection is deduced (61) from the variety of opinions relative to the place of St. Patrick's birth, whence the Doctor would fain conclude, that he was never born at all. This is really ludicrous. Our hero would do well to let the world know where he was born himself; for many persons of my acquaintance, who have seen his book, are ignorant of the place, that can boast of his origin. But, to be serious, are there not doubts entertained concerning the birth-place of Constantine the great and many other eminent men, whose existence has never been questioned? In arguing against St. Patrick having been born in the country, now called Scotland, he exhibits a monstrous degree of ignorance. I know that our saint was not born in that country, nor in any part of G. Britain, but I should be ashamed to use such an argument as his, the sum of which comes to this: "St. Patrick is said to have been the son of Calpurnius a deacon, whose father was Potitus a priest; *atqui* there could be no priests

in that country at that period, whereas the *southern Scots* did not receive the faith till 412, nor the *northern* until 565 ; *ergo*, &c.” In the first place he confounds the Picts with the Scots ; the people converted about A. D. 412 by Ninian were the Southern Picts, whose country lay to the north of the frith of Forth ; (62) those converted about A. D. 565 by Columb-kill were the northern Picts, whose territory was far up in the N. W. of Scotland above Argyle, &c. Secondly the part of G. Britain, in which many have said that St. Patrick was born, viz. about Kirkpatrick, did not belong, in his time, to either the Picts or Scots, but to the Roman province in Britain, which extended as far as the friths ; and there can be no doubt but that Christian families were to be found to its very northermost boundaries.

(55) p. 368. (56) p. 166. (57) p. 368, *seqq.*

(58) *Ap. Bed. L. 2. c. 4.* (59) *Pr. Ind. Chron.*

(60) *Ib. and Syll. Ep. Hib. p. 22.* (61) p. 371.

(62) See above *Not. 149 to Chap. I.*

§. XII. The Doctor next rakes out (63) every foolish expression that he could find in some late writers concerning St. Patrick, as if, because those writers had been mistaken in some points, it were to be concluded that there had been no such person. For instance, some one had said, that our saint was for a time a Canon of the church of St. John Lateran at Rome. Oh! exclaims this wonderful critic, there were no Canons there in his time. Well then, granting it, what is the consequence? Nothing more than that St. Patrick was not a Lateran Canon. But surely it does not follow, that he was an *ideal personage*. Some authors have given him the title of *arch-bishop*. Upon this the Doctor thus animadverts ; “ Here *all his biographers*, ancient and modern discover their ignorance of ecclesiastical history.” And supposing they do, how can their ignorance affect the

existence of St. Patrick? But the fact is, and it is somewhat remarkable that Probus, and the authors of the second and the other older Lives of our saint published by Colgan, (64) never give him that title, although they speak of him as the Apostle of Ireland and presiding over all the churches of the country. Even Jocelin, who copied much from ancient documents, does not in the course of his book call him *archbishop*, notwithstanding his mentioning the archiepiscopal see of Armagh and its archbishops. (65) I find, indeed, that title applied to St. Patrick in the preface to Colgan's Tripartite and also in Usher's Tripartite, (66) both which works are evidently of a later date than that of Probus, and the second Life, &c. above alluded to. In the hymn attributed to Secundinus St. Patrick is simply called *bishop*. (67) It is odd, however, that the Doctor should object in any manner to the title of *archbishop*; for, immediately after the words above quoted, he adds; "*On the establishment of Christianity, to preserve to the bishop of the metropolis his rank, the title of archbishop was invented.*" If so, that title was in use a very long time before the age of St. Patrick. And then he tells us that Cyril, bishop of *Jerusalem*, was honoured with it at the Ephesine council, A. D. 431. He ought to have known, that the said Cyril was dead about 45 years before that council was held. But whatever may have been the date of that title, of which this is not the place to treat, (68) it has nothing to do with the question of St. Patrick's existence, although the use or disuse of it may serve as a clue towards discovering the periods, at which some of his biographers lived.

(63) p. 372. (64) *Tr. Th.* (65) *Jocel. cap.* 143.

(66) See *Pr. p.* 849.

(67) *Audite omnes amantes Deum sancta merita—Viri in Christo beati, Patricii episcopi.*

(68) See Bingham, *Orig. Eccl. B. 2. ch.* 17.

§. XIII. Another equally potent argument is squeezed (69) out of its having been said, that St. Patrick had been decorated by a Pope with the Pall and constituted his legate in Ireland. Now, says the Doctor with an air of triumph, there were no Palls bestowed in Ireland until A. D. 1152; nor was the legatine office known until the year 787. As to the latter point he is grossly mistaken; for we find persons acting with the power of legates in the Pope's name not only in the time of Gregory the great, but as far back as the days of Pope Leo in the middle of the fifth century. I do not, however, mean to uphold the story of the legateship of St. Patrick. His jurisdiction and powers, relative to his mission, were as extensive as could be required, without his having received such a special appointment. With regard to the Palls, the Doctor happens for once to be right. But why talk of these things, which were never spoken of until Jocelin, alluding to the customs of his own times, interlarded his account of St. Patrick with them? Usher rejected these stories, (70) but he had too much sense to imagine, that by so doing he weakened the true history of the saint; our Doctor has a mode of arguing different from that of Usher and of the generality of mankind.

(69) *p.* 372. (70) *Pr. p.* 870.

§. XIV. At length we are come to the winding up of his system. To show how St. Patrick was set up as the patron saint of Ireland in the ninth century, he tells us (71) that in said century Pagan practices were introduced, and that, as Rome had her Mars, Athens her Minerva, &c. so it was thought convenient to invest saints with the patronage of Christian nations. This may serve as a sample of the profaneness, with which this audacious scribbler is wont to treat of ecclesiastical subjects. He then talks of illiteracy, superstition, and clerical imposition. Led-

wich to charge others with illiteracy ! As to superstition, could he have adduced any positive proofs of its prevalence among the Irish of that period ? And as to clerical imposition, he should have looked to himself, before he touched upon such a delicate point. Next he brings on the stage Dyonisius the Areopagite, St. James, &c. Pray, what has all this to do with the simple question of fact, *viz.* whether there was such a person as St. Patrick, who is said to have preached the Christian faith in Ireland ? Those random declamations against fables and mistakes are of no weight in such an inquiry as this. The point is to show, how and by whom St. Patrick was actually forced upon the people of this country and of all Europe in the ninth century, without having been ever heard of before. The Doctor indeed makes an attempt at such an explanation, and it is curious to see what sort of a one it is. The Danes or Ostmen were the authors of this fabrication ! “ At this very “ time, (the 9th century) the name of St. Patrick “ first appeared, and at this time the Ostmen were in “ possession of Ireland and of Armagh in particular, “ and now his reliques were placed there. These “ facts and dates most exactly agree, and therefore “ I conjecture, and I think on good grounds, that “ the Christian Ostmen, who seized the old Culdean “ abbey at Armagh, in imitation of others of that “ age, procured reliques and fixed on St. Patrick as “ their owner, then had a flaming legend composed, “ setting forth the wonderful life, actions, and mira- “ cles of the new saint.” (72) This is the wonderful discovery, the *ipse dixit* of our great antiquary. And how well arranged ! “ The name of St. Patrick *first appeared at that time ;*” a false assertion, and of which he could not give any proof. “ At the same time the Ostmen were in possession of Ireland and of Armagh.” Of all Ireland they were not either then or at any time ; nor did they ever, in their most prosperous days, *possess* as much as one half of

Ireland, although they ravaged the greatest part of it. It is true, that several times in that century they got possession of Armagh. It was, for the first time, taken by them and plundered A. D. 830. (73) It was, together with its churches, burned by them in the year 839. (74) Farannan the primate and all the religious and students were expelled from Armagh by Turgesius, prince of those Ostmen or Danes, in 848. (75) The city was again laid waste by them A. D. 852. (76) Amlave one of their chiefs, besides killing a great number of the inhabitants, plundered and burned it in 867. (77) Maelcob, the bishop of Armagh, was made prisoner by those *pagans* A. D. 879. (78) The Danes of Dublin plundered Armagh, and committed great havoc there in the year 895. (79) During this whole period, which brings us to the end of the ninth century, the Danes, or, as the Dr. calls them, the Ostmen were pagans, and continued so for several years after. Where then are we to look for the *Christian Ostmen*, who seized the old *Culdean abbey at Armagh* in the 9th century? The Doctor refers us to Archdall's *Monasticon Hib.* as his authority. Let us then hear Archdall; "A. D. 919. Godfred Hua Himhair (son of Ivar) king of the Danes in Dublin, plundered the town (Armagh) sparing only the churches, the Colidei, and the sick; but the annals of Innisfallen place this event in the year 921." (80) The poor Doctor placed that year in the 9th century, in the same manner as, I suppose, he would call the century, in which we now live, the eighteenth; so little does he know even of the manner of reckoning time. Was it from Archdall he learned, that the Ostmen seized the *old Culdean abbey at Armagh*, or that there was such an abbey there at all? Let him then learn at last, that those Colidei of Armagh were, as will be seen hereafter, the officiating clergy of the cathedral. And who told him, that the Ostmen of that day were Christians? Although pagans, they

might have spared churches, &c. Ware states (81) that the Danes of Ireland were converted to Christianity about the year 948, and that the first of them recorded as Christians were in the time of Godfrid, son of Sitricus, who succeeded Blacar as king of Dublin in that year. I am inclined to think, that the Sitricus here mentioned was the same as Sitricus, king of Northumberland, to whom king Athelstan gave his sister Editha in marriage, on condition of his becoming a Christian. Sitricus had three sons, Reginald, Anlaf, and Godfrid. The two latter are generally supposed to have been born of a former marriage. But it is very probable, that Godfrid, following the example of his father, became a Christian. (82)

To return to the Doctor, what shall we now say of his ninth century, Christian Ostmen, &c.? According to himself, (83) St. Patrick was spoken of in the year 858. But the Ostmen, who procured reliques, &c. for him, were not Christians until about 100 years later. Or is there any one so stupid as to imagine, that the whole Irish nation would have adopted a saint first introduced by their bitterest enemies, and that Armagh, a town so often plundered and burned by them, should be foremost in paying them that compliment? The Doctor ought to know, and so he did when it suited his views, (84) that a very great antipathy existed between the two nations, even after the conversion of the Danes, and that the Danish clergy of Dublin and the Irish clergy of Armagh were constantly at variance. What then could have bewitched him to advance such a monstrous paradox as that, which has been now exploded? I know not how to explain it, except by asking another question, viz. What will not an adventurous charlatan in history and theology dare to announce, in order to forward some paltry purposes?

(71) p. 373. (72) p. 391.

(73) 4 Masters and *Tr. Th.* p. 295. Their *A.* 830 was the same as 831.

(74) *Ib.* 839, *i. e.* 840. (75) Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(76) Usher, *ib.*

(77) *Tr. Th.* p. 295, as corrected by O'Flaherty, *MS note.* Ware has *A.* 869. *Antiq. cap.* 24. Archdall misquoted Colgan in placing that event *A. D.* 873. *Mon. Hib.* at *Armagh.*

(78) *Annals of Ulster,* and Usher p. 860, and *Ind. Chron.*

(79) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24.

(80) *Mon. Hib.* at *Armagh.* Archdall has merely followed Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 296, except as to the year of the annals of Innisfallen, with which Ware agrees.

(81) *Antiq. cap.* 24 *ad A. D.* 948.

(82) See J. P. Murray, *De coloniis Scandicis in insulis Britannicis et maxime Hibernia*; §. 14. 15. *Nov. Comment. Soc. R. Goetting.* vol. 3.

(83) p. 375. (84) See p. 392.

§. xv. The Doctor endeavours to impose upon his readers by insinuating, (85) that our St. Patrick might have been the same as a Patrick of Auvergne, whose name occurs in the Roman martyrology at the 16th of March, or a Patrick of Nola, whose memory is celebrated there on the 17th of the same month. What he has on this subject he has taken from Usher, whose meaning, however, he misrepresents in a point of some consequence. Usher, having observed (86) that Patrick of Auvergne is placed at March 16 in Usuard's and the Roman martyrology, adds, that a Patrick is commemorated at Nola on the 17th, for which he quotes no martyrology, nor indeed could he, but a Calendar of Nola referred to by Philip Ferrarius. The Doctor very cunningly, after heading his paragraph with the authority of the two martyrologies, and having mentioned Patrick of Auvergne, subjoins; "the 17th of March is dedicated to Patrick, bishop of Nola;" thus wishing to make the reader believe, that the name of Patrick of Nola is given at that day in the martyrologies; while the

fact is, that St. Patrick of Ireland is in them without any mention of Nola. And, let us observe the Doctor's tergiversation with regard to martyrologies. He had abused them all (87) and endeavoured to decry their authority, because all of them have our Apostle in the plainest terms at March 17; but now he has such a respect for them, that he would fain foist into them a person, whom they have not. Supposing even that a St. Patrick of Nola was mentioned at that day in the martyrologies, would it follow that our St. Patrick never existed? Might not there have been two or more saints of the same name affixed to one day? Or, if any confusion had occurred in those names, would it not be more natural to suppose, that Patrick of Nola was never bishop of that see but in reality the same as our St. Patrick, whose memory, it is well known, was and is still highly revered in many parts of the continent? (88) Such a mistake could easily originate in our St. Patrick's festival being kept at Nola on the usual day. The learned and laborious Ughelli, who was certainly more partial to Italy than to Ireland, not finding any thing authentic concerning a bishop of Nola of that name proposed this conjecture, (89) which is also approved of by the Bollandists. (90) As to Patrick of Auvergne, or any other Patrick that may occur in the calendars, why conclude from the mere identity of name, that there was no such person as our St. Patrick? But of those Patricks more in the proper place. What would the Doctor think, were any one to undertake to prove that there had been no such saint as Peter of Alexandria distinct from Peter the apostle, or that John Chrysostom was no other than St. John the evangelist?

(85) p. 375. (86) *Pr.* p. 897. (87) p. 365. *seqq.*

(88) See *Tr. Th.* p. 315.

(89) *Italia Sacra*; Tom. 6. at *Nolani episcopi.* p. 250. *ed. A.*

1720. Ferrarius says there are no acts extant of such a bishop of Nola. *Catal. Sanct. &c.* 17 *Mart.*

(90) *Ad 17 Mart. p.* 506.

§. XVI. He now enters into polemics, (91) in which I will not follow him. I shall only observe that, however he may falsify the transactions of former days, he ought not to corrupt the text of such prayers as are used at present by his neighbours. He quotes two prayers, as if from the Catholic breviary, without giving the Latin text. The former he adduces as recited on St. Patrick's day, and makes the Catholics address God in it, as if they prayed to be able *through St. Patrick* to fulfil what he commandeth. Now I maintain, that there is no such prayer used in any part of the Catholic church, nor any prayer of similar import to be found on any saint's festival. The prayer on St. Patrick's day is this; *Deus, qui ad prædicandum Gentibus gloriam tuam beatum Patricium confessorem atque pontificem mittere dignatus es; ejus meritis et intercessione concede, ut, quæ nobis agenda præcipis, te miserante adimplere possimus. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, &c.* "O God, who hast vouchsafed to send the
 "blessed Patrick, a confessor and bishop, to preach
 "thy glory to Gentiles, by his merits and interces-
 "sion grant that by thy mercy we may be able to
 "fulfil those things, which thou commandest us to
 "do. Through Jesus Christ our Lord, &c." Our honest Doctor left out *through Jesus Christ*, and, instead of these words, inserted *through him* (St. Patrick). He refers us to the book of the peculiar offices of Irish saints printed A. D. 1769. I have three copies of those offices, the first of the year 1751, the second of 1767, and the third of 1792. In none of them is there either a prayer or lessons for St. Patrick's day; whereas the whole office of St. Patrick is contained in the Roman breviary. And whatever his edition of 1769 may contain, I

assert that it has not such a prayer as that produced by him, and defy him to publish the original Latin. In some breviaries used on the Continent we find (92) forms of prayers for St. Patrick's day somewhat different from that now given, in none of which, however, is to be met with any thing like what he has obtruded on the public. The Dr. gives another prayer, as if from the anniversary of the finding of the reliques of St. Patrick, &c. For this also he refers to his book of the year 1769. Whether that prayer be genuine or not, it contains nothing reprehensible, except that the word, *adore*, has been substituted by him for *revere*. It is a shame to have recourse to such artifices. But the Doctor was well accustomed to them; witness his abominable perversion (93) of the meaning of a passage of St. Irenæus, quoted by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical history, and in which the saint complains of certain innovators, chiefly Asiatics, who happened to be at Rome. The Doctor, with his usual candor, applies the passage to the church of Rome itself. As my object is not controversy, I refer the reader, for a fuller exposure of this base proceeding, to Dr. Milner's *Tour in Ireland*; Letter XVI.

I have now done with the question of the existence of St. Patrick. For as to some minor exceptions thrown out here and there, such as those relative to the Paschal controversy, the monastic rule of St. Patrick, &c. it will appear in the course of this history, that they are of no weight whatsoever. To enter into these discussions at present would be an anticipating of what will be found hereafter treated of at large. Nor will it be expected, that I should tire the public or myself with animadverting on some insignificant writers, who, being totally ignorant of the subject, or wilfully blind, have followed in the same track. We shall, however, meet with the Doctor often again, and he must be dealt with according to his merits.

(91) *P.* 377.(92) See *Tr. Th.* p. 189. *seqq.*(93) *P.* 360.

CHAPTER III.

Of the principal ancient documents relative to the history of St. Patrick—The place of his birth, in all appearance, Bononia now Boulogne sur mer in Picardy—Observations on the Aremoric tracts, and on the ancient continental Britain—The saint's family connexions—No relatives of his in Ireland.

SECT. I.

THE variety of opinions, and the many questions which have been agitated, concerning the country and time of St. Patrick's birth, his relatives, education, travels, ordination, &c. &c. render a previous discussion on these and other matters connected with them necessary; as otherwise the thread of this history should be constantly and unavoidably interrupted. I shall therefore endeavour to clear up the disputed points, and to lead the reader through this labyrinth, from which when once extricated we may be able to continue our course in a more steady and regular manner.

In these inquiries my principal guides shall be, next after St. Patrick's Confession and his Letter against Coroticus, Fiech's hymn or metrical sketch of the life of our saint, and the Life by Probus. In the former, which, as already observed, has a claim to very high antiquity, the narrative runs smooth and regular; nor do we find in it any of those ridiculous miracles, that disgrace some of the later Lives. There are extant some Scholia or notes on that hymn, which are usually quoted under the

title of Fiech's Scholiast. They were written partly in Irish and partly in Latin, and have been published by Colgan, (1) who pretends that they are prior to the end of the sixth century. It must be allowed, that some of those notes bear marks of very high antiquity, while in others it is easy to perceive traces of a later date, and of a period at which the accounts of St. Patrick were already disfigured by fables and contradictory anecdotes. On collating them it appears, that they were not the composition of one person. For instance in Scholion 5. the Letha mentioned in the Hymn (2) is properly explained by Armorica or the maritime tract of the N. W. of Gaul, while in Scholion 11. it is interpreted "Latium, (3) *i. e.* Italy." In Scholion 9. we read, that on a certain occasion St. Patrick said; *Dar mo dhe broth*, which is explained, *God is able to do this if he choose*; and yet immediately after, as if to correct the author of that explanation, it is added that *Dar mo dhe broth* was a sort of asseveration familiar to St. Patrick, signifying; *by my God judge or of judgment*. On the whole it is evident that the Scholia, as we have them at present, are a compilation of observations, some more some less ancient, extracted from various writers.

(1) *Tr. Th.* p. 4. Usher now and then refers to them. See *Pr.* p. 827—831.

(2) *Strophe* 5.

(3) Colgan also made the same mistake in translating Letha *Latium*. This is not his only mistranslation of passages of the Hymn. The translation in the Appendix to the *Life of St. Patrick* by my late friend Mr. Patrick Lynch, *Dublin*, 1810, differs in some points from that of Colgan.

§. II. The *Life of St. Patrick* by Probus in two books (4) is a very valuable work. Colgan indeed was not friendly to it, because, he says, it does not agree, especially in the first book, with some of the

other Lives. This is the very reason, why it is far preferable to them. It has nothing about Colgan's favourite visionary town Nemphthor in North Britain, but quite the reverse; nor any of the foolish miracles attributed to St. Patrick, when a child, in the tracts, to which Colgan was most uncritically partial. The author sticks very closely to the Confession and the Letter against Coroticus. The Bollandists, otherwise sharp enough with regard to the Lives of St. Patrick, yet looked upon this by Probus as very useful, particularly towards a regular arrangement of the Acts of our saint. (5) There have been some questions concerning the author's country, and the time in which he lived. (6) As to his country, it is evident from himself that he was an Irishman. Speaking of St. Patrick's having passed through Great Britain, and thence embarking for Ireland he says, that he entered upon *our* sea. (7) He represents the harbour, at which St. Patrick arrived, as a very famous one *with us*. (8) He calls St. Patrick *our* most holy father. (9) Some writers have imagined, that he lived in the seventh century; but from his making mention of Normandy (10) it is evident that he must be placed as low as the tenth. Dr. Milner, conceiving that he belonged to the seventh, endeavours to prove it by stating, (11) that "he is named among the respectable authors, whose works were in the library of York cathedral in the eighth century, by the celebrated Alcuin." (*De Pont. et SS. Eccl. Ebor. ap. Gale XV. Scriptores.*) This is a strange mistake, nothing being more clear than that the Probus, mentioned in that poem published by Gale, was the same as the celebrated grammarian of that name spoken of by Suetonius (*De ill. Grammat. 24*) and who in the poem quoted is classed with other grammarians. (12) Ware assigns our Probus to some time after the beginning of the tenth century; (13) and Colgan, who is followed by Nicholson, (14) was inclined to that opinion. (15)

I think there can be no doubt but that he was the same as Coeneachair (in Latin, *Probus*) who was chief lecturer of the school of Slane, and was burned to death in the tower of that place by the Danes, A. D. 950. (16) The Paulinus, whom he addresses, and at whose request (17) he wrote his work, was, I dare say, no other than Mal-Paulinus (for, as Colgan observes, the names, according to the Irish idiom, were the same) bishop and abbot of Indenen, a place not far from Slane, (18) who died A. D. 921. (19) In this supposition it will follow that Probus must have written either before, or, at the latest, in the year now mentioned.

(4) It was first published among Bede's works *Tom. 3.* of the edition of Basil, A. 1563. Colgan republished it in the *Tr. Th.* with the author's name prefixed, and under the title of fifth Life.

(5) *Comment. Præv. ad V. S. P.* 17 Mart. §. 4.

(6) See Usher, *Pr. p.* 817. and Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 61.

(7) "*Mare nostrum—adiit.*" L. 1. c. 25.

(8) "*Utique apud nos clarissimum.*" L. 1. c. 27.

(9) L. 2. c. 41. (10) L. 1. c. 10.

(11) *Additional note to p. 94. Tour in Ireland.*

(12) "*Quid Probus atque Focas, Donatus, Priscianusve,*" &c. v. 1556. Let me here be allowed to observe, that Gale was mistaken in attributing that poem to Alcuin, as it is plain that it was written after his time. Not to adduce other proofs, it will suffice to remark, that Alcuin's own works are spoken of in it as being in the library; v. 1552. Casimir Oudin thought it probable, that the author was Fridegod, a monk, who lived early in the 10th century; *Comment. de Script. Eccl. Tom 2. col.* 467, 468.

(13) *Irish Writers.* (14) *Irish Historical library.*

(15) *Tr. Th. p.* 61.

(16) See below *Not. 140 to Chap. XXII.*

(17) See L. 2. c. 41.

(18) *Tr. Th. p.* 219 and Archdall at *Indenen.*

(19) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 64. at A. 920 (921.)

§. III. Of the other Lives, published by Colgan, those, which he calls the second, third, and fourth, are full of fables, and seem to have been copied either from each other, or from some common repository, in which those stories had been collected. It is true that now and then we meet with some genuine remains of the true history of St. Patrick, particularly in the quotations from the Confession. It would be idle to adduce the many proofs, which they constantly exhibit of their having been patched up at a late period. Yet, strange to say, Colgan would have us believe, (20) that the second Life was written by a Patrick called *junior* or some other disciple of St. Patrick; the third by Benignus, likewise a disciple of his, who died A. D. 468; (21) and the fourth by Eleran the wise, whose death is assigned in our Annals to the year 664, *i. e.* 665. (22) As to the second and third Lives, Colgan's general argument is, that Jocelin names, (23) as the authors of four tracts concerning St. Patrick that existed in his time, Benignus, Mel, Luman, and a disciple called Patrick. Now he argues from certain data of his own, that neither Mel nor Luman could be the authors of either of those two Lives; therefore it remains, that they were written by Benignus and Patrick junior; and then from some other conjectures he assigns the second Life to this Patrick, and the third to Benignus. But supposing even, what Colgan had no means of proving, that Jocelin alluded to those said Lives, surely it is ridiculous to allege the authority of such a credulous and fabulous writer in an inquiry of this sort, and in direct opposition to the internal evidence, which the tracts themselves abundantly furnish. He adduces indeed a passage of the second Life (*cap.* 31.) in which, on mention being made of a bishop Loarn, a contemporary of St. Patrick, it is said that he *is* in Inreathan (a place near Downpatrick). Honest Colgan did not reflect, that this was a manner of speaking, which frequently

occurs in the old tracts of our ecclesiastical history, and which means nothing more than that the remains of a person were in the place where he is said to be. Thus in that same second Life (*cap.* 24.) Sylvester and Solonius, two of Palladius' companions, are said to be in Domnach-ardec, that is, as appears from the sequel, their mortal remains. In consequence of not having made this observation Colgan has brought himself into innumerable difficulties and anachronisms, and committed heaps of blunders. He has adduced a similar argument in favour of Benignus being the author of the third Life; but, unfortunately for his hypothesis, the author, whoever he were, plainly indicates that he lived long after Benignus. For he mentions (*cap.* 38) Erc, son of Degeo, whose memory, he says, is revered in the town of Slane. Now Erc, according to the 4 Masters and Colgan himself, (24) died A. D. 512. As to his attributing the fourth Life to Eleran, his argument is really curious. Having found that among many others, who lived at various periods, Eleran was named as an author of Memoirs of St. Patrick, and being forced to acknowledge that said Life could not have been written before the seventh century, he looked out for one of the oldest of those authors, and thus fathered that production on Eleran, who, by the bye, would never have merited the epithet, *wise*, had he been the compiler of the many fooleries, which it contains.

(20) *General Preface to Tr. Th. and Notes here and there to those Lives.*

(21) *Annals of Ulster, and Usher Ind. Chron.* (22) *Ib.*

(23) *Cap.* 186. (24) *Tr. Th. p.* 31.

§. iv. Colgan's want of critical acumen is still more apparent in his maintaining, that the Life, which he has called Tripartite (because it is divided into three books or parts) and published under the name of the

seventh Life, was written by St. Evin, who flourished about the latter end of the sixth century. And why? Because Jocelin says, (25) that Evin also had compiled the Acts of St. Patrick in a work written partly in Latin, partly in Irish. Now this description corresponds to the Tripartite. It appears, however, that it might be properly called an Irish work, as the proportion of Latin was very small compared with the Irish, until the whole was put into Latin by Colgan and his assistants. Usher, who had seen it in its original state, although he refers to it but seldom, calls it an Irish work written in the *old* Irish language. (26) Colgan tells us, (27) that the Irish text is, on account of its great antiquity, exceedingly difficult to understand, and that it used formerly to be read and explained in the schools, as a class book for the instruction of students, who applied themselves to learning the ancient pure Irish dialect. Such parts of it as were originally in Latin are chiefly quotations from the Scriptures, St. Jerome, and St. Patrick's Confession, with some odd scraps here and there extracted from ancient Latin documents concerning our saint. It is, in very great part, evidently derived from much older Memoirs, and often with such a scrupulous fidelity, that, instead of giving the substance of them, the very words are retained; and consequently we sometimes find passages, in which the present tense occurs where the past might have been used, and collateral allusions, that have no necessary connexion with the remainder of the text. Jocelin seems to have had this work before him, or some other very like it; for his text in very many places agrees with it word for word. Yet in his arrangement of facts he frequently differs from it, and usually on the wrong side. Whether this was the work he alluded to as written by St. Evin, (28) or at what time the Evin he meant might have lived, is of no consequence, whereas from innumerable passages it appears, that it was compiled long after the sixth

century. Colgan admits the force of said passages; but pretends that they are interpolations foisted into the text of St. Evin. This evasion will not do; for the compiler or compilers of this work give us the names of the writers, whom they followed, and that twice. (29) They are Columb-kill, Ultan, Adamnan, Eleran the wise, Kieran of Belachduin, Hermedus or Ieremias bishop of Clogher, Colman Huamacensis, and Collatus a priest of Druim-relgeach (in Meath). No mention of St. Evin, an omission quite inexplicable in case he had been considered as the original author of the work, however afterwards interpolated and enlarged. I have touched already on the age of some of those writers; (30) the others lived at a later period, for instance, Kieran who died A. D. 770; (31) and Colgan himself thinks it not improbable, that Collatus was the same as Conlata, whose death is assigned to the year 868. (32) The work, as it exists at present, was put together at a time, when the Irish church had acquired no small degree of splendour; for we read of the bishop's Vicar general, Suffragan, Archpriest, Chancellor, Judge in spiritual matters, Chaplain, Almoners, &c. &c. (33) It appears to belong to some part of the tenth century; as certain persons are named, who lived about that period. Kinaetus, son of Fergal, prince of Meath, is spoken of in an historical manner, (34) as if not living when the work was composed. He died A. D. 868. (35) Kinngegan, king of Cashel, is also mentioned, (36) who was killed in the year 897. (37) No traces occur to show, that the author or authors lived as late as the eleventh century. With the exception of the usual fables relative to St. Patrick's younger days, it is a very useful work, and contains a much greater variety of details concerning his proceedings during his mission in Ireland than any other of his Lives, and far more accurate than those given by Jocelin. It is not to be confounded with a Latin work, which is often quoted by Usher under the same

title of *Tripartite*, (38) and which must be assigned to a later period. (39) In case of my referring to the latter, I call it *Usher's Tripartite*. Of all the Lives of our saint Jocelin's is the worst, although it has been published (40) oftener than the others. Besides raking together all the fables he could collect he has added a number of stories, no where else to be found. So wretched a composition is scarcely worth attending to.

(25) *Cap.* 186. (26) *Pr.* p. 812, 818.

(27) *Tr. Th.* p. 169.

(28) Ware (*Irish Writers*) has Evin at the 7th century on the mere authority of Jocelin; but he says nothing about the *Tripartite*.

(29) *Tripart. L.* 1. c. 70. *L.* 3. c. 99.

(30) See above *Chap.* II. *not.* 52.

(31) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th.* p. 172. (32) Colgan *ib.* p. 173.

(33) *Tripart. L.* 3. c. 98. (34) *Ib.* *L.* 2. c. 5.

(35) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th.* p. 173. (36) *Tripart. L.* 3. c. 30.

(37) *Tr. Th.* p. 186, and O'Flaherty's *MS. note ib.*

(38) Harris seemed to think, that they were one and the same work. Alluding to a passage quoted by Usher from the *Tripartite* (*i. e.* his own *Tripartite*) he observes that it is not to be found in the printed *Tripartite*, meaning to say that the *printed* edition differed, with regard to said passages, from Usher's *MS.* copy.

(39) Usher's *Tripartite* was written at a time, when the name *Scotia* was used for that part of Britain now called Scotland. In it we read, that Palladius "in provincia Pictorum, *quæ modo est Scotia in Britannia*, vitam finivit suam." Consequently the author did not live before the eleventh century. See *Pr.* p. 813, and compare with p. 734.

(40) In Colgan's collection it is placed at No. 6.

§. v. Having premised thus much concerning the principal documents, from which the history of St. Patrick can be drawn up, let us first inquire what was the land of his birth. It would be a waste of time to examine all the various opinions, that have

been started on this subject, such as his having been born in Cornwall, in Pembrokeshire in Wales, or, what was the strangest of all, in Ireland itself. Whoever wishes to see more about these speculations may consult Usher (41) and Harris. (42) The prevalent opinion since Usher's time, and since Colgan, who was led astray by him, published the *Trias Thaumaturga*, has been that he was born at Kilpatrick in N. Britain not far from Dunbritton or Dunbarton. Usher knew that, besides his own and the opinions, which he has rejected, there was another, but did not like to mention it, although he must have met with it in his acquaintances O'Sullivan and Dempster, whom he has so often attacked. The former says that St. Patrick was born in Aremoric Gaul. (43) Dempster tells us that the Aremoric Gauls claim him as their countryman. (44) He might have found this opinion mentioned also by David Rothe. (45) Usher's partiality for G. Britain would not allow him to discuss this point, which had he done it is very probable, that, considering his singular penetration, he would have agreed with O'Sullivan, particularly as he had read with care St. Patrick's Confession, which Colgan had not. And it will appear, that O'Sullivan, although charged by Harris with a gross error for what he had said, was substantially right.

(41) *Pr. p. 819. seqq.*

(42) Ware's *Bishops*, Harris' edition at *Armagh p. 5.*

(43) *Patriciana Decas ; p. 4.*

(44) "Galli Aremorici civem suum faciunt." *Appar. ad Hist. Scot. p. 520.*

(45) "Quamquam non desint, qui eum in Britannia Armorica genitum dicant." *Hibernia Res. p. 199.*

§. VI. It is curious to observe, on what slight grounds the opinion, to which Usher's great reputation has given so great a degree of plausibility, is founded. Fiech, he says, (46) states as certain, that

St. Patrick was born in Nemthur. But his Scholiast mentions, that Nemthur was a town in N. Britain, viz. Alcluit. This is now called Dunbritton. Usher, however, follows Jocelin, who distinguishes Nemthur, or, as he calls it, Emphor from Dunbritton. As to what Fiech says, it is certainly correct, although, as will be seen lower down, *Nemthur* is not the true spelling of the word. But why depend on the authority of such a hodge podge collection of contradictory notes as those Scholia exhibit? The fact is, that the author of that interpretation of *Nemthur*, not understanding the meaning of the word, and having read or heard, that St. Patrick was born in Britain, looked out for some part of Great Britain, where he might place Nemthur, not reflecting that there was another Britain distinct from the great one. His fixing upon Alcluit was very probably owing to there having been a church there or in the neighbourhood bearing the name of St. Patrick, whence he supposed that Alcluit might have been the place of his birth. Or it might have easily happened, that the name, *Kilpatrick*, gave rise to a vulgar opinion among the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, that the reason of its being so called was the saint's having been born there. Add to this the following strange fable concerning the origin of St. Patrick's well in the church of Kilpatrick. When an infant he was brought to a priest to be baptized. There being no water convenient, the priest made with the child's hand the sign of the cross upon the ground. Forthwith sprang up a fountain, with the water of which he first washed his own eyes, and obtained the blessing of sight, having been hitherto blind. After this he baptized the infant from the same fountain. Around this miraculous fountain or well the church was erected. (47) Then we have a rock in the Clyde, which is still called St. Patrick's stone. (48) On such mighty grounds was made up the story of Nemthor being the same as Alcluit, and the *et caeteras*.

Usher, who saw into the weakness of such arguments, passed over the question very slightly; but Colgan, whose method was to heap together authorities, whether good or bad, labours hard (49) to show, that Nemthur was the same as Alcluit or near it. But very properly he objects to himself; where do we find a town called Nemthur? Usher, who had a great knowledge of British history, overlooked such a question, well knowing that no town of that name could be found in any part of G. Britain. There is no Nemthur to be met with in Nennius' list of British towns, which Usher himself had illustrated, (50) or in any of the old Itineraries, (51) or in Ricardus Corenensis, (52) or in Camden, (53) Horsley, (54) &c. Colgan endeavours to extricate himself by saying, that *Nem-thor* or *Nemh-thur* signifies a heavenly tower (55) and that, as Alcluit or Dunbritton was a fort on a high rock over the Clyde, it might have been honoured with that name. But he ought to have shown from some sort of authority, that it was actually so called; and next, that it could with propriety be denominated *heavenly* or *holy*. (56) The good man was, however, soon compelled to descend from his heavenly tower; for Kilpatrick, the well, and the church over the well, all of which are in the low ground, fell in his way; and then he quotes on from Jocelin, &c. as if it were demonstrated, that Nemthur was the same place as Kilpatrick. This sort of reasoning is too pitiful to produce any effect; and I will now proceed to inquire into the claim of the Armorians to the honour of our Apostle's birth.

(46) *Pr. p.* 819.

(47) 4th Life, *cap.* 3. *Tripart. L. 1. c.* 4. &c. Jocelin has the same fable, (*cap.* 2.) but with this difference, that he makes the infant be baptized, before the fountain was miraculously produced.

(48) *Statist. Survey of Scotland, Vol. 5.* at *Old Kilpatrick*, and *Garnett's Tour, Vol. 1. p.* 6. They tell us also of a tombstone in

the church-yard, on which is the figure of a man said to be St. Patrick.

(49) *Tr. Th. p. 221. seqq.* (50) *Pr. p. 59. seqq.*

(51) Ex. c. that which goes under the name of Antoninus. Nor is it in Ptolemy, or in the *Britanniæ Chorographia* of the Anonymus Ravennas.

(52) *De Situ Britannia.* (53) *Britannia.*

(54) *Britannia Romana.*

(55) The 4th Life, *cap. 1.* and *Tripart. L. 1. c. 1.* have the same interpretation of *Nemthur*. Lynch in his *Life of St. Patrick* explains it by *Holy Tours, i. e.* the city of Tours in France, and thence concludes that our saint was a native of that city. This hypothesis is much nearer the truth than Colgan's, but cannot be reconciled with the unquestionable fact, that St. Patrick's family lived very near the sea, nor with some other important circumstances, of which lower down.

(56) The meaning of *Nehm* is relative not to height, but to sanctity.

§ VII. Colgan acknowledges, (57) that there is an ancient tradition among the inhabitants of Armoric Britain, that St. Patrick was born in their country, and that some Irishmen were of that opinion. He quotes some passages from Probus and others, whence they argued in proof of their position, but omits, through want of attention to that most valuable document, the following passage of St. Patrick's Confession. "My father was Calpornius a deacon, son of Potitus a priest, of the town Bonavem Taberniæ. He had near the town a small villa *Enon*, where I became a captive." (58) Here we have neither a town Nemthor, nor Alcluit. Nor will any British antiquary be able to find out a place in Great Britain, to which the names *Bonavem Taberniæ* can be applied. Usher, although he had quoted these words (59) has not attempted to give any explanation of them, or to reconcile them with *Nemthur*. The word *Taberniæ* has puzzled not only Colgan, but some of the authors of the Lives,

which he chose to follow; for, while they left out *Bonavem* as not agreeing with *Nemthur*, they retained *Taberniæ*, or, as they were pleased to write it, *Taburniæ*, which they endeavoured to account for by making it a district, that got its name from having been the site of a Roman winter camp, in which there were tents or tabernacles. (60) Colgan, who swallowed all this stuff, quotes Jocelin as his authority for *Taburnia* being situated near the Clyde at the south bank. (61) Great authority indeed! It is, however odd, that such a place should be unnoticed by all those, who have undertaken to elucidate the ancient topography of Great Britain. (62) The places of Roman camps in that country were usually designated by the adjunct *castra* whence *chester*, or *cester*, in which the names of so many cities and towns in England terminate.

Bonavem or *Bonaven* (63) *Taberniæ* was in Armorica Gaul, being the same town as *Boulogne sur mer* in Picardy. That town was well known to the Romans under the name of *Gessoriacum*; but about the reign of Constantine the great the Celtic name *Bonaven* or *Bonaun*, alias *Bonon*, which was latinized into *Bononia*, became more general. (64) According to Bullet, who informs us that *Am*, *Aven*, *On*, signify a river in the Celtic language, (65) the town was so called from its being at the mouth of a river; *Bon* mouth, *on* or *aven* river. (66) Baxter also observes, that *Bononia* is no other than *Bon-avon* or *Bon-aun*; (67) for *aven*, *avem*, *avon*, *aun*, are pronounced in the same manner. The addition of *Taberniæ* marks its having been in the district of *Tarvanna* or *Tarvenna*, alias *Tarabanna*, a celebrated city not far from *Boulogne*, the ruins of which still remain under the modern name of *Terouanne*. The name of the city was extended to a considerable district around it, thence called *pagus Tarbannensis*, or *Tarvanensis regio*. Gregory of Tours calls the inhabitants *Tarabannenses*. It is often mentioned

under the name of *Civitas Morinorum*, having been the principal city of the territory of the Morini, in which Bonavem or Boulogne was also situated. (68) Boulogne was so connected with Tarvanna, that both places anciently formed but one episcopal see. Thus Jonas in his Life of the abbot Eustasius written near 1200 years ago calls Audomarus bishop of Boulogne and Tarvana. (69) It is probable that St. Patrick's reason for designating Bonaven by the adjunct *Taberniæ* was, lest it might be confounded with the Bononia of Italy, now Bologna, or with a Bononia in Aquitain, in the same manner as, to avoid a similar confusion, the French call it at present Boulogne *sur mer*. Perhaps it will be objected, that *Tabernia* is a different name from *Tarvanna*. In the first place it may be observed that, owing to the usual commutation of *b* for *v*, and viceversa, we might read *Tavernia*. Thus we have seen, that Tarvanna was called by some *Tarabanna*. To account for the further difference of the names nothing more is required than to admit the transposition of a syllable, or a letter, which has frequently occurred in old words, and particularly names of places. The Portuguese have changed *miraculum*, *miracle*, into *milagre*; Nogesia, the name of a town, became *Genosia*; (70) Dunbritton has been modified into *Dunbertane*, *Dunbarton*, *Dumbarton*. Probus agrees with the Confession, except that according to Colgan's edition, for *Bonavem Taberniæ*, he has *Bannave Tiburniæ regionis*, and adds that it was not far from the western sea (71) or Atlantic ocean. Although we may easily suppose, that some errors of transcription have crept into the text of Probus, yet as to *Bannave* there is no material difference between it and *Bonavem*. *Ban* might be used for *Bon*; (72) and the final *m*, which was a sort of nasal termination, as it is still with the Portuguese, could be omitted so as to write for *Bonavem* or *Bonauem* (*v* and *u* being the same letter) *Bonaue*. Probus' ad-

dition of *regionis* is worth noticing, as it corresponds with what has been said concerning the *Tarvanensis regio*.

(57) *Tr. Th.* p. 220.

(58) "Patrem habui Calpornium diaconem, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit in vico *Bonavem Taberniæ*; villulam *Enon* prope habuit, ubi capturam dedi." *Confess. sub init.* For *Enon* the Cotton *MS.* has *enim*. But what could *enim* there refer to? *Enon*, as Ware has it, is undoubtedly the true reading.

(59) *Pr.* p. 818.

(60) After telling us that St. Patrick was born in Nemthor, the author of the third Life adds (*cap.* 1.) "Patricius natus est in campo Taburniæ; campus autem Tabernaculorum ob hoc dictus est, eo quod in eo Romani exercitus quodam tempore tabernacula sua ibi statuerunt hyemali frigore." See also the 4th Life, *cap.* 1. According to these writers Nemthor was *in* Taburnia. But Jocelin says, (*cap.* 1) that Nemthor was *near* Taburnia, and has nothing about the time of the year, in which the encampment took place.

(61) *Tr. Th.* p. 223.

(62) Neither the Itineraries, nor Camden, nor the other writers above referred to have a Taburnia or Tabernia in Great Britain.

(63) The Bollandists in their edition of the Confession at 17 *Mart.* read *Bonavem*.

(64) "Gessoriacum Galli circa Constantini maximi principatum mutato nomine *Bononiam* vocare coeperunt." Hadrianus Valesius, *Notitia Galliarum at Gessoriacum*.

(65) *Dictionaire Celtique, Memoires*, at *Am, Aven, On*.

(66) *Ib.* Vol. 1st. p. 55. at *Boulogne*.

(67) "Gallorum *Bononia* eodem pene est etymo; quasi dicas *Bon-avon* sive *Bon-aun*." Baxter, *Glossar. AA. Britan.* ad *Bonium*.

(68) See more on this subject *ap.* Hadr. Vales. *Not. Gall. at Gessoriacum* and *Tarvepna Morinorum*. Malbrancq states, that this capital of the Morini got the name of Tarvanna from a prætor Tarvannus in the time of Augustus; "*Tarvannæ* nomen accepit, quod etiam *ad circumjacens territorium* sese ex-

tendit. He quotes from the frontispiece of its old cathedral this verse; "Ex Morinis Tarvana vocor prætoro volente." *De Morinis*; L. 2. c. 4.

(69) *Bononiæ et Tarvanensis oppidi præsulem*. Some writers have said, that the see of Boulogne was first established A. D. 1566. This is a mistake founded upon a practice, introduced in the middle ages, of denominating the see from Tarvanna or Terouanne alone on account of the greater dignity of the place. But after the destruction of Terouanne by the emperor Charles V. in 1553 the see of Boulogne was restored. See Hadr. Vales. *loc. cit.* The old diocese of Terouanne contained 800 parishes in the countries of Flanders, Artois, and the *Boulonnais*. (*Memoire on Terouanne* in Millin's *Magaz. Encyclop.* for October 1813.) Bucherius maintains, that Boulogne was the ancient see, and that it had a bishop in the time of Constantine, or, at least, of his sons. (*Belgium Romanum*, L. viii. cap. 15.)

(70) Hadr. Vales. at *Gessoriacum*; "transpositis, ut sæpe accidit, duabus prioribus syllabis." Thus in the old tract on the Liturgy, quoted by Usher, p. 343, we find *Linerensi* for *Lirinensi*.

(71) "De vico Bannave Tiburniæ regionis haud procul a mari occidentali" Probus, L. 1. c. 1.

(72) Baxter, Glossar, &c. at *Bonium*.

§. VIII. Now comes a most remarkable circumstance, viz. the old tradition of the inhabitants of that country, that St. Patrick governed the diocese of Boulogne or of the Morini as bishop for some time before he set out on his mission for Ireland. Malbrancq, to prove the truth of it, refers (73) to the *Chronicon Morinense*, the Catalogue of the bishops of Boulogne, and the Life of St. Arnulphus of Soissons. We have no intrinsic evidence in opposition to this statement, although Malbrancq has given to St. Patrick's ministry as *bishop* at Boulogne a longer period than can be reconciled with other circumstances of our saint's life. The Bollandists are angry (74) with him for having placed St. Patrick at Boulogne, but were not able to refute his position. They say they could not find what he has

in any Life of Arnulph of Soissons. But might not Malbrancq have seen a Life, which they had not? As to his other arguments, their exception is, that bishops of Boulogne were unknown before the destruction of Terouanne. This we have seen not to be strictly true. But even admitting that Boulogne was not formerly a regular see, might not St. Patrick have officiated as bishop there and in the neighbourhood, as was frequently the case in the northern parts of Europe before episcopal dignity became permanently attached to certain towns?

It will not, I think, be denied, that under the name of Armoric Gaul was comprized the country of the Morini, or the tract, in which Boulogne is situated. Cluverius, Martiniere, and some other geographers have indeed confined Armorica between the Seine and the Loire; but in so doing they looked more to the usage of a certain period than to the more ancient acceptation of the name. For in older times the whole extent of the maritime districts of western Gaul was called *Armorica*, in so much that even Aquitain was distinguished by that name. (75) Hirtius, the continuator of Cæsar's Commentaries tells us, that the cities near the ocean in the extreme boundaries of Gaul were called *Armoricae*. (76) This extended use of that name continued for a long time after, (77) and indeed very justly; for it merely means *maritime*. *Ar-mor* (*moir, muir*) in the Gaulish, British, and Irish languages signifies *by, upon, or near the sea*. The inhabitants of the sea coasts were accordingly called *Armorici*, and *Morini* has the same meaning. "The people" says Camden (78) "which in old time inhabited the sea coast of Gaul lying nearest to Britain, were in their own language called Morini. Now *Mor* is in British the sea.—The Britons call such as live upon the sea coast *Morinwyr*; as *Aremorica* in the old Gaulish, and now in the British signifies *by the sea side*." And Lobineau observes,

that the countries of the Aquitani, Armorici, and Morini went under the general name of Armórica. (79) In process of time the name became gradually confined to the tract between the Seine and the Loire, and in after ages was still more limited, being understood of only the country now called Britany. (80)

(73) *De Morinis*, L. 2. c. 19, 26. and *Scholion* at pag. 623.

(74) *Comment. præv. ad V. S. P.* §. 10. ad 17 *Mart.* Qu. Could the Bollandists prove, that St. Patrick did not officiate at Boulogne at least as a *priest*? See below *Chap. IV.* §. XIII.

(75) “Inde ad Pyrenæi montis excursum Aquitania, *Aremerica* antea dicta.” Pliny, *Natur. Hist.* L. 4. sect. 31. Har-douin's *ed.*

(76) “Cæteræque civitates positæ in ultimis Galliæ finibus, oceano conjunctæ, quæ *Armoricæ* appellantur.” *De bello Gallico*, L. 8. §. 25.

(77) Eutropius has, L. 19. “Carausius cum apud *Bononiam* per tractum *Belgiæ* et *Armoricæ* pacandum mare accepisset, quod *Franci* et *Saxones* infestabant.”

(78) *Britannia*, col. XXIX. Gibson's *ed.*

(79) “Par le terme d'Armorique les anciens entendoient toutes les cotes occidentales des Gaules, habitées par les Aquitains, les Armoricains, et les *Morins*, tous noms qui signifient la même chose, c'est à dire, peuples maritimes.” *Histoire de Bretagne*, vol. 2. p. 7.

(80) See *Hadr. Val. Not. Gall.* at *Aremerica*.

§. IX. The greater part of the old writers, who have spoken of the place, where St. Patrick, when a boy, was made captive, agree that it was in Armórica. Now it is plain from the Confession, that the place of his captivity was also that of the residence of his family, or a country house not far from their usual residence. The spot was called *Enon*, which might be translated *River-house* or *River-lodge*. (81) Fiech's Scholiast states, that certain pirates, when plundering *Letha* in *Armoric Britain* (82) where Patrick was

with his family, killed his father and brought himself away to Ireland. But, to reconcile this statement with what occurs in a former scholion concerning Nemthor and Alcluit, he premises that St. Patrick's father and mother and five sisters together with a brother had all set out on a visit from Alcluit to Armorica, and crossed the Iccian sea, (83) which, by the bye, was the very part of the sea near Boulogne. That would have been no trifling excursion for a whole family about the close of the fourth century, and through such a country as G. Britain then was. Keating says; (84) "I have read in an ancient Irish manuscript, whose authority I cannot dispute, that St. Patrick and his two sisters were brought captive into Ireland from Armorica or Britany in the kingdom of France." O'Flaherty agrees (85) with Keating as to St. Patrick having been brought from Armorica, but adds the story (of which not a word in Keating) concerning the journey all the way from the banks of the Clyde to that country. The Tripartite has (86) the same story, and agrees on the whole with the Scholiast. The author of the fourth Life, not knowing how to account for St. Patrick's connexions with Armorica, says (87) that he was of an Armorican family, but that in consequence of a certain dispersion of the Britons by the Romans his parents had removed to the neighbourhood of the Clyde. Jocelin found it more convenient to be silent as to St. Patrick's having been made captive in Armorica, but has made up another story of his own invention to account for St. Patrick's mother having been a native of Gaul. For he tells us, (88) that she and a sister of hers had been made slaves and sold in N. Britain. It is strange, that Usher could have swallowed these fables of Jocelin, and opposed his authority, as to Armorica, to the Scholiast. (89) Probus, whom Usher knew to be more ancient (90) than Jocelin, in a passage, which he has quoted on another

occasion, (91) calls St. Patrick's country, and the town where his family lived, *Arimuric*, (92) or *Armorica*.

(81) *Enn* habitation, and *On* river. Bullet at *Enn*.

(82) "Fecerunt prædas in Britanniae Armoricae regione Letha, ubi Patricius cum familia fuit;" &c. *Scholion* 5. *Letha* has nearly the same meaning as *Armorica*, being the British *Llydaw*, i. e. *litoralis*, upon the shore. Camden seems to confine *Letha*, or, as some writers of the middle ages call it, *Letavia* to the tract now called *Britany*. (col. CXXXII.) Whether the Scholiast understood it so or not, is of little consequence, whereas it is sufficient to show that, according to him, St. Patrick's captivity took place in some part of *Armorica*.

(83) *Trans mare Iccium*. This part of the ocean was so called from the *Portus Iccius*, which Cluverius thinks was the same as *Gessoriacum* or *Boulogne*. Horsley would have it to be the port of *Calais*. (*Brit. Rom. Book* 1. ch. 1.) I am more inclined to follow *Baudrand*, who (*Lexic. Geogr.*) makes it the same as *Witsant* or *Vissent*, or, as the sailors call it, *Esseau*, a harbour four leagues to the north of *Boulogne*. This was also Camden's opinion, col. 251. At any rate it was somewhere in that neighbourhood.

(84) *History of Ireland*; *Book* 1. p. 156. *Dublin ed.* A. 1723.

(85) *Ogygia*, *L.* 3. c. 85. (86) *L. A.* c. 16. (87) *Cap.* 1.

(88) *Cap.* 1. (89) *See. Pr.* p. 822. 823. (90) *Ib.* p. 817.

(91) *Ib.* p. 833.

(92) "Cum adhuc esset in patria sua cum patre Calpurnio et matre Concessa, fratre etiam Ructhi et sorore Mila nomine, in civitate eorum *Arimuric*, facta est seditio magna in partibus illis. Nam filii Rethmiti regis de Britannia vastantes *Arimuric*," &c. (*Probus*, *L.* 1. c. 12.) Colgan in a note says, that *civitate eorum Arimuric* is wrong, because *Arimuric* or *Armorica* was the name not of a town but of a large tract of country. But he might have easily known, that the epithet *Armorica* could and actually used to be applied to the towns in that maritime range. See above note 76.

§. x. But how can this Armorican origin of St.

Patrick be reconciled with Fiech's Nemthur? So far from there being any difficulty in the matter, there cannot be a stronger proof of what has been hitherto advanced than that very word as originally used by Fiech. Instead of *Nemthur*, it ought to be spelled *Nemhthur* as it is by Colgan, (93) and as it certainly was by all those, who interpreted it *Holy or heavenly tower*. Now *Nemhthur*, according to the Irish pronunciation, must be read *Neuthur*, whereas the letter *m* with *h* added to it, or a point placed over it, is pronounced like *v*. Between *v*, *ph*, and *p* the affinity is so great, that they have been and are frequently used for each other. Thus then we have *Neuthur*, *Nephthur*, *Nepthur*. (94) This must have been a proper name and not a mere epithet, such as that of holy tower; for no sensible writer, wishing to inform his readers, where his saint was born, would say that he came to the world in a *holy tower*, a phrase that might be applicable to hundreds of places, particularly in Ireland, where round towers existed from time immemorial. It cannot have been the name of a town, unless we are to place Fiech in direct opposition to St. Patrick himself, who, as we have seen, calls his town *Bonaquem*. (95) It was accordingly the name of a country or province well known at the time that Fiech's hymn was composed. We find such a country in the Gauls, viz. the great province usually called *Neustria*, but often *Neptricum* or *Neptria*. It comprized the extensive tract situated between the Meuse and the Loire, and consequently the territory of Boulogne. The name originated with the Franks about the time of the death of Clovis, (96) and probably was given from that being a newly conquered country, as if we were to say, *New land*. (97) According as other names began to be used for some parts of that great province, that of *Neptria* or *Neustria* became confined (98) to a smaller part of the whole, but not until long after Fiech's hymn had been written. Here again comes forward

Probus, who, regularly consistent with himself as to St. Patrick's country, gives us the true meaning of Fiech by asserting, that Bannaue or Bonavem, the birth place of the saint, was undoubtedly in the province of Nevtria. (99)

(93) *Tr. Th. p. 223.*

(94) Hence the *Nemphor* or *Emphor* of Jocelin, *capp. I. XI.* who, however, when spelling it with *p*, should have thrown out the *m*.

(95) Lynch's conjecture as to Holy Tours (see above *Not. 55*) is ingenious, but cannot be made to agree with the text of the Confession. That city was in our saint's time so respectable and celebrated that, had he been a native of it, nothing could have been more easily expressed. Nor would there have been any necessity for adding the name of the district, such as *Taburniae*. Besides, such a city as Tours could not have been denominated *vicus*. Let me add, that Tours was never comprized in any part of Armorica; nor could it be so, lying at too great a distance from the sea.

(96) On the various points here touched upon see Hadr. Vales. *Notit. Gall. at Neustria.*

(97) See Baxter at *Neustria.* (98) Hadr. Vales. *loc. cit.*

(99) "Quem vicum (Bannaue) indubitanter comperimus esse *Nevtriae Provinciae*, in qua olim gigantes habitasse dicuntur." *L. 1. c. 1.* This is one of the passages, which induced Colgan to dislike Probus. The Bollandists blame him for having used the word *Nevtria*; for, they say, he should have called it *Nemthuria*, and not made a province of it, as it was but a town. Those writers, being unacquainted with the Irish language, followed implicitly on many points Usher and Colgan. And why should Probus not make *Nevtria* a province, having just before mentioned the town *Bannaue*? Was he to say, that the town *Bannaue* was in the town *Nevtria*? They respected, however, Probus as an author, and have defended him against an unwarrantable attack of Stanishurst. Some others, among whom Harris, (*Bishops, p. 6.*) have endeavoured to depreciate the authority of Probus, who, in spite of their wish to support the fable of *Nemthor* in G. Britain, is vastly more respectable than their favourite *Jocelin*.

§. XI. The same Probus calls St Patrick a Briton, (100) and so is he usually called in chronicles, breviaries, &c. (101) In the older tracts of this kind Britain was said in general terms to have been his country; but in some of the later ones the word, *great*, has been added to *Britain*. To guard against this interpolation, the corrector of the breviary of Rouen has in the lessons for St. Patrick marked the Britain, his real country, by adding *Gallicana*. (102) This was the Britain; which Probus had in view, and which St. Patrick himself must have meant, when he mentions his having been in Britain with his parents; (103) for there is no other Britain, in which the town *Bonavem Taberniae* can be met with. But this Gallican, or rather Aremoric, Britain must not be confounded with the country now called Britany; for it lay much farther to the north. Pliny places in the very neighbourhood of Boulogne a people called *Britons*, whose territory stretched to near Amiens. (104) He mentions also the British harbour of the Morini, *portum Morinorum Britannicum*, (105) which is generally admitted to have been that of Boulogne. (106) Some learned men are of opinion, that it was so called because it was the harbour, whence people used to sail from the continent to G. Britain; (107) or because it was situated near the streights. (108) These are far fetched explanations, and which we are not under any necessity of receiving, whereas the *Britanni* are placed by Pliny in its vicinity, (109) that is, as Camden expresses it, near the county of Boulogne. (110) How far this Britain extended to the north or north-east of Boulogne cannot, for aught I know, be ascertained. Some remains of the name of Britain are found near the mouths of the Rhine; (111) but, as some writers contend that the place called *Het huys te Britten* (house of the Britons) owes its name to an occurrence of a much later period, (112) I shall not enter into any question upon this subject. It

comes nearer to our purpose, that Pliny calls the part of the ocean between the Rhine and the Seine *Britannic*; (113) and I think it cannot be reasonably doubted, that the *Herba Britannica*, which he makes mention of, (114) got its name from a Britain in the continent, having been found in some part of the country now called Belgium.

That there was such a continental Britain, and in the very tract alluded to by Pliny, is expressly stated by Dionysius Periegetes, who describing the western continent of Europe, and proceeding from south to north, places the Britons near the northern ocean just before the Germans. (115) The text is so plain, that it has been understood by all the old commentators of a Britain in the continent, and Eustathius adds that opposite to it were the islands of the same name, viz. the British islands, which, he says, will be treated of hereafter. (116) I have been therefore surprized on observing, that Hill in his commentary on that passage strives, in opposition to Eustathius, to explain it of G. Britain; for, says he, there were no other Britons in Dionysius' time except those of the British islands. (117) This is indeed begging the question, and a strange critical mode of getting rid of the plain meaning of the author, who, within five short lines, twice makes his readers know that he is there speaking not of islands but of a continent, which, he tells us, some persons said was like in its form to the hide of an ox. But it has surprized me still more to find, that such a man as Usher could have led the way to this misinterpretation. He does not indeed deny, that there were at a very ancient period Britons in the tract, where Pliny has placed them, although he would rather call them *Brianni*; (118) but he says that there is no reason to show, that the *Britons* of Dyonisius might not be understood of the inhabitants of G. Britain. (119) Now what stronger reason need be required than that the author was in that passage expressly treating of a

continent? There is, however, a still stronger reason, and of such a nature, that one would almost suspect that Usher had, in his inquiry concerning those Britons, looked into no other part of the *Periegesis*, than the above quoted passage. If Dionysius had not mentioned in his poem the British islands, there might be some colour for Usher's evasion; for it might be concluded, that he knew so little about them as to make them part of the continent. But he knew them well, and in that part of his work, where he is treating of islands, (120) describes them as situated opposite to the mouth of the Rhine, and represents them as the largest islands known in his time. (121)

(100) *L. 1. c. 1.* (101) See *Tr. Th. p. 190. seqq. 222. seqq.*

(102) "*In Britannia Gallicana ortum.*" See the Bollandists. *Comm. præv. §. 5. at S. Patr.*

(103) "Et iterum post paucos annos in *Britanniis* eram cum parentibus meis." *Conf. p. 9.* Ware's *ed.* The Bollandist edition has "in *Britannia.*" Dr. O'Connor's (1. *Prolegom. R. Hib. Scr.*) has *Britanniis*.

(104) "Deinde Menapii, Morini, Oromansici, juncti pago, qui Gessoriacus vocatur, *Britanni, Ambiani, &c.*" *Nat. Hist. L. 4. sect. 31.* Hardouin's *ed.* Cluverius (*German. antiq. L. 2. c. 27*), who is followed by Usher *Pr. p. 421.*) wished to read *Brianni* for *Britanni*; but Hardouin, in a note to the name, says; "*Ita libri omnes. Hi inter Gessoriacenses Ambianosque medii, in ora similiter positi ea loca tenuere certe, ubi nunc oppida Stapulae, Monstrolium, Hesdinium, et adjacentem agrum Ponticum, le Ponthieu, ad Somonam annem.*"

(105) *L. 4. sect. 37.*

(106) So Hadrian Valesius at *Gessoriacum*; Cellarius, *Geogr. Ant. L. 2. c. 3.* and others *passim.* Baudrand, however, makes it the same as *Portus Iccius*, which he distinguishes from *Boulogne.* See above *not. 83.*

(107) Hardouin, *not. ad loc. cit.*

(108) Hadr. Val. at *Gessoriacum.*

(109) Ricardus Corenensis, following Pliny, for *Britannicus*

portus has *Britannicae gentis portus*. *De situ Britanniae*, L. 1. §. 4.

(110) *Britannia*, Gibson's *ed. col.* XVI.

(111) Baudrand has; "Britanni etiam pop. Belgii, quorum tractus apud ostium Rheni *Thuys* (Het huys) *te Britten* appellatur, teste Ortelio."

(112) See Usher *Pr.* p. 418.

(113) "Ad Rhenum septentrionalis oceanus, inter Rhenum et Sequanam *Britannicus*, inter eum et Pyrenaeum Gallicus. L. 4. *sect.* 33. I do not see why this name might not be as well derived from the continental Britain as from the insular.

(114) L. 25. *cap.* 3. Hardouin says it was so called from *Bretannia* in Friesland. Hadrian Junius (*Onomast.*) and some others account for the name otherwise; but their explanation is not as natural as the former.

(115) Μηκος ἐπ' ἠπειροῖο τετραμμενον, ἠχι βορειῖς
Ὀκειαν κέχυται ψυχρὸς ῥοος· ἐνθα Βρετανοί,
Λευκα τε φυλα νέμονται κρειμανεων Γερμανων,
Ερκυνίς δρυμοιο παρὰδρωσκοντες οροσκις.

Ἡπειρον κεινὴν κέλην ἐνεπῆσι Βοιη. ΟΙΚ. ΠΕΡΙΗΓ. v. 283—287.

(116) Των δὲ Βρεττανων τριτων παρανομι αἱ αντιπεραν Βρεττανιδες νησοι, περι ἂν ρηθῆσεται. Eustathius *Comment. ad loc. cit.*

(117) Hill refers on this occasion to Camden's *Britannia*; but Camden distinctly admits a Britain near Boulogne (above *not.* 110). Was Hill too proud to acknowledge, that there were Britons in the continent as ancient, at least, as those of his own country?

(118) See above *not.* 104. (119) *Pr.* p. 422.

(120) Having described the continents of Africa and Europe, he begins at v. 447, to treat of islands, having first invoked the Muse,

—————σὺ δὲ μὲν Διὸς ἐνεπέ Μετα
Νησων πασαων ἴσον πορον αἰτ' ἐνι ποντω, &c.

(121) Δισσαι νησοι εἰσι Βρετανιδες ἀντια Ρηνς—

Των τοι μεγεθος περιωσιον· εἰδε τις ἀλλη

Νησοις ἐν πασησι Βρετανισιν ἰσοφαρίζει. v. 566—569.

§. XII. I believe there can be no doubt but that the Britons of Albion were originally colonists from

the Britannia of the continent. Bede states, that they came from the Armorican tract, and that from them the island of Britain received its name. (122) This offers a much more rational account of the origin of that name, than any of those ridiculous fables about Brutus, &c. which may be seen in Camden, or the fanciful, though learned, etymological conjectures of Bochart, who strives to prove, (123) that the name of the country was prior to that of the inhabitants, *Barat-anac*, the land of lead, whence *Bretanica*, *Bretania*, and, last of all, *Britons*. Camden himself leans to what had been laid down by Bede, which is perfectly consistent with what he has most learnedly proved, (124) viz. that the Britons came originally from Gaul. Every one knows what Cæsar has said concerning the maritime parts of Britain (that is, to the S. E. which alone he was acquainted with) being inhabited by people from Belgium. (125) And it would be idle to refer in this place to the authorities of Tacitus, Dio, &c. (126) on a matter at present so universally admitted.

At a later period this continental Britain received a great supply of men from the island. The usurper Maximus, on his expedition to Gaul against the emperor Gratian, landed at the mouth of the Rhine (127) A. D. 383. He was accompanied by a vast number of the youth of Great Britain, who never after returned to their own country. (128) Nennius says, that those followers of Maximus got tracts of land in various parts of the continent, some of which were near Cantguic. (129) As to the other places mentioned by Nennius I shall not attempt to give any opinion. (130) But I think it can scarcely be doubted that by *Cantguic* he meant the place called *Catweyck* or *Katwick* in Holland, two leagues below Leyden, where the middle branch of the Rhine formerly joined the sea, and near which a Dutch chronicler quoted by Usher (131) places a British settlement and the fortress since called *Lot huys te Britten*. (132) Usher adduces other autho-

rities to show, that there was a British establishment in that neighbourhood, although, by the bye, he ascribes it to the refugees, who fled from Britain to avoid the fury of the Saxons. Yet it is difficult to believe, that such disheartened and persecuted fugitives could have erected, or, as Usher would have it, seized upon a fortress in a strange country, and, as his authorities state, subjected to their power the inhabitants of the neighbouring district. It will, I think, be allowed that such an undertaking and settlement ought, with much greater probability, be attributed to the fighting men, who followed Maximus to the continent, and a part of whom, it is but natural to suppose, was left to defend his point of communication with Great Britain. Nor can I agree with Usher, however favourable his opinion would be to my object, that the *Brittia* of Procopius is to be sought for in or near Holland. (133) For on close examination of the text of Procopius it will appear, that his *Brittia* was in reality the island of Britain, although, through a strange ignorance of geography, he distinguishes *Brittia* from *Britannia*. (134)

(122) “In primis autem hæc insula Britones solum, a quibus nomen accepit, incolas habuit, qui de tractu Armoricano, ut fertur, Britanniam advecti australes sibi partes illius vindicarunt.” *Eccl. Hist.* L. 1. c. 1. Some of those writers, who have treated the much disputed subject of the first settlement of the Britons in the country now called Britany, among others Lobineau, would fain make us believe that Bede did not mean to say, that the island derived its name from that of the colonists. In answer to such quibbling, I wish they would explain why, if that had not been his intention, he touched upon the name at all. He is there giving an account of the divers nations, who, having come from other countries, occupied by degrees the whole of the island. The first settlers, he says, were the Britons, and from these the island got the name of Britain. What can be more plain? Then, he adds, came the nation of the Picts from Scythia, that is, a people,

according to him, called Picts before they arrived in Great Britain; after whom came the Scots, who were already known by that name in Ireland. The reason, that induced those writers to resort to that quibble, was that, in their opinion, there was no foundation for placing Britons in the province now called Britany before the middle of the 5th century. Be it so; but it does not thence follow, that there were not Britons in some other part of the continent. The Armorican tract mentioned by Bede was, as has been shown, far more extensive than modern Britany.

(123) *Chanaan*; L. 1. c. 39.

(124) *Britannia*, col. xvi. xvii. seqq. A. Du Chesne has also treated the same subject at great length; *Histoire d'Angleterre*, &c. Liv. 1: but he has given us scarcely any thing of his own, having followed Camden almost verbatim.

(125) *Britanniæ—maritima pars ab iis (incolitur) qui, prædæ ac belli inferendi causa, ex Belgis transierant, qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur, quibus orti ex civitatibus eo per-venerunt.*" *De bello Gallico*; L. 5. §. 10.

(126) See Whitaker's *Hist. of Manchester*; Vol. 1. *Corrections*, p. 152.

(127) See Camden, col. 1504.

(128) "Exin Britannia omni armato milite, militaribusque copiis,—ingenti juventute spoliata, quæ comitata vestigiis supradicti tyranni domum nusquam ultra rediit." Gildas, *De excid. Brit.* cap. XI.

(129) "Noluitque (Maximus) dimittere milites, qui cum eo perrexerunt a Britannia, neque ad uxores suas, neque ad filios, neque ad possessiones eorum, sed dedit illis multas regiones a stagno, quod est super verticem montis Jovis usque ad civitatem, quæ vocatur Cantguic, (Prisius, *Hist. Bryt. Def.* p. 50, has *Cantiguit*, and Gale's edition *Tantguil*) et usque ad comulum Occidentalem, id est, *Cruc-ochidient*. Gale's edition has, "et ipsi sunt ad cumulum occidentalem, i. e. *Crutochidenit*."

(130) According to Hadr. Valerius *Mons Jovis* is the great St. Bernard. *Cruc-ochidient* means western mountain. (Camden col. 561.) Could Nennius have meant the Pyrenees? Gildas writes, (cap. 10.) that Maximus extended one of his wings to Spain and the other to Italy.

(131) P. 418. (132) See also Martiniere at *Katwick*.

(133) See *Pr. p.* 400. 419.

(134) The passage is in Procopius' work, *De bello Gothico*, L. 4. cap. 20. "Brittia autem insula in hoc oceano sita est, haud amplius CC. stadiis procul a litore, contra ipsa Rheni ostia, inter Britanniam ac Thulen insulam. Etenim Britannia ad solem occidentem, quâ extremam Hispaniam spectat, a continente stadia circiter quatuor millia distat. Brittia ultimis objacet Galliaë partibus, quæ ad oceanum vergunt—Porro Brittiam insulam nationes tres numerosissimæ, suo quæque sub rege, habitant, Angli, Frisones, cognominesque insulæ Brittones. Tanta est hominum multitudo, &c. In ea insula *Brittia* murum longum veteres ædificaverunt," &c. Here we have the island Brittia opposite the mouths of the Rhine about 25 miles from the continent, and over against the furthestmost parts of Gaul, an island inhabited by three very numerous nations, Angles, &c. containing a vast multitude of inhabitants, just as Cæsar had said of Britain in his time, and in which a long wall had been formerly built. Such a description cannot suit any island in or near Holland, but agrees exactly with Great Britain. But what shall we say of his placing Brittia between Britannia and Thule? I know not how to explain it, except that perhaps by *Britannia* he meant Ireland. His placing it towards Spain, as Bede (*Eccl. Hist. L. c. 1.*) also does, and about 500 miles from the continent, seems to favour this conjecture.

§. XIII. To return to Nennius, there is every reason to believe, that the followers of Maximus spread themselves to the southward along the Belgic coast, and even to a greater extent than the boundaries of the ancient Britain, of which we have already spoken. But whether they were the first British settlers in the country now called Britany, it would be presumptuous to decide. Nennius seems to have thought so; for he derives from them the Armoric Britons, (135) by whom he very probably meant, according to the usage of his times, the inhabitants of Britany. In an interpolation of Nennius, which seems to have been originally a note to the passage above referred to, we read that those followers of Maximus

laid waste the western parts of Gaul, and killed the male inhabitants, but spared the females, whom they took to themselves as wives. (136) Several old writers, mentioned by Usher, (137) assign the same origin to the Britons of Britany, and they are followed by Baronius, Malbrancq, and many others. (138) But Usher and Lobineau maintain, that the first British settlement in the tract now called Britany was after the Saxon invasion of Great Britain. The latter places (139) the arrival of the British emigrants under a chief of the name of Rival or Reith about A. D. 458. One of his arguments against the contrary opinion is, that Maximus landed with his army not in that part of Gaul but at the mouth of the Rhine (140) Although I am not inclined to oppose Lobineau's system, which, as some writers think, gives even an older and more dignified origin to the Bretons than they are entitled to, (141) yet it cannot be denied that there were in the fifth century some respectable assemblages of Britons in Gaul. We find a Riothamus or Riothimus king of the Britons, who, as stated by Jornandes, (142) went with 12,000 men to Bourges as auxiliary to the Romans in the time of the emperor Anthemius, and therefore prior to A. D. 472, the year in which Anthemius was killed. To this Riothamus there is extant a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris, who in another place makes mention of Britons placed near the Loire. (143) He is not, as Lobineau has observed, to be confounded with Rival above mentioned. These Britons, who appear to have been so powerful, could not have been part of the refugees from Great Britain, who according to Gildas and Bede were poor stragglers and runaways, (144) evidently unable to form such an army. Nor is it to be granted to Lobineau, that Riothimus brought that army from G. Britain, and, as he says, about A. D. 470. For who can be made to believe, that at the very period, during which the people of Great Britain were struggling with various success

against their Saxon enemies, (145) a king and a considerable army (146) would have abandoned their own country and gone elsewhere to fight other people's battles? Riethimus therefore and his Britons were undoubtedly continental Britons; and, comparing all the circumstances, their country appears to have stretched from the Rhine southwards into, at least, a part of the extensive tract now called Normandy. This further extension of the old Britain was most probably owing to the establishment of the followers of Maximus in those parts of Gaul.

(135) After what has been quoted above, *Not.* 129, Nennius continues; "Hi sunt Britones Armorici, et numquam reversi sunt ad proprium solum usque in hodiernum diem." I am willing to allow, that in his days (about the middle of the 9th century) the name of Armoric Britons was usually applied only to the people of Britany. Yet it must be observed that he could not mean, that the territories, which the followers of Maximus got possession of, were confined to that province, as he had just before spoken of many and extensive tracts, in which they were settled. Accordingly his meaning must have been, that the Armoric Britons were descended from part of that great multitude, which had accompanied Maximus.

(136) "Britones namque Armorici, qui ultra mare sunt, cum Maximo tyranno hinc in expeditionem exeuntes, quoniam redire nequiverant, occidentales partes Gallia solo tenus vastaverunt—acceptisque eorum uxoribus et filiabus in conjugium;" &c.

(137) *P.* 421.

(138) Among the writers of our own days, who are of the same opinion, I find Gifford, who says that Britany was so called from the followers of Maximus. (*Hist. of France, Vol. 1. p. 34.*)

(139) *Hist. de Bretagne; Vol. 1. p. 5.* (140) *Ib. p. 6.*

(141) Vertot has attacked Lobineau's system, and will not allow that there were Britons in Bretagne or Britany about the year 458. He pretends, that they were not fixed there until the sixth century, when they were received as fugitives by Childebert and Clotaire the sons of Clovis; *History of the establishment of*

the *Bretons*, a political work undertaken to show the original dependence of the Bretons on the kings of France.

(142) *De rebus Geticis*; cap. 45.

(143) "Britannos supra Ligerim sitos." *L. 1. Ep. 7.* Was it in that part where Blois is now situated, which is said to have been founded by Britons?

(144) "Alii fame confecti procedentes manus hostibus dabant—alii transmarinas regiones dolentes petebant." Bede *L. 1. c. 15.* from Gildas *cap. 25.*

(145) See Bede *L. 1. c. 16.* and Smith's notes. The contest was kept up from about A. D. 456 to 492 the year of the great victory gained by the Britons near Bath.

(146) From the letter of Sidonius Apollinaris (*L. 3. Ep. 9.*) to Riothamus, whom both Usher (*p. 143.*) and Sirmond (*Not. ad loc.*) make the same as the king Riothimus, it is clear, that they were a brave and powerful body of men, of whom the 12,000, that fought near Bourges against the Visigoths, seem to have been only a detachment. Sidonius styles them *armatos, tumultuosos, virtute, numero, contubernio contumaces.*

§. xiv. The name, *Britain*, as applied to part of Belgium and the northwest of Gaul, was well understood not only in the time of St. Patrick, who lived during the period that we have now been speaking of, but likewise in a later age. In a Life of our St. Fursæus we read, that having crossed the sea for the purpose of going to Rome, he arrived in the province of Britain, that is, as appears from the whole context, a Britain in the continent, and that on his landing he proceeded through the district of Ponthieu to a place belonging to Duke Haymon. (147) Ponthieu is a maritime tract in Picardy extending to near Boulogne, and it is known from other authorities, that it was the residence of that Duke. (148) The saint's journey was directed to the south-east; and he is represented as proceeding towards Rome. Hence it is evident, that the writer did not mean by *Britain* the modern Britany; for Ponthieu lies in a quite opposite direction to a journey to Rome from

any part of Britany. It is also to be observed, that the province of Britain, in which Fursæus had arrived, is said to be *called by the moderns Normandy*. Now in the first place Britany was never included under that name, and secondly at the time, in which the compiler of the Life, as we now have it, lived, the province of Britany was in full possession of its own name, nor has it lost it at any time since it was first so called ; while the name of the old Britain, in which was Ponthieu, was gradually swallowed up in the general denomination of *Neptria*, or *Neustria*, after the acquisition of that country by the Franks, and after it became a part of the kingdom of *Soissons* under *Clotaire* one of the sons of *Clovis*. The passage relative to the name of *Normandy* has puzzled the *Bollandists* on perceiving, that it excluded both *Great Britain* and *Britany*, which were the only *Britains*, that they seem to have had any thought of. They object, that *Ponthieu* is not in *Normandy*. It certainly is not, taking the name according to the precise boundaries of that province as fixed at present. They might, however, have easily found that, after the *Normans* began to occupy various parts of the north-west of *Gaul*, the name *Normannia* was used indiscriminately for that of *Neustria*, (149) under which name *Ponthieu*, *Boulogne*, &c. were, as we have seen, formerly contained. The names of *Neustria* and *Normannia* became so identified, that, according as one of them happened to be limited to a smaller extent of country, so was the other. The modern *Normans*, when writing in *Latin*, call their country *Neustria*. (150)

Besides the positive arguments hitherto alleged to show, that there was a *Belgic Britain* before the conquests of the *Franks* in that country, I might adduce many indications corroborative of what has been stated, such as the mention made by some ancient authors of the *Alobrites* or *Gallo-britons* of those tracts, the great probability of the *Frisii* and the

older Britons having been the same people. But, to avoid prolixity, I beg leave to refer the reader to some passages in the subjoined note. (151)

(147) “ In Britanniam provinciam quæ a modernis Normannia nuncupatur,—pervenit. Veniens autem per Pontivum pagum in possessionem quamdam Haymonis ducis, quæ Macerias et Maioc vocabatur.” (*Vita S. Furs. L. 2. ap. Colgan AA. SS. at 16 Jan.*) This Life has been published also by the Bollandists at same day. It was compiled from older documents, as appears on comparing it with the very ancient Life of Fursæus published by Mabillon (*AA. SS. Ord. Bened. Sec. II. p. 299. seqq.*) and with the account given of that saint by Bede, *L. 3. c. 19.* The compiler, who is supposed to have been Arnulfus Abbas Lantiniacensis (abbot of Lagny between Paris and Meaux) has, however, made many additions, partly from documents no longer extant, and partly as observations and interpolations of his own. (See Mabillon *loc. cit.*) One of those interpolations is evidently the passage; *quæ a modernis Normannia nuncupatur*; and indicates a writer not earlier than the tenth century. Arnulfus lived in the eleventh. But the words, *Britannia provincia*, must have been taken from an old document; for that name had, long before Arnulfus’ time, ceased to be given to the country, in which Ponthieu is situated; and hence the compiler, to prevent any mistake of the reader, remarked that in his time it was called Normandy.

(148) Hadrian Valesius writes; “ *Pagum Pontivum* vetus liber de vita S. Judoci vocat; vocat et liber vetustissimus de vita B. Fursæi abbatis; et ambæ vitæ Haimonem ducem in eo pago sedem habuisse tradunt.” *Notit. Gall. at Pontivus pagus.*

(149) Hadr. Vales. at *Nortmannia.*

(150) Bochart (Dedication of his *Geogr. Sacra*) speaking of Caen in Normandy calls it *Cadomum Neustricæ ocellum.*

(151) “ *Alobrites* apud Anonymum antiquissimum Belgarum nomen fuit, quasi dicas *Gallobritones.* In Vaticano codice dicuntur vitiose vel saltem *συνονυμῶς Alobriges.*” Baxter, *Glossar. Antiq. Brit. ad Alobrites.*—“ *Sunt autem Aremorici veteres Belgæ, hoc est, Alobrites, sive Belgicæ Britannicæ reliquiæ.*” *Idem ad Aremorici.*—“ *Prodente Dionysio Afro hi (Britanni) Germanis*

proximi Flandriam sive Wallonum patriam occupavere. Dionysii interpres Eustathius et *alios* esse scribit in adversa insula *Britannos*, quos quidem fuisse *Belgas* veteres sive Wallones—nullus dubito. Et cum Plinius scribat *Herbam Britannicam* a *Frisiis* Germanici militibus ostensam, pronum est credere ipsos *Frisios* dictos fuisse *Britannos*, imo et initio *Belgas universos*. Certe *Aremoricis* *Britannis* horum *απογόνους* *Breiz* eorum dicitur *Britannia*; et *Prezec Brizonec*, *Aremorice loqui* est.—Etsi dissimulandum non sit tantumdem esse, sive quis dicat *Frisones*, *Brisones*, *Britones*, sive *Brigantes*, pro dialectorum scilicet diversitate. Etiam *Ravennati* geographo *Frisones* dicuntur *Frixi* et *Frigones*—Quid quod et *Procopio* in libro de bello Gothico *Frisii* dicantur una cum *Anglis* *Britanniam* nostram incolere? *Plinius* etiam *Belgicorum Britannorum* meminit; imo vel anonymo *Ravennati* *Gallia Belgicæ* sive *Franciæ Rhinensis* incolæ *Alobrites* tamquam *Gallobritones* appellantur.” *Idem ad Britanni*.

§. xv. *St. Patrick* mentions his country under the name of *Britanniæ*. It is not improbable that the using of that name in the plural number was owing to there having been more *Britains* than one, in the same manner as, when the name *Gaul* began to be extended to countries contiguous to the original *Gaul* or country of the *Celts*, we find *Galliæ* often used instead of *Gallia*. (152) A passage of *St. Patrick's Confession*, in which he thus names his country, has been quoted above. (153) In another place he says that he had a great wish to go to the *Britains*, as to his country, and to see his relatives, and to proceed as far as the *Gauls* for the purpose of visiting the brethren and the saints. (154) I have quoted this passage, lest it might be supposed that I wished to evade an objection, which some minor critics would probably frame on our saint's having distinguished his *Britain* from *Gaul*. They might argue thus: the *Britain* I am treating of was itself in the *Gauls*, having been a part of *Belgic Gaul*; therefore *St. Patrick's Britain* could have been no other than *Great Britain*. To this I answer

that the country, called in later times *Belgic Gaul*, was originally quite distinct from the real and properly called Gaul, which comprized only the country of the *Celts*, the name by which they called themselves, and which the Romans changed into *Galli*. It was separated from Belgium by the rivers Marne and Seine, as it was from Aquitain by the Garonne. The languages, institutions, and laws of those three countries were different. The authority of Cæsar (155) is decisive on these subjects, although he himself, in compliance with the Roman phraseology and for brevity sake, often comprizes them all under the general name of *Gaul*, which was used at Rome in consequence of the nearest parts, to Italy, of that great continent to the west of the Rhine, whence so many swarms of warriors issued and crossed the Alps, having belonged to the country of the Celts or real *Galli*. Had those parts borne the name of *Belgium*, this would probably have become the general name instead of *Gallia*. But, although the Romans spoke in that manner, the respective inhabitants of those countries retained among themselves the true original names. Thus in the continent of Europe a person, except one well versed in geography, is seldom met with that has heard of Wales, and who does not speak of the whole country, to the south of Scotland, under the general name of England. Should a foreigner, not well acquainted with the topography of our islands, hear you say that being in Dublin you had wished to go to Wales and then to England, he would not understand you. Now his difficulty would be exactly similar to that, upon which the objection above proposed would be founded. A man living at Rome, and accustomed to hear only the general name of *Gaul* used for all the countries between the Rhine and the ocean, would, alluding to the tracts mentioned by St. Patrick, probably not have distinguished the Britain, mentioned by St. Patrick, from Gaul. But the saint well knew the name

of his country ; and it was, at the time he was writing, well understood by the people whom he was addressing. It may be here incidentally observed, that St. Patrick's calling his country *Britain* furnishes a very strong argument in favour of the antiquity of his *Confession* ; for that name, as has been already remarked, began to fall into disuse after that of *Neustria* became prevalent. To show still more of what little weight such an objection ought to be considered, let it suffice to add that Britany, although situated in the real Gaul, and although it got its name at a comparatively very late period, yet is spoken of as a country distinct from the Gauls. Thus we read that St. Maclovius bishop of St. Malo, being driven from his see, cursed the Bretons and went to the Gauls. (156) Should any one, however, wish for a text, in which Gaul is mentioned as St. Patrick's country, there is at hand a passage of Probus, who lived at a time when the name of *Britain* had become obsolete with regard to the Belgic one, in which he writes that on the saint's endeavouring to escape from Ireland a man sold him to be carried to *Gaul*, and that the sailors brought him to *his own country*, having landed at Bourdeaux (157)

(152) Catullus has them both in one line ; “ Hunc Galliæ timent, timent Britannia.” xxvii. His saying *Britannia* cannot be ascribed to the division of Great Britain, that took place when it fell under the government of the Romans, such as *prima, secunda, Maxima Cæsariensis*, &c. whereas these divisions did not exist until after Catullus' death ; nor could any part of Great Britain be called a Roman province in his time, as appears from the well known testimony of Tacitus : “ Igitur primus omnium Romanorum D. Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas, ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia—ac longa oblivio Britannia etiam in pace—Divus Claudius auctor operis—redactaque paulatim in formam provinciæ proxima pars Britannia.” (*Julii Agricolaë Vita.*) I know indeed, that the reason generally as-

signed for the plural form, *Britannia*, is that the other islands near Great Britain were comprised under that name. I doubt, however, whether such a reason could account for the use of it so early as the days of Catullus.

(153) *Not.* 103.

(154) *Ut pergens in Britannias et libentissime paratus eram, quasi ad patriam et parentes; non id solum, sed eram (paratus) usque Gallias visitare fratres, et ut viderem faciem sanctorum Domini mei." Conf. p. 17. Ware's ed.*

(155) "Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres: quarum unam incolunt Belgæ; aliam Aquitani; tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua *Celtæ*, nostra *Galli*, appellantur. *Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus, inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit.—Helvetii—reliquos Gallos virtute præcedunt—Eorum una pars, quam Gallos obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano: continetur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum: attingit etiam a Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum—Belgæ ab extremis Gallie finibus oriuntur (therefore not in the real Gallia); pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni."* (*De bello Gallico; L. 1. §. 1.*)

(156) "Maledictis *Britannis* in *Gallias* abiit. Sigebert, *Chronic.* and M. Florilegus ad A. D. 561. See Usher *Pr. p. 533.*

(157) *Vir—vendidit eum in Galliam—Suscipientes ergo B. Patricium duxerunt eum in navi in terram suam: qui cum navigare coepissent, fuit illis ventus contrarius multis diebus—venit cum Gallis post dies duodecim ad Brotgalum. Probus, L. 1. capp. 13. 14.* The words *terram suam*, refer not to the sailors' country but to that of St. Patrick; for, a few lines before an Angel is stated to have said to him; "Vade ad hæreditatem tuam, de qua venisti." This passage of Probus is made to refer to our saint's return from a third captivity, of which I do not pretend to guarantee the truth. But the genuine account given by St. Patrick himself, and by Probus elsewhere, of his return from his first and, I believe, only captivity in Ireland, furnishes an invincible proof that he was a native of the country generally called Gaul. See below, *Chap. IV. §. VII. VIII.*

§. XVI. Although St. Patrick wished to see his

relatives and friends in his native country, yet he tells us that his reason for not going to visit them was, that he durst not absent himself from Ireland, lest he might lose the fruit of his labours and become guilty in the sight of God. (158) Had he been a native of Kilpatrick or of any part of the West of Great Britain, (those who would fain bring him from that country have never looked for other parts of it on this question) might he not have ventured to cross the channel, and spend some little time with his family, which, including his return, would have taken up but a few days? Or could he have said that, in consequence of his mission in Ireland, he was under the necessity of not seeing any of his relatives? (159) Surely had it been inconvenient for St. Patrick to quit Ireland for even a few days, those relatives, who were certainly respectable people, would not have hesitated to take a trip across the channel to pay him a visit, which would have so highly gratified him. Just before the words now quoted he talks of the children of God acquired, through his ministry, in the *extremity of the world*. (160) A man born in the continent might naturally speak in that manner; but it is difficult to believe, that a person, who was himself one of the *ultimi Britanni*, and whose country was so very near Ireland, could have made use of such an expression.

Considering all that has been said hitherto I should hope, that no petty quibbles will be resorted to in opposition to such a mass of evidence. Some one might perhaps object that, as Boulogne, where St. Patrick's family resided at the time he was made captive, was in the territory of the Morini, he should have designated his country rather by this name than by that of Britain. But have we not seen from Pliny, that the Britanni were in the immediate neighbourhood of Boulogne? We have also seen, that the district of Ponthieu was in that Britain.

St. Patrick tells us, that his family lived in the district of Tabernia, or Tarvenna, and yet he calls his country *Britain*, inasmuch as under that name the minor districts were included, in the same manner as our counties are comprized under the general name of the province. It must also be recollected, that the name *Morini* was rather a surname, signifying *maritime people*, than the proper name of a nation or territory. And in fact we do not find any particular name for their territory, such as *Morina*, *Morinia*, or *Morinium*; and it is clear, that they were called *Morini* for no other reason than that they inhabited part of the coast of Belgic Britain. Should it be said, that this Belgic Britain is but seldom alluded to by ancient writers, I answer first, that the country of the Belgæ was very imperfectly known to the Romans during the golden days of their literature. (161) Next it may be observed that, having begun to lose its old name soon after the settlement of the Franks, it is no wonder that there should be few such allusions to it by later writers, when treating of the tracts, which it comprized. We have, however, seen, that it has been not only alluded to but expressly mentioned oftener than has been imagined; and I hope that to the authorities and arguments, which may be collected from other quarters relative to Belgic Britain, the writings of St. Patrick, and some of our Irish documents will in future be added as serving to throw great light on the ancient state of a country, whose antiquities have been too much neglected.

(158) " Scit Deus quod ego valde optabam, sed alligatus Spiritu, qui mihi protestatur; si hoc fecero, ut futurum reum me esse designat; et timeo perdere laborem quem ego inchoavi." *Confes.* p. 17.

(159) " Numquid sine Deo, vel secundum carnem Hiberione veni? Quis me compulit, alligatus Spiritu ut non videam aliquem de cognatione mea?" (*Ep. cont. Corotic.*) See some other

proofs of St. Patrick's having been a native of the Continent below, *Chap. IV. §. XIX.*

(160) "Filiorum Dei quos nuper adquisivit in *ultimis terræ* per exhortationem parvitatæ nostræ." (*Ib.*) And in the beginning of the Confession he speaks of the *ultimum terræ*, where he was among foreigners.

(161) Cæsar speaking of the Belgæ has ; "A cultu atque humanitate Provinciæ longissime absunt; *minimeque ad eos mercatores sæpe commeant.*" (*De bello Gall. L. 1. §. 1.*)

§. XVII. Before concluding this chapter, it becomes necessary to enter into an inquiry concerning our saint's family and connexions, in which I shall endeavour to be as brief as possible, notwithstanding the many idle stories, that we find in some of those writings called his Lives, relative to his kindred. He was, as he himself informs us, of a respectable family and of that class of citizens, who were entitled to hold municipal offices ; (162) a privilege, which in the Roman empire was annexed to estated men, who alone formed the municipality or *Curia*, whence the members of it were called *Curiales* or *Decuriones*. (163) Elsewhere he says that his father was Calpornius a deacon, and son of Potitus who had been a priest. (164) It may perhaps be thought, that their having been ecclesiastics cannot be easily reconciled with their rank as Decurions, whereas, since the time of Constantine the great, laws had been enacted prohibiting such persons from entering into holy orders and subjecting them to penalties in case they did ; upon the principle that both situations were incompatible, as the Decurions were bound to attend to the public and civic duties, while the clergy, in virtue of their profession, were exempt from that burden ; so that, in case of Decurions becoming church-men, the whole weight of those duties would have fallen upon those, who might still remain laymen. But it is well known, that these laws were often either not enforced, or modified at various times by succeeding emperors, (165) until, to

come to the period about which St. Patrick was born, Theodosius the first exempted from the penalties all such Decurions as had been ordained before A. D. 388 ; and, with regard to such as might be ordained afterwards, established the rule, that they should either provide proper substitutes to serve in their stead, or give up their estates to the Curia at their ordination. (166) To this last condition I am inclined to think that St. Patrick alluded, where he says, that he *sold his nobility* ; (167) inasmuch as, coming under that regulation, he forfeited his estate for the purpose of becoming a clergyman. His family was very probably of Roman origin. Whether the names of his grand-father, father, and of himself, being purely Latin, should be considered as indicative of Roman extraction, I will not undertake to decide ; for it might be answered, that the provincial subjects of Rome did not unfrequently assume Latin names. But in his letter against Coroticus he seems to speak of the Romans as his fellow citizens, (168) and in the old catalogue of celebrated saints in Ireland the bishops of the first order, who were in St. Patrick's time, are stated to have been Romans, (169) &c. By placing the Romans before those of other nations it was probably meant, that St. Patrick was a Roman, that is, of a Roman family settled in Belgic Britain.

Be this as it may, his mother was, according to all the old Irish writers on the subject, (170) a native of some part of the Gauls. By some she is called *Conches* or *Conques*, by others *Conchessa*, and is said to have been the daughter of Ocmuis, or, as he is variously named, Ocbasius, or Secbasius. (171) There is a sort of tradition that she was a near relative of the great St. Martin of Tours, either his sister, or, what is less improbable, a niece of his. I have not been able to find any sufficient authority for it, and it seems to be founded on a mistake, in consequence of its having been said that St. Patrick, after his release from captivity, spent some time with St. Mar-

tin at Tours. Hence a conclusion was drawn, that there was some family connexion between them; and as that connexion could not have been in the paternal line, St. Patrick's father and grandfather having been always spoken of as Britons, while St. Martin was known to have been a native of Pannonia, it was inferred that the relationship must have been on the side of his mother. Yet in Fiech's hymn there is not a word about it, notwithstanding the degree of respectability, which it might have been supposed to add to the history of our saint; nor does Probus mention it, although he states that St. Patrick remained four years with St. Martin, and more than once speaks of Conchessa, or, as he calls her, Concessa. The authors of the Lives, called second, third, and fourth, are equally silent on this subject. St. Patrick does not give the least hint as to such a relationship, although he found himself under the necessity of showing, that he was respectably connected. (172) Add, that there is no ground for supposing, that there were any brothers or sisters of St. Martin residing in Gaul. Neither Sulpicius Severus, nor Paulinus, nor any of St. Martin's biographers have, as far as I could discover, made mention of them, nor does it appear that any member of his family, which was settled at Pavia, followed him to that country. We are told that, after he quitted the army, he went to Italy to see his parents, who were pagans, and that he exerted himself to bring them over to the Christian faith. The mother was converted, but his father remained obstinate. (173) Nothing is said of brothers or sisters of his, nor of any relative going with him on his return to Gaul.

(162) "Ingenuus fui secundum carnem; Decorione patre nascor. Vendidi enim nobilitatem meam." (*Ep. cont. Corot.*) For *Decorione* we are to read *Decurione*; *i. e. De Curia*.

(163) See Bingham, *Orig. Eccles. Book IV. ch. 4*. The name and rank are still kept up in many cities of Italy; and to be a

Decurione is considered as a proof of no ordinary nobility. I believe it would be difficult for the sticklers for St. Patrick's birth in North Britain to find a Curia or Decurions in Kilpatrick, or any place near it, in the fourth century.

(164) "Patrem habui Calpornium diaconem, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri." (*Confess. p. 1.*) Probus says the same; *L. 1. cap. 1.* In Fiech's hymn even his great grandfather is mentioned under the name of *Odissius*.

(165) Bingham *ib. B. V. ch. 3.* Tillemont, *Mem. Tom. X. p. 207.*

(166) *Cod. Theod. Lib. 12. Tit. 1. de Decur. leg. 121-123.*

(167) Above *Not. 162.*

(168) "Non dico civibus meis neque civibus sanctorum Romanorum, sed civibus dæmoniorum."

(169) "Primus ordo catholicorum sanctorum erat in tempore *Patricii*.—Hi omnes episcopi de *Romanis, Francis,*" &c.—See Usher *p. 913.*

(170) Usher, *p. 822.*

(171) See Usher *ib.* and Colgan *Tr. Th. p. 224.*

(172) Above *Not. 162.*

(173) Sulpic. Sever. *De vita B. Martini; cap. 4.*

§. XVIII. Still more unfounded are the stories concerning St. Patrick's sisters, who are said to have been with him in Ireland, and their numberless children. Part of this stuff is given by Usher; (174) but Colgan has collected the whole of it in a large dissertation, (175) to which I refer those, who may have a taste for such reading. Who could swallow such fables as, *ex. c.* that Tigris or Tigridia, one of those pretended sisters, had seventeen sons who all became bishops, priests, or monks, and five daughters nuns; (176) or this other, that Darerca another sister had also seventeen sons, all *bishops*, and only two daughters nuns? (177) And here arise mighty controversies; for some of Darerca's sons are ascribed by certain writers to Tigridia, and some others to Liemania. Lupita another sister is said to have remained a virgin, although one of our old genealogists has exhibited her as a mother. Then comes

another sister Cinnenum, or, as others have called her; Richella, for whom also Colgan has endeavoured to make out a number of sons, that became bishops, priests, or deacons. And, what is no less ridiculous, among the names of all these sons we find those of persons, who lived at various periods, and who, as Colgan himself is forced to acknowledge, were Irishmen both by father and mother's side; such as Kieran, Brendan, Loarn, Lurach, Columb, Maccarthen, and others. Darerca, according to those notable accounts, was twice married; first to one Conis a Briton, and afterwards to Restitutus a *Lombard!!!* Yet, not to be too severe, instead of *Lombard* we might read *a bard* or *son of a bard*; for in those stories, as given in Irish, Restitutus is called *Huabaird*. The name *Restitutus*, however, is rather an odd one for an Irish bard. On the whole it is not to be wondered at, that Tillemont has rejected all this nonsense concerning our saint's relatives said to have been with him in Ireland; for St. Patrick himself has plainly told us, that there were no such persons with him at the time he wrote his Epistle against Coroticus. (178) His anxious wish to see his relatives (179) in the continent indicates that he could not enjoy any such comfort in Ireland. The very ancient practice of designating religious women by the name of *sisters* was, in all probability, the cause of mistaking some pious ladies, who lived in or about St. Patrick's time, for real sisters of his. Besides, there is a passage of the Confession, which might have helped to strengthen this mistake. Speaking of the number of converts made through his own and the exertions of others, he says, that he does not know the number of those, *who are born of our kind or generation*, except the widows and the continent. (180) But it is plain from the whole context, that he alludes to a spiritual not a carnal generation; and indeed it would have been strange, that, had he any married sisters along with him, he could have been ignorant of the number of their children.

That the holy females, said to have been St. Patrick's sisters, did really exist, there can be no doubt. Darerca is mentioned in our Irish annals as having died A. D. 518. (181) Now who will believe that St. Patrick, who in the year 432 was about 45 years of age, could have had a sister, that lived until the year 518? As to Liemania, Colgan after many inquiries found himself forced to conclude, that she was the same as Darerca, and has endeavoured to account for her having two names. (182) Cinnenum, that is, Cinne-noem or *holy Cinne*, was undoubtedly the saint Cinne or Cinnia, whose Acts are given by Colgan at 1st February. She lived in the nunnery of Druindubhain (Co. Tyrone) about A. D. 480. Being of royal parentage she was also called *Ricinne* or *Richinne* i. e. royal Cinne. From *Richinne* was formed the name *Richella*. There remain still Lupita and Tigridia, both of whom are spoken of as weaving and preparing linen cloth for religious purposes. (183) Although Lupita's memory was famous at Armagh, where she was buried, (184) yet we are not bound to believe Fiech's Scholiast, when he tells us that, being a sister of St. Patrick, she was brought captive together with him to Ireland (185) Nor are we to listen to some writers, who have added Tigris or Tigridia as having been joined with them in that same captivity. For, not to repeat former observations, it is scarcely to be supposed that St. Patrick, who describes in a very feeling manner his own captivity, would have been totally silent concerning that of a sister or sisters of his, had they been partners of his misfortune. He mentions indeed the servitude of some pious women, who were persecuted for their faith, (186) and hence probably the origin of these fables.

(174) *Pr. p. 824. seqq.*(175) *Tr. Th. p. 224. seqq.*(176) *Jocelin, cap. 50.*(177) *Tr. Th. p. 227.*(178) See above *Not. 159.* That letter was written many

years after St. Patrick had commenced his mission in Ireland. See below *Chap. VI. §. x.*

(179) Above *Not. 154.* As St. Patrick was far advanced in life at the time he wrote the Confession, it seems more probable that the term *parentes*, in the passage referred to, is to be understood not of *parents* in the English sense of the word, but of *relatives*. This acceptation of *parentes* had crept into use as far back as the time of St. Jerome; and hence the Italian *parenti* and the French *parens*.

(180) “Omnes virgines Dei ita hoc faciunt, non sponte patrum earum, sed persecutionem patientur—et nihilominus *plus augetur numerus*, et de genere nostro qui ibi nati sunt *nescimus numerum eorum*, præter viduas et continentes. Sed et illæ maxime laborant,” &c. *p. 16.*

(181) “Quies Darercæ, quæ Moninne nominata est.” Usher, *Pr. p. 826.* The 4 Masters *ap. Colgan, AA. SS. p. 190.* have A. D. 517, which year, considering their mode of computation, is the same as Usher’s A. 518. He has very properly made this Darerca the same as the one, reported to have been St. Patrick’s sister. Colgan has fruitlessly laboured to distinguish them, *AA. SS. ad 22 Mart.* which day he assigns for her festival, reserving the sixth of July for another Darerca. Marian Gorman at *22 Mart.* calls her a virgin. See *AA. SS. p. 719.*

(182) *AA. SS. p. 718.*

(183) “Lupita, Tigrida—textrices et sacrorum linteorum erant confectrices.” *Tripart. L. 3. c. 98.*

(184) Usher *p. 824.*

(185) Probus calls the captive sister *Mila*; *L. 1. c. 12.* He also mentions a brother of his named Ructhi, as also made captive at the same time. But, as Colgan remarks, neither *Mila* nor *Ructhi* occur in any of the other accounts of our saint; and the passage of Probus, in which those persons are spoken of, bears evident marks of interpolation.

(186) “Sed et illæ maxime laborant quæ *servitio detinentur*, usque ad terrores et minas assidue perseverant.” *Confes. p. 16.*

CHAPTER IV.

Of the year of St. Patrick's birth—That of his captivity and first arrival in Ireland—Names or surnames given to him, and his proceedings during his captivity—Return to his country—His studies at Tours—The vision, in which he was invited to Ireland—His transactions with St. German of Auxerre—Also in an island, most probably Lerins—Sent to Rome by St. German—Appointed by Pope Celestine assistant to Palladius—Sets out for Ireland—Consecrated bishop somewhere in the N. W. of Gaul—Of some companions of St. Patrick.

SECT. I.

HAVING endeavoured to clear up the account of St. Patrick's country and connexions, we must now proceed to treat of himself in person. The variety of opinions concerning the year of his birth, and the number of years that he lived, under which are included many other questions relative to the chronological arrangement of his transactions, renders such an inquiry exceedingly irksome, and induces a necessity of examining several hypotheses on these subjects, some of which have been rather generally received.

Usher laid down two chronological positions, upon which he built his whole system ; one, that St. Patrick lived full 120 years, and the other, that he died A. D. 493. Then having found, that Florence of Worcester in his Chronicle had assigned St. Patrick's birth to A. D. 372, he followed him in this point, as said year answered his purpose very well. (1) Colgan agrees with Usher as to the saint's death in 493, but places his birth in 373, and indeed on the 5th of April, whence he concludes that St. Patrick

died in the 120th year of his age. His argument for differing from Usher is strangely incorrect. From a tradition that St. Patrick was born on a Wednesday, joined with there being in the Irish calendars a festival of St. Patrick's baptism assigned to the 5th of April, he drew his inference that St. Patrick was born on a fifth of said month, and therefore A. D. 373, whereas, he says, the fifth of April fell on Wednesday in that year. (2) Now in the first place the festival here mentioned was not in commemoration of the baptism of St. Patrick, but of the first baptism which he performed in Ireland. (3) Next, supposing even that said festival was relative to the baptism of St. Patrick himself, what bewitched Colgan to make him be baptized on the very day he was born? Did he find it any where recorded, that our saint came into the world in an imminent danger of death? Lastly it turns out, unluckily for Colgan's argument, that the 5th of April fell in the year 373 not on Wednesday but on Friday. Harris copied these bad calculations of Colgan, and has added a huge blunder of his own. He says he must differ from Usher as to St. Patrick's birth in 372, and place it in 373, because even according to Usher himself St. Patrick, who died A. D. 493, lived but 120 years. (4) Poor Harris thought that, if St. Patrick's birth had taken place in 372, he should have lived 121 years. But Usher was a better calculator than Harris. He has not pretended to fix the day, or the month in which St. Patrick was born. If indeed he had stated, that the saint was born early in the year any time before the 17th of March, his calculation would have been wrong, and Harris' objection would be of weight. But supposing St. Patrick's birth to have occurred during some part of the year after the 17th of March, it would follow of course that, to make him die after having completed his 120th year, he must have been born in the year 372. Harris calculated worse also than Colgan, who,

as he ought to have remembered, did not give to St. Patrick full 120 years of life, observing that, in his computation, 18 days were wanting to complete that number.

The above mentioned tradition concerning St. Patrick's baptism on a Wednesday is found in an old document called the book of Sligo, in which we read, according to Usher's interpretation, that St. Patrick was born, baptized, and died on a Wednesday. (5) Usher did not attempt to draw any consequences from what is said of the birth and baptism; but he availed himself of the datum that St. Patrick died on a Wednesday, and thence, in opposition to various jarring computations, which he had met with in the course of his reading, concluded that the year of our saint's death was 493, whereas in that year the 17th of March fell on Wednesday. It is indeed true, that not only Jocelin, but, what is of much greater weight, the Annals of Ulster had assigned it to that year, although, as will be seen lower down, it is observed in them, that some documents place it in 458, the year to which it is assigned also by Giraldus Cambrensis and others. The register of Glastonbury, Capgrave, &c. have A. D. 472; the Anglican Martyrology A. D. 481. The greater part of the chroniclers, such as Marianus Scotus, Sigebert, Florence of Worcester, &c. &c. have A. D. 491. Next comes a variety of statements concerning the number of years, which St. Patrick lived, and consequently as to the year in which he was born. Marianus Scotus gives him 92 years, which Baronius thought should be read 82. But Usher alleges the authority of a *MS.* copy of Marianus, in which the saint's age is said to have been 122 years, which number is given also by Sigebert and other chroniclers. The Annals of Boyle, William of Malmesbury, &c. have 111 years, Stanihurst 97. Probus, and the third Life have 132 years; an Anglo-Saxon martyrology quoted by Usher 131, which number agrees with an old

breviary of Rheims, in which St. Patrick is said to have died when he reached his 132d year. Jocelin's computation of 123 years was, I suspect, derived from the 132 of Probus, for which Jocelin, thinking it too great an age, supposed that we ought to read 123; *i. e.* by inverting CXXXII into CXXIII. (6) But 120 became at length the favourite number; for it best agreed with the conformities sought to be found between St. Patrick and Moses. They were said to be like each other in four respects; I. They both heard an angel speaking from a bush. II. They both fasted 40 days and 40 nights. III. Their years were the same, *viz.* 120. IV. Where their mortal remains are is not known. (7) This number of years was also very convenient for the division of the various periods of St. Patrick's life into even numbers. Thus his age began to be divided into four equal periods of 30 years each, two of which were elapsed when he arrived on his mission in Ireland, while the two latter were so arranged as to leave one of them for his active and apostolic proceedings, and the other until his death for retirement. (8) A Scholiast of Nennius divided the 120 years only into three parts of 40 years each, the last of which was that, during which he preached in Ireland. (9) Jocelin, whose numbers were not even, divided his 123 years of our saint's life into three unequal portions of 55, 35, and 33. (10)

(1) Usher *Ind. Chronol.* ad A. 372—493, and the pages of *Primordia* there referred to.

(2) *Tr. Th.* p. 234.

(3) Aengussius in his *Festilogium* says at 5 April; “*Baptismus magni Patricii coepit in Hibernia:*” and the *Martyrologium Tam-lactense* has; “*Baptisma Patricii venit ad Hiberniam.* See *Tr. Th.* p. 232.

(4) *Archbishops of Armagh*, p. 7.

(5) *Pr.* p. 882. Usher wrong as to the baptism. See *not.* 3. and below *Chap. V.* §. vi.

(6) See on these subjects Usher, *p.* 879 to 885, and Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 232, *seqq.*

(7) “ In quatuor rebus similis fuit Moysi Patricius. I. Angelum de rubo audivit. II. Quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus jejunavit. III. Annos CXX peregit in vita praesenti. IV. Ubi sunt ossa ejus nemo novit.” (Tirechan *ap.* Usher, *p.* 887.) Nennius (quoted *ib.*) has; “ Quatuor modis aequantur Moyses et Patricius;” and then he goes on stating the same conformities, except his adding, at the second, that they both fasted on a mountain. M. Florilegus *ad A.* 491 has followed Nennius. The compiler of the Tripartite was so pleased with these conformities, that, although elsewhere (*L.* 3. *c.* 103.) he says that St. Patrick died in the 122d year of his age, he has given them to his readers and added some others. (*L.* 2. *c.* 63.)

(8) Usher’s Tripartite has; “ Anno sexagesimo aetatis suae missus a Celestino Papa ad praedicandum in Hiberniam beatissimus archiepiscopus Patricius venit. Aliis sexaginta annis in Hibernia vixit; triginta annis praedicando et baptizando per diversas Hiberniae provincias; aliis vero triginta annis in suis cellis et in monasteriis *theorice* vixit. (*Pr. p.* 873.) In the same strain we have the following verses taken from a spurious tract called *St. Patrick’s Testament*, and translated into Latin.

Ter denis annis versatus in aede Saballi,
Ter denis aliis peragravi laetus Iernam:
Centum et vicanos annos vivendo peregi;

Praesentem ad noctem hanc seclum producitur istud. (See *ib. p.* 887, and Ware, *Opusc. S. P. p.* 109. A division of the first 60 years into thirties is proposed by Usher, *p.* 886.

(9) “ Quadragenarius erat quando de captivitate exivit, et per 40 annos didicit et Deo servivit, et 40 praedicavit. In his tribus quadragenariis maxime Patricius aequatur Moysi. Nam sicut Moyses fuit 40 annis in domo Pharaonis velut in captivitate, et 40 in exilio in terra Madian, et 40 in praedicatione,” &c. *ap.* Usher, *p.* 886.

(10) Jocelin, *cap.* 191.

§. II. Passing by these whimsical speculations, and certain extravagant hypotheses relative to the year in which St. Patrick was born, (11) let us now endea-

your to lay down some fixed principles, which may lead us to as near the truth as can be expected upon a subject, that has been so much darkened by conjectures and wild suppositions. Baronius and Petavius were of opinion, that the number CXXXII of Probus (the years of St. Patrick's life) was originally LXXXII, which through a mistake in transcribing was changed into the former by merely substituting c for l. (12) The Bollandists adopted this correction, (13) and undertook, in conformity with it, to determine the times of our saint's birth and death. They assigned the former to A. D. 377, and the latter to 460, thus giving him full 82 years of age. Next they drew up a chronological arrangement of the principal transactions of his life, in which, however, we find more of conjecture and ingenuity than of solid argument founded on historical facts. (14) For instance, who will not smile on finding them gravely calculating the sixty years, vulgarly assigned to St. Patrick's mission in Ireland, from the time that he was about 22 years of age and not long returned from captivity? It is true that, instead of calling the sixty years those of his mission, they give them the name of the sixty years of his *apostolic life*. It would have been better to give up the whole story of the sixty years than to strive to defend it by such quibbling. Equally nugatory are the calculations, by which, with a show of precision, they attempted to fix the times of certain journies of our Apostle to Rome after his mission had commenced; for no such journies ever took place, as will be seen hereafter.

(11) *Ex. c.* that of Stanihurst, who, after some writers, assigns his birth to A. D. 361; and, what is still more absurd, the date, A. D. 336 marked for it in the Annals of Connaught.

(12) See Tillemont, *Mem. &c. Tom. XVI. p. 783.* Colgan also thought that the CXXXII was owing to an error of transcription; but he supposed that the original reading was CXXII. *Tr. Th. p. 232.*

(13) *Comment. Praev. ad v. S. Patr. §. 5.*

(14) Porter has followed the Bollandists in their doubts concerning the great number of years commonly allowed for St. Patrick's life, and also in some of their chronological arrangements. (*Compend. Annal. Eccl. R. Hib. p. 126.*)

§. III. To Tillemont, who had studied St. Patrick's tracts with much attention, is due the merit of having been the first to point out a right mode of discovering the true period relative to St. Patrick's life; and, had he been better acquainted with Irish history, he would have made still further progress in clearing up the whole matter. Having taken particular notice of some passages in the Confession, in which St. Patrick speaks of his promotion to the episcopacy, and of his being long known to the people of Ireland, he thence concluded that St. Patrick was consecrated when about 45 years of age. (15) I do not agree with him as to some other points, particularly his bringing St. Patrick to Ireland so late as A. D. 440; whereas there can be no doubt but that his arrival on the mission took place in the year 432. But I acknowledge my obligation to him for having marked out the passages alluded to, from which, when combined with some other circumstances, I think we may come near a consistent chronological account of our saint's life. At the time that St. Patrick had determined on preaching the Gospel in Ireland, and when he was to be ordained bishop for that purpose, a certain person, who had been long a friend of his, reminded him of a fault, which he had committed when a foolish boy scarcely 15 years of age, and not content with such private admonition and with telling him that he was unworthy of the episcopacy, announced said fault to the whole congregation. The saint had confessed this fault before he became a deacon, and in the bitterness of his sorrow communicated it to that person as his friend. Yet notwithstanding his having repented of it, and the

consideration of his having been at the time so very young and uninformed, which, however strict the discipline of the church was with regard to candidates for holy orders, might have served as pleas of indulgence, and actually did so prior to his deaconship, that friend came forward *after thirty years* to expose him in public. Those *thirty years* must be counted from the time the fault had been committed; for St. Patrick meant to show that, after having fallen into it, he had passed many years of an irreproachable life. He adds, that the shame of having been thus denounced for what had happened so long before was near overwhelming him with grief; but that in the night of the same day he was informed in a vision, that the exposure of his name was disapproved of by the Almighty, and was encouraged to keep up his spirits and to persevere in his determination. (16) Another passage pointed out by Tillemont is that, wherein, treating of his pastoral exertions, he says, that God and the people of Ireland know how he behaved himself among them from the time of his *youth*. (17) Now, had he been sixty years old when he undertook his mission, according to the vulgar opinion, or more than between forty and fifty, would he have spoken of himself as then a young man?

(15) *Memoires, &c. Tom. XVI. S. Patrice; Art. 2. and Notes.*

(16) See *Confess. p. 10, 11, 12.* Out of all this affecting narrative, the substance only of which I have given, I shall quote but his return of thanks to God for his having comforted him and encouraged him not to desist from his purpose; “*Idcirco gratias ago ei, qui me in omnibus confortavit, ut non me impediret a perfectione quam statueram, et de meo quoque opere, quod a Christo didiceram.*” p. 11.

(17) *Vos scitis et Deus, qualiter apud vos conversatus sum a juventute mea, et fide veritatis et in sinceritate cordis.*” *Ib. p. 18.*

§. iv. Following what has been now stated St. Patrick was 45 years old, or perhaps only in his 45th

year when he was consecrated bishop. His consecration must, as will be shown, have taken place either in the year 432 or towards the latter end of 431. Thus then we may assign his birth to A. D. 387. (18) This leads us to the discovery of the time of his captivity, which, as he tells us, happened when he was about sixteen years of age, (19) and consequently some time, and perhaps late, in the year 403. This year formed part of a period much spoken of in Irish history. At that time the renowned Niell Naoigiallach or Niell of the nine hostages, king of Ireland, after having ravaged the coasts of G. Britain was plundering the maritime districts of the Gauls, until he was killed by a countryman of his own in the year 404 or 405, and, what comes very much to our purpose, near the *Portus Iccius*, and therefore not far from Boulogne. (20) Keating, who, as we have seen, (21) makes Armorica the scene of St. Patrick's captivity, assigns it to the expedition of this Niell. Having given a quotation from a *MS.* in which St. Patrick is said to have been brought to Ireland during the reign of Niell, who plundered Britain, England, and Gaul, he subjoins; "It is more than probable that, when this Irish prince had finished his design upon the kingdom of Wales, he carried his arms in a fleet to France—and from thence he led St. Patrick—into captivity." (22) I find in Keating but one expedition of Niell to the coasts of Gaul, during which he says in another place (23) that St. Patrick and 200 of the noblest youth were brought away. Nor has O'Flaherty more than one expedition of his to that country; so that, how many soever might have been his or the expeditions of other Irish chiefs against the maritime parts of G. Britain, (24) this against Gaul must have been the one in which St. Patrick was made captive. Consequently this event occurred in the latter end of Niell Naoigiallach's reign and not so early as the ninth year of it, as stated in the passage above referred to, which has

been quoted by Keating. (25) For we have no authority for his having visited Gaul at any time until the period already given, and which is so clearly marked in Irish history. Our saint's captivity may then be safely assigned to A. D. 403, and to a time not long prior to Niell's death. Thus the dates of his birth and captivity, considering the circumstances now mentioned, help to confirm each other, and combined with his age at consecration authorize us to place his birth in the year 387.

(18) It is remarkable, that the 17th of March fell on Wednesday in the year 387. This will help us to understand the drift of the passage from the book of Sligo as to its assigning St. Patrick's birth to a Wednesday. According to the usual style of the martyrologies the 17th of March used to be marked as the *Natale* or *Natalis* of St. Patrick, that is, the day of his heavenly birth or first appearante in heaven. This manner of speaking not being understood by some persons gave rise to a notion that he was born, in this world, on that day, in the same manner as it caused the mistake of those, who believed that Scotland or Ireland was his country. (See Usher, p. 820 and *Tr. Th.* p. 221). On the other hand the Irish Calendars and Annals placed his death, or *requies* on that day; and hence the 17th of March was considered as the anniversary of his birth as well as death. Now assigning his birth to A. D. 387 we have the Wednesday sought for. Usher knowing that it would not answer for his year 372 overlooked the matter. Nor would it do for Colgan's 373; for in neither of these years did March 17 fall on a Wednesday.

(19) "Annorum eram tunc fere sedecim". *Conf.* p. 1.

(20) Colgan writes; (*Tr. Th.* p. 449.) "Niellus Naoigiallacha—anno imperii 27 et Christi 405, occubuit juxta *Portum Iccium* in Gallia, a quodam sicario insidiatore e sua gente, nempe Eochodio filio Ennii Kenselaich interfectus." I suspect that Niell's death took place rather in the year 404; for it was in 405, according to Colgan (*ib.*) and O'Flaherty (*Ogygia*, p. 413) that Dathias (Dathy) his successor ascended the throne; and it is probable, that some delay as to his being recognized king occurred in consequence of Niell's having fallen far from his own country, and

of the time requisite for the proceedings in appointing a new sovereign. (See Ware, *Antiq. Chap. X. Harris' ed.*) O'Flaherty relating the same circumstance adds, that it happened near the Loire, and that Neill was killed by a poisoned arrow shot across that river; "Niellus rex dum Aremoricam bello premeret ab Achaio (Eochaid) filio Ennii Kennsalii (Eana Kinselagh) rege Lageniae ob veteres inimicitias venenata sagitta *trans Ligerim* jacta *propter mare Ictium* confossus est." (*Ogyg. p. 403.*) Lynch (*Cambr. Evers. p. 299.*) had also mentioned the Loire, but omitted other circumstances given by O'Flaherty, whose account of the place, where the transactions occurred, is quite contradictory. For surely the Loire was never supposed to be near the part of the sea called *Ictium*, and which got that name from being near the *Portus Ictius* or *Ictius*, of which above; *Chap. III. §. ix.* O'Flaherty quotes Usher to show, that the *Mare Iccium* extended as far as the Loire. But Usher says no such thing; what he has (*Pr. p. 8.*) is this; "Est autem mare *Icht* (*Iccium*) ut ex *Albei* etiam et *Declani Vitis* didicimus, illud quod *Galliam* et *Britanniam* interfluit." This is the same as if he had told us that it is the part of the sea, which we now call the streights of Dover. Nor could Usher or any one moderately skilled in geography speak of the sea near the Loire as flowing between Gaul and G. Britain. What puzzled O'Flaherty was, that he wished to reconcile what he read in Lynch about the Loire with what Colgan and the old documents have about Niell having been killed near the *Portus Iccius*. The right way to reconcile those passages would have been to observe, that Lynch was mistaken as to the Loire, *Ligeris*, instead of which he should have written *Liana*, *Liane*, the small river that falls into the sea below Boulogne. Across that river a man might have shot an arrow; but where could a person be found strong enough to make an arrow fly from one side to the other of the Loire, near where it joins the ocean? While I am on the subject of Niell *Naoigiallach* I cannot but express my astonishment, that Usher has spoken of him as reigning in the year 360 (*Ind. Chron.*) and that he followed the wretched authority of his *Tripartite*, according to which Niell's reign would have commenced A. D. 352. (See *Pr. p. 587.*) Usher knew that Niell reigned only about 27 years (*ib.*); and consequently, according to his computation, he should have died about A. 479, a date quite repugnant with Irish history, and with

the circumstance, that between the reign of Niell and his son Leogaire there intervened only about 24 years, during which was the reign of Dathy. Now Usher himself places the commencement of Leogaire's reign A. D. 427. It is odd, that he paid attention to a work, which in the very same passage brings St. Patrick a captive to Ireland in the first year of the emperor Julian; *i. e.* A. 361.

(21) *Chap. III. §. ix.*

(22) *Hist. of Ireland; B. 1. p. 156.* Soon after he mentions these circumstances as evident.

(23) *Ib. p. 149.*

(24) See Usher *p. 828.* Fiech's Scholiast speaks of seven sons of a Factmudius a British king, who ravaging Armorica killed St. Patrick's father and made himself a prisoner. Probus has a similar story (*L. 1. c. 12*) but calls that king Rethmitus, and adds that the saint's mother was also killed on that occasion. Now it is clear from the *Confession p. 9.* that his parents were still alive after his return from captivity. As to the names *Factmudius, Rethmitus, Fectmacius, &c.* it is probable that they were latinized corruptions of the Irish word *Fommaire* or *Fammaire* a pirate, or depredator at sea. (See Lynch's *Life of St. Patrick; chap. 8.*) As St. Patrick was known to have been taken and brought to Ireland by persons of that description, it may be conjectured, that some Irish story-teller, wishing to save the honour of his country, strove to throw the blame of that act on the Britons, and thus gave occasion to what has been said about the seven sons of king Factmudius. St. Patrick himself gives us to understand in his letter against Coroticus, that he was taken by people from Ireland; "Numquid piam misericordiam ago erga gentem illam, quae me aliquando ceperunt, &c.?"

(25) The passage quoted by Usher from his Tripartite, of which above *Not. 20.* has this same ninth year of Niell's reign as that, in which St. Patrick was made captive. But the author thought that this happened in G. Britain. His ignorance of the history of those times was so great, that he identified the first year of the emperor Julian with the 9th of Niell Naoigiallach.

§. v. According to Fiech's hymn his first name was *Succat.* This would have been an odd name for

the son of a Calpornius and the grandson of a Potitus. I do not mean to deny, that such a name was applied to our saint, not however as his original one but as a sort of surname after the commencement of his mission. Probus, who writes it *Sochet*, seems to speak of it as an additional name. (26) Stanihurst has *Suchar* or *Socher*. (27) If this be the true reading, we might suppose that it was given to St. Patrick as an epithet to indicate his meekness; for *Socair* in Irish means *mildness, ease*, and also *plain, smooth*, &c. If the name was *Succat*, I know not how to account for it better than by deriving it from *Succa*, a word signifying, in low Latinity, a linen garment worn in public by bishops. (28) In this hypothesis St. Patrick might have been styled the *Succat*, as a person wearing a *succa*, a circumstance quite new to the Irish in his time. He never speaks of himself under any other name than *Patricius*. Were we to believe Fiech's Scholiast, he got this name from Pope Celestine, when he was ordained bishop; although, as will be seen below, Celestine was not the person who ordained him. This is like the other story of his having been called *Magonius* by St. German of Auxerre. (29)

(26) "Sanctus Patricius, qui et *Sochet* vocabatur." Probus *L. 1. c. 1.* In the second Life (*cap. 12*) it is written *Succet*; and in the Tripartite (*L. 1. c. 17.*) *Suchat*.

(27) *De Vita S. Patricii*; *Lib. 1.* (28) Ducange at *Succa*.

(29) These trifles are summed up by Fiech's Scholiast in the following words; "*Succat* primum nomen ejus in baptismo a parentibus suis: *Cathraige* nomen ei inditum servitutis tempore in Hibernia; *Magonius*, i. e. magis agens quam caeteri monachi, nomen ejus tempore discipulatus apud Germanum: *Patricius* vero vocatus tempore suae ordinationis; et Celestinus Petri comorbanus sive successor est qui hoc ei nomen indidit." *Schol. 6.* We find similar stories in the second Life and in the Tripartite, *loc. cit.* *Not. 26.*

§. VI. On being brought to Ireland St. Patrick was obliged, according to some accounts, to serve four different families, (30) or, as others say, four brothers; (31) from which circumstance, we are told, he got the surname of *Cothraige* or *Cathraige*. (32) One of those four masters, whether a brother of the others or not, perceiving that he was faithful and diligent, and wishing to have him to himself, purchased him from his partners. This man's name was Milcho, or Miliac. He lived in that part of Dalaradia, which is now comprized within the county of Antrim. Some say that he was a prince; others that he was a *magus*, that is, invested with a religious function; and others represent him only as a rich man. (33) St. Patrick calls his master merely a *man*, (34) without adding any thing concerning his situation in life. With that profound humility, which every line written by this truly great saint breathes, he tells us that he had been very negligent and careless about religion when a boy; but that, when finding himself in his miserable state of slavery, God opened his eyes and brought him to a sense of his duty and a sincere sorrow for his former transgressions. (35) His occupation was to tend sheep, (36) an employment that allowed him sufficient leisure for attending to his devotional practices, in which he was so assiduous that he would at times repeat a hundred prayers during the day and nearly as many more at night; and that whether on a mountain or in a forest, amidst snow, frost, or rain, he used to rise before day-light for the purpose of praying; so lively was his faith, charity, and fear of God, and so fervently did he feel the operation of the Holy Spirit. (37) To this recital of St. Patrick's religious pursuits Probus has added, that he used also frequently to peruse the psalms and hymns, (38) as if indeed he could have found books containing them in the North of Ireland at that period, or, when suddenly made a prisoner, had time to provide himself with

religious tracts, or, while still a careless boy, was anxious about them.

(30) Fiech's hymn, *Stroph.* 3. Second Life, *cap.* 12.

(31) 4th Life, *cap.* 15.

(32) Fiech's hymn, *ib.* The Tripartite has; (*L.* 1 *cap.* 17.) "*Cothraige*, quod quatuor familias denotat, appellatus est, quia quatuor familiis debebat inservire." Colgan observes that, to spell it correctly, it should be *Ceothir-tegh*, from *Ceothir*, four, and *tegh*, a house. (*Tr. Th.* p. 17.)

(33) Probus, who says nothing about the four families, relates that St. Patrick was on his arrival in Ireland *apud quemdam gentilem immitem regem in servitute detentus.* (*L.* 1. c. 2.) Jocelin calls his master a petty king; "*regulo paganissimo, Milchoni nomine, in aquilonari parte ejusdem insulae principanti in servitutum venditur.*" (*cap.* 13.) Fiech's Scholiast has; "*Est hic Michul sive Milchuo, filius Hua Buani, rex aquilonaris Dal-aradiae.*" (*Schol.* 8.) Tirechan writes; "*Cothirthiac (Patricius) servivit quatuor domibus magorum; et empsit illum unus ex eis, cui nomen erat Miliac Mac-Cuboin magus;*" (*ap.* Usher p. 829.) In the second Life we are told, that the saint "*in regionem Dailaraidi devectus—quatuor divitibus cum omni cordis devotione servivit. Videns autem unus eorum, nomine Miliuc, quod esset servus fidelis, emit eum ab aliis ut sibi soli serviret.*" (*cap.* 12.) Concerning Dal-aradia see more below; *Chap.* V. §. III.

(34) "*Intermisi hominem, cum quo fueram sex annis.*" *Conf.* p. 6.

(35) "*Deum verum ignorabam—Et ibi (in Ireland) Dominus aperuit sensum incredulitatis meae, ut vel sero rememorarem delicta mea, et ut converterer toto corde ad Dominum Deum meum, qui respexit humilitatem meam, et misertus est adolescentiae et ignorantiae meae, et custodivit me antequam scirem eum,*" &c. *Confess.* p. 1, 2. And p. 5. "*Scio illud certissime, quia utique, priusquam humiliarer, ego eram velut lapis qui jacet in luto profundo; et venit qui potens est, et in sua misericordia sustulit me.*" From these passages the reader may judge what opinion is to be formed concerning the miracles attributed by Jocelin and others to St. Patrick when a boy, of which, however, neither Fiech's hymn, nor the Scholiast, nor Probus make any mention.

(36) Jocelin (*cap.* 13.) and the Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 18.) have changed the sheep into hogs; and Harris with wonderful sagacity makes St. Patrick write, that his constant business was to *feed the hogs*, although even Jocelin says only, that the saint was entrusted with the care of a drove of hogs; “*Patricius porcorum custodiae mancipatur;*” that is, while those animals were roving and feeding on acorns or whatever else might fall in their way through the forests, mountains, &c. Harris, who was probably unacquainted with this practice, which is so general to this day on the continent, thought the saint was employed in feeding them in troughs. Had that been the case, he would have had but little time for the prayers, which he was so constant in repeating. What makes Harris’ blunder still worse is, that he is there striving to put in English St. Patrick’s own words, among which we find mentioned not *hogs* but *sheep*. I am sorry that Lynch (*Hist. of S. P. ch.* 10) has copied that wretched translation of Harris. But he had not the *Confession* before him; for, if he had, he would not have translated *pecora* by *hogs*.

(37) “*Sed postquam Hiberionem (St. Patrick constantly calls Ireland Hiberione) deveneram, quotidie pecora pascebam et frequens in die orabam; magis ac magis accedebat amor Dei et timor ipsius, et fides augebatur, et spiritus augebatur, ut in die una usque ad centum orationes, et in nocte prope similiter; ut etiam in silvis et monte manebam, et ante lucem excitabar ad orationem per nivem, per gelu, per pluviam, et nihil mali sentiebam, neque ulla pigritia erat in me—quia tunc in me Spiritus fervebat.*” *Conf. p.* 6. The mountain here alluded to is said to have been that of *Mis*, or, as it is called at present, *Sliebh-mis* in Antrim. See Fiech’s Scholiast, *No.* 9. and Tripartite, *L.* 1. *c.* 19.

(38) “*Frequenter enim psalmos et hymnos ruminabat.*” (*L.* 1. *c.* 2.) Jocelin goes still further; for he says (*cap.* 12) that St. Patrick, from a very early time of his life, used to read the whole Psalter every day. Compare with *Not.* 35.

§. VII. Passing over some idle stories relative to our saint’s proceedings during his servitude, (39) I must remark that there is no foundation for what we read in some of his Lives concerning his having been often favoured at that time with the converse of

an angel Victor, or that it was said Angel who answered to him that the period was arrived for his liberation from captivity. (40) This angel Victor was introduced in consequence of a mistake founded upon what St. Patrick relates concerning a vision, which he had some years later, and in which he thought he saw a man of the name of *Victoricus* as if coming to him from Ireland. For *Victoricus* some read *Victor*, (41) and certain circumstances of two distinct visions were confounded together. St. Patrick indeed tells us, that he was informed in his sleep, that the time of his liberation was arrived, but makes no mention of either an angel or the name of an angel. His account of the whole transaction is very clear. He says, that on a night he heard, while asleep, a voice announcing to him; "Thou fastest well, and soon art to go to thine own country." After a little time he heard again; "Behold, a ship is ready for you." And the ship was not near where he lived, but about 200 miles off, (42) and in a part of Ireland, where he never had been, nor was acquainted with any one. He then betook himself to flight and got off from the man, with whom he had been for *six* years. (43) "And I came," he adds, "in the power of the Lord who directed my course towards a good end, (44) and I was under no apprehension until I arrived at where the ship was. It was then clearing out, and I called for a passage. The master of the vessel got angry, and said to me; Do not pretend to come with us. (45) On hearing this I retired for the purpose of going to the cabin, where I had been received as a guest, and while going thither, I began to pray. But, before I had finished my prayer, I heard one of the men crying out with a loud voice after me; Come quickly, for they are calling you; and immediately I returned. And they said to me; Come, we receive thee on *faith*; (46) be our friend just as it may be agree-

“able to you. We then set sail, and after *three days* “reached land.” (47)

(39) Jocelin (*cap.* 14.) and the Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 20.) have a fable concerning a certain vision of Milcho and its explanation by St. Patrick; and how a time would come when, on his preaching to them, Milcho's two daughters (the Tripartite adds a son of his Guasactus) would become Christians, while Milcho himself would remain in his infidelity. Now it is plain from our saint's own testimony, that neither at that time, nor for many years after, had he the least idea of ever being employed as a missionary in Ireland. See *Conf.* *p.* 6.

(40) The angel Victor appears in Fiech's hymn as ordering St. Patrick to go beyond sea. The Scholiast adds, that he came to him in the form of a bird. I find the same stuff in the Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 19.) together with the statement, that our saint was accustomed to enjoy daily and familiar conversations with that angel. The second and third Lives follow Fiech's hymn. The fourth has an angel as acting on that occasion, but does not give his name. Jocelin, who was never behind, when opportunities of this kind occurred, has a flowery description of the angel Victor appearing under a human form, and relates part of the conversation. (*cap.* 15.) Probus often mentions an angel as conversing with St. Patrick and directing him how to act, but does not call him by any particular name.

(41) It is worth observing, that the author of the 4th Life, who gives no name to the angel, calls the man, that appeared as if coming from Ireland, not *Victoricus* but *Victor*. (*cap.* 25.) The reverse of this mistake occurs in the second Life, *cap.* 14. where the angel is called *Victoricus*. Of *Victoricus* more hereafter.

(42) “*Ecce navis tua parata est; et non erat prope, sed forte habebat ducenta millia passus.*” (*Conf.* *p.* 6.) Probus, following the *Confession* nearly word for word, has also *ducenta millia passuum.* (*L.* 1. *c.* 3.) The Tripartite, quoting the Latin text of St. Patrick, has “*forte habebat ducenta millia passuum.*” (*L.* 1. *c.* 22) Jocelin, (*cap.* 15.) says, that the place was distant *ducentis millibus passuum.* The third Life has “*quasi ducentis millibus passuum;*” (*cap.* 14.) and the fourth, quoting, in like manner as the Tripartite, from St. Patrick himself, has; “*Spatium 200 mille*

passuum erat usque ad locum," &c. (*cap.* 21.) Harris, although he affects to follow the *Confession*, omits the distance of the place where the ship was lying, and merely says, that St. Patrick "made all the haste he could to the sea side, and found a ship," &c. thus wishing to make the reader think, that the vessel was within no great distance of where the saint was. He was aware that the circumstance of a ship, destined by Providence for carrying St. Patrick back to his own country, being placed about 200 miles from Antrim, could not be well reconciled with the hypothesis of St. Patrick's being a native of the country now called Scotland, a country so near the Antrim coast that they can be seen from each other, and between which there could not have been wanting frequent communications and opportunities for crossing to either side even in boats. The ship was undoubtedly lying in some part of the South of Ireland, and in a harbour or river convenient for a passage to Gaul.

(43) Probus (*L.* 1. *c.* 3) and the fourth Life (*cap.* 16.) have seven years; which must be understood not of seven years complete, but of the saint having been freed in the seventh year. Fiech's hymn, the Tripartite, and other accounts agree as to only six full years. See Usher *p.* 830, and Colgan *Tr. Th.* *p.* 236. In some of those tracts it is said, that there was a law in Ireland, according to which slaves should become free in the seventh year. The Tripartite has; "Gentilis enim ille populus solebat servos septimo servitutis anno manumissos libertate donare, nisi ipsi sponte velint amplius servire." (*L.* 1. *c.* 21.) They tell us, that this was conformable to the practice of the Hebrews; *more Hebraeorum*; (*ib.* *cap.* 18. Second Life, *cap.* 12. Fourth, *cap.* 16.) But those writers forgot, that the privilege granted in the Mosaic law to slaves, as to their being freed in the seventh year, was relative only to native Hebrews, and was not extended to strangers. (See *Levitic.* XXV. 39—46.) Accordingly St. Patrick was not in the same situation with regard to his Irish master, as a Hebrew servant would have been relatively to his Hebrew master. Did such a law exist among the ancient Irish, it would add to the many arguments adduced by my late learned and valuable friend General Vallancey to prove the oriental origin of the Irish nation. Whether they had such a practice or not, St. Patrick was authorized to escape, as soon as he could, from a state of servitude, into which

he had been forced against his will. Nor was there any necessity for the fable, which the Scholiast, the Tripartite, Jocelin, &c. have concerning the lump of gold found in the ground, wherewith he might pay his ransom. It is strange, that Butler's account of St. Patrick has six months instead of six years.

(44) "Et veni in virtute Domini, qui viam meam *ad bonum* dirigebat." p. 7. I doubt whether *bonum* means here *good*, that is, a good end or purpose, or should be taken as the name of a place. The Bollandists, in their edition of the Confession, instead of *bonum* have *Benum*, and with them the whole passage runs thus; In virtute Dei, qui vitam meam dirigebat, veni ad *Benum*." They interpret it the river Boyne. But surely the Boyne is by no means so far from any part of Antrim as 200 miles. I find, however, that Fiech's Scholiast brings St. Patrick in his escape to the Boyne; (*Schol.* 9.) but then, in opposition to the *Confession* and all the authorities quoted above, (*Not.* 42.) he makes St. Patrick travel only 60 miles, or, he adds, as others say, one hundred. If *Benum* be the true reading, which is really very probable, it is not to be understood of the Boyne, the Latin name of which was, according to Ptolemy, *Buvinda*, not *Boandum* as Colgan writes it, or *Boinum* as Usher sometimes does in compliment to modern readers. *Benum* agrees much better with Bantry, the ancient name of which, or rather of the district, or, as now called, the barony, was *Bentraighe*, that is, the *shore of the Ben* (*traigh* shore, Lhuyd and Shaw, *Ir. Dictionary*) so that *Ben*, latinized into *Benum*, was the name of the bay, and *Bentraighe* that of the adjoining territory. *Bentraighe* is spoken of in the Life of St. Cannera, (*AA. SS.* at 28 *Jan.*) it being the district in which she was born. (See also Smith, *Hist. of Cork*, vol. 1. p. 39. and Seward at *Bantry*.) Near the bay is a place called *Adragoal* or *Ardgoal*, probably so named from a colony of Gauls that settled there. This circumstance, together with its favourable position, might have made it a resort of Gallic navigators. The distance of about 200 (Roman) miles answers very well, taking a straight line through the central parts of Ireland. Or if *bonum*, as in Ware's edition, was a proper name, it might signify the river now called Bandon (*a* and *o* used indiscriminately, see Baxter at *Bonium*) which falls into the sea at Kinsale, a harbour quite convenient for an intercourse with Gaul. It must however be acknowledged that *Benum* seems to be the

genuine reading ; for it is more likely that a transcriber on meeting with *benum*, the meaning of which he did not understand, would have changed it into *bonum*, than that he would write *benum* for *bonum*, a word of obvious and well known import. As to what the Scholiast has about the Boyne on this occasion, he does not say that it was there St. Patrick embarked, but has a story about one Kienan, that sold him to certain sailors, by whom, on Kienan's repenting of what he had done, he was set at liberty ; " and afterwards," adds this bungler, " Kienan was baptized by St. Patrick ;" thus confounding the time of St. Kienan of Duleek's conversion, which occurred during our Apostle's mission, with that of the escape from captivity.

(45) Probus *L. 1. c. 4.* makes the master of the ship say ; " Nequaquam tu nobiscum ibis sine naulo ;" as if his reason for not giving him a passage was that, as Probus states, St. Patrick had acknowledged he had no money to pay for it. This circumstance is certainly very probable, although the saint himself does not mention it.

(46) " Veni quia *ex fide* recipimus te." *Conf. p. 7.* The expression *ex fide* is probably to be understood of their giving him a passage on his word or credit, and that they would wait for payment until his arrival in Gaul. The saint observes, that those men were Gentiles.

(47) " Protinus navigavimus, et post triduum terram cepimus." This was merely the regular time of a passage with a fair wind from Bantry bay or Kinsale, &c. to any of the ports of Normandy or Britany. These *three days* have puzzled poor Harris, following his preconceived idea that, as St. Patrick was going to his own country, his voyage was directed to the West of Great Britain. Accordingly, to patch up the matter, he tells us that St. Patrick " is said to have had a bad voyage, having been three days on sea." Now Harris' favourite Jocelin says, (*cap. 17.*) that the wind was very fair ; " Ventis *ad vota spirantibus*, vela committentes post triduum applicuerunt." See also fourth Life, *cap. 23.* Neither St. Patrick himself nor Probus says any thing about unfavourable winds. The Tripartite indeed (*L. 1. c. 25.*) mentions a storm, which, it is plain, was introduced for the purpose of making St. Patrick perform a miracle by quelling it. There is a passage elsewhere in Probus (*L. 1. c. 14.*) in which a voyage,

distinct from the one we are now treating of, is mentioned, during part of which the wind was contrary; but that voyage is stated to have lasted twelve days.

§. VIII. That the land, in which they disembarked, was Gallic ground appears not only from all the circumstances, which have been now considered, but likewise from Fiech's hymn and the Scholiast. In the former we read, that crossing the sea he went beyond Albion and remained in Letha. (48) The latter makes the angel say to St. Patrick, that the time was come for his going beyond sea to apply to study, and then places him in Gaul as studying there. (49) In two breviaries of Rheims, one published A. D. 1612, and the other of a more ancient date, it is stated, that the persons, with whom he sailed from Ireland, were merchants from Gaul, and that they brought him to Treguier in Britany. (50) St. Patrick was still at a considerable distance from his native place; for he did not reach it until 28 days after, having travelled through a deserted country. (51) While on their way, he and his fellow travellers became destitute of provisions, and were near perishing through want of food. The chief man (52) among them said to him; "Christian, what dost thou say? Thy God is great and all-powerful. Why then canst thou not pray for us, as we are in such danger of famine?" The saint desired them to turn with faith and their whole hearts to the Lord God, and that, as nothing is impossible to him, he may send them food in abundance. And, with the assistance of the Almighty, so it happened. For, behold, a drove of swine appeared full in their view, of which having killed many they stopped for two nights to recover and refresh themselves. They returned the greatest thanks to God, and showed great respect for St. Patrick. They found also some wild honey, and offered him part of it. But one of them said; "this is an offering; thanks to God." On hearing this, the

saint would not taste any thing. (53) From St. Patrick's saying, that he tasted nothing, it does not follow that he abstained from food during the remainder of the journey, and much less that he ate nothing for 20 days, as some story-tellers would have us believe. (54) On the night of that day Satan fell upon him in his sleep like a huge stone, and rendered him powerless. But on his invoking the assistance of Elias he was soon freed from that dreadful pressure. (55) St. Patrick makes mention of no other circumstances, that might have occurred until he reached his native place, which must have been in the year 409 or 410.

(48) Stroph. 5. For *Alpes*, which Colgan's translation has, he tells us himself in a note *ad loc.* that we are to read *Albion* according to an old marginal remark. He has shamefully translated the *Letha* of the hymn by *Latium*; for the author meant a part of Gaul, as appears from his connecting it with the residence of St. German. (About *Letha* or *Llydaw* see above chap. III. and note 82.) Colgan was not the first, who mistook *Letha* for *Latium*. In the second Life (*cap.* 17.) the voice announcing to St. Patrick his liberation from captivity is made to say, that a ship was ready for him that he might go to *Italy*. The author, or, perhaps, the translator, mistaking *Letha* for *Latium*, thought the text would be better understood by his writing *Italy*. His mistake, however, shows what he had found in older documents and that some part of Gaul was the country, for which the vessel sailed.

(49) *Schol.* 9, 10. As to Jocelin's saying that St. Patrick sailed to Britain, meaning G. Britain, it is sufficient to observe, that he had no foundation for it, and that, as he has frequently done, he adapted his narrative to the opinion that our saint was a native of that country.

(50) "Galliae mercatoribus, qui ipsum advexerunt ad *Trecorensem minoris Britanniae civitatem.*" *Ap.* Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 194. In the parallel passage of the other Rheims breviary, *ib.* p. 195, there is an error of the press, *Turonensem* for *Trecorensem*. The error is quite palpable; for the text goes on thus, "*Turonensem minoris Britanniae urbem vectus.*" Now Tours was never

comprized in Britany, nor do ships go up so far the Loire. Colgan's collections are full of such errors, which render very many parts of them exceedingly obscure. It is very probable, that from this tradition of St. Patrick having landed at Treguier was derived what we find in one or two of the Lives concerning his arrival on that occasion in a Britain. The fourth Life has (*cap.* 23.) "Elevato velo, *prospero flatu ad Britonicos sinus pervenerunt.*" Did the author, when writing *Britonicos* mean to convey the idea that he alluded to Britany? for he uses elsewhere the word *Britannicus*. Or was *Britonicos* the reading, which he had met with in a former document?

(51) "Et viginti octo dies per desertum iter fecimus." *Conf.* p. 7. If Treguier was, which I see no reason for questioning, the harbour where he landed, it will be easily granted that, allowing some necessary halts, that number of days was no more than a reasonable time for a journey on foot thence to Boulogne. According to Probus (*cap.* 9.) St. Patrick preached in various towns on the way, and made many converts. Waving other observations, what towns could he have passed through in a desert? It may be asked how could the coasts of Britany from Treguier upwards and of Normandy, &c. be called a desert? Whoever is but slightly acquainted with the state of Gaul at that period will soon answer the question. The Franks and Saxons had been ravaging those coasts as far back as the latter end of the third century, at which time Carausius was employed in resisting them. (See above *chap.* III. *note* 77.) To the incursions of the Franks, which were repeated for about 150 years before they formed the plan of establishing themselves in Gaul, add that the Vandals, Alans, Suevi, &c. ravaged the whole of the Gauls A. D. 407 and the following years. The civil wars, that came on, augmented the desolation (See Tillemont *Mem. tom.* X. p. 555. Ruinart, *Annal. Franc.* and Gibbon, *Decline and fall of the Roman empire; chap.* 30, 31) and we may calculate, that until about the year 417 the plunderings of that unfortunate country had but little abated. St. Patrick informs us, that many thousands of his countrymen had been made captives and dispersed amidst various nations. (*Conf.* p. 1. 2. In fact his country had suffered most severely. Among the plundered cities Arras and Amiens are specially mentioned. It is then not to be wondered at, that many parts of Gaul re-

mained destitute of inhabitants, and it is probable that, as this journey was performed A. D. 409 or 410, the saint and his fellow travellers preferred taking their course through the most unfrequented tracts, lest they might fall in with some of the ferocious hordes, who were then roaming through various provinces of that country.

(52) St. Patrick designates him by the title of *gubernator*, the same as that which he had given to the head man of the ship, who had at first refused to take him on board. To understand this, it must be recollected, that those fellow travellers of the saint were not sailors, in our acceptation of the word, but merchants, who, according to the general custom of ancient traders, had gone themselves to Ireland to dispose of their goods there, and, after probably having purchased some articles in Ireland, were returning to their homes. The ship, we may easily suppose, was a hired one; but the managers and directors of its course were the merchants themselves. It seems that some of those merchants were from our saint's own native place, whereas he speaks of his journey in such a manner as to insinuate, that he had some companions during the whole way. An account, which occurs here and there concerning St. Patrick having been sold to those merchants, is scarcely worth noticing. From his own narrative it is clear, that they received him as a guest and wished to treat him as a friend.

(53) "Et unus ex illis dixit, hoc *immolatum* est: Deo gratias. Exinde nihil gustavi." *Conf. p. 8.* From the context it would appear, that *immolatum* was relative to the honey; as if that man meant to say that he considered it as a libation to his God. The term may be used either for sacrifices or for libations. St. Patrick on this occasion closely adhered to the injunction of St. Paul, who, although he teaches that idols are nothing, and that, without asking questions, it is lawful to eat whatever is sold in the market or laid before us, lays down the following rule; *But if any man shall say: this is sacrificed to idols: eat not of it for his sake that showed it, and for conscience sake; for conscience sake, I say, not thy own, but another's.* (1 Cor. X. 28, 29.) Probus has given a strange turn to the fact. He says that our saint's fellow travellers asked him to take some wild honey, *whereas he used not to eat flesh-meat.* (L. 1. c. 7.) Now in the first place it was the wild honey itself, that the saint refused to taste; and, in the second, supposing even that

what was said to be *immolatum* was meat, St. Patrick's objection to it was not that it was such, but because it was represented as offered to a false god. From a similar 'mistatement has arisen, I believe, the fable in the Tripartite *L. 1. c. 32.* of how St. Patrick being one day tempted to eat pork hid some under a cask, but, having through supernatural agency repented of what he was about, he threw the meat into water, where it was transformed into fish. Jocelin has the same story *cap. 23.* and adds a droll practice on St. Patrick's day of some bad fasters among our ancestors with regard to what they called *Patrick's fish*. From that time out the saint, they say, became fully determined never to eat flesh-meat. I cannot find any sufficient authority for this statement, and I think that St. Patrick, however he might have observed the rules of such religious communities as he lived with at times, yet during his mission and when preaching the Gospel in various parts of Ireland, followed the rule, given by our Saviour, of eating whatever was laid before him, but without violating the general laws of the Church relative to abstinence. In the Tripartite itself (*L. 3. c. 42.*) St. Patrick is stated to have been, on a certain occasion, invited to a great entertainment by a chief named Lonan (somewhere in the now county of Limerick) and, while on the point of partaking of it, to have been teased by certain fellows calling on him for food, to whom he gave a roasted sheep, which a young man of the name of Nesson and his mother were bringing to Lonan's table. Jocelin (*cap. 75*) makes mention of that entertainment, and of our saint's having taken share of it, but instead of a roasted sheep he makes the saint give those fellows a live ram. He thus gave a twist to the anecdote, lest he should appear to acknowledge that there was flesh-meat on Lonan's table. Amidst all his nonsensical tales Jocelin has displayed no small degree of art in patching them together.

(54) Jocelin, *cap. 18.* Tripart. *L. 1. c. 27.* To account for this fable they pretend, that the saint's companions sacrificed part of the swine to their idols. But he says no such thing himself. The honey alone was that, which was called an offering, and that by one man alone. The plain meaning of the words; *exinde nihil gustavi*; is that having, as it seems, eaten of the swine's flesh, and perhaps taken some of the honey, he would not taste any

more of it, nor perhaps any thing else on that occasion, in consequence of what the man had expressed.

(55) Butler was much mistaken in making a great stone really fall upon him. As to the calling on Elias the saint says ; “ Et dum clamarem *Heliam, Heliam*, viribus meis, ecce splendor solis decidit super me, et statim discussit a me omnem gravitudinem.” *Conf. p. 8.* This will, I believe, be admitted to be a sufficient proof, that St. Patrick considered the invocation of saints as commendable and salutary.

§. IX. He then proceeds to relate, that a *few* years after he suffered captivity again. (56) This was a short one, as he was freed from it on the sixtieth night after that, on which he was first in the power of the marauders, (57) who very probably were some of those roving bands of Franks, that made a trade of carrying off prisoners for the purpose of selling them or of getting money for their ransom, and to whom St. Patrick alludes in his letter against Coroticus. (58) In what year this second captivity occurred is, as far as I know, impossible to determine, even setting aside the question, whether St. Patrick wrote *many years*, or *not many*, (59) which latter reading seems to be the correct one. But the phrase *not many years* might be understood of four, five, or six years ; so that we are left in the dark as to the precise period of their termination. Whatever was the number of those years, we may safely assume that he did not spend them in idleness, which indeed his piety and fervour would not have allowed him to do. When he returned to his own country from Ireland, he was about 22 years old, an age at which he was fully capable of fixing on a state of life. I am greatly inclined to think that it was not long after, when, having enjoyed for some time the society of his parents and friends, he went to the celebrated monastery or college of St. Martin near Tours for the benefit of his education. The most consistent accounts bring St. Patrick to

Tours soon after his arrival in his own country, and some of them go so far as to make him proceed directly thither from the port where he had landed. This, however, can be easily reconciled with the authentic fact, that he had previously visited his relatives ; so that, as he remained with them but a short time, he might, in an abridged mode of writing, be said to have gone forthwith to Tours. (60) He is said to have spent four years there, (61) a time which I find no reason for objecting to. But we are not to suppose, that he there became a monk. His object in going to and remaining in that house was merely to study and receive a Christian education. (62) What Probus says of his having been initiated at Tours in the ecclesiastical state is indeed very probable, and perfectly consistent with the whole tenour of the saint's further proceedings. It proves, by the bye, that our saint did not become a monk ; for in those times monks did not receive orders except in some extraordinary cases, *ex. c.* if a monk's sanctity were such as to induce the bishop to confer orders on him, as we read of St. Jerome, or when permission was given to ordain one of the monks for the service of the monastery. Except in this latter case, when a monk was admitted to the ecclesiastical profession, he was taken out of the monastery, and obliged to serve the church ; for the two states viz. of clergyman and monk, were in general deemed incompatible. (63) As to St. Martin's monastery of Tours, in which, on the whole, St. Patrick was never more than a student, it was not merely a monastery in the strict sense of the word, such as those that anciently existed in Egypt, or those for whom St. Basil drew up a rule in the fourth century, or the Benedictine and other monasteries that commenced in the West after the times we are treating of, but rather a college, in which a bishop lived in common with some of his clergy, or with persons retired from the world, and

in which young men were instructed and prepared for the service of the church. As certain rules similar to those of monastic houses were observed in such establishments, they also began to be called monasteries. This excellent institution was first introduced into the Western church by St. Eusebius of Vercelli, and thence imitated by St. Martin and other prelates. (64)

(56) “ Et iterum post annos *non* multos adhuc capturam dedi.” (*ib.*) Probus has *multos annos*; (*L. 1. c. 10.*) and it is to be observed, that *non* was wanting in the Armagh *MS.* of the Confession, which was one of those that Ware had made use of. (See his marginal note at *p. 2.*) Usher has followed the Armagh reading, *annos multos*, *Pr. p. 834.* And yet, strange to say, he reckons those *annos multos* at two years; *Ind. Chron.* at A. 395 and 397.

(57) “ Nocte illa sexagesima liberavit me Dominus de manibus eorum.” *p. 9.* In Ware’s edition after these words follow a few lines, which have been evidently displaced, as what is contained in them belongs to the account of the saint’s return from his Irish captivity. The whole text is better arranged in the Bollandist edition.

(58) *P. 28.* Concerning other plundering hordes see *Not. 51.*

(59) See above *Not. 56.* It is odd that the Bollandists place the second captivity only three months after St. Patrick’s return to his own country, following in this computation the Tripartite, *L. 1. c. 29.* in opposition to Probus and to St. Patrick himself. In this part of the saint’s history they went quite astray both as to times and places, and have given us mere hypotheses and calculations of their own, without paying due attention to former authorities.

(60) One of the Rheims breviaries quoted above (*Not. 50*) after bringing St. Patrick to Treguier adds, that thence “ venit ad S. Martinum episcopum Turonensem, sub cujus et suorum institutione *quadriennium* peregit.” The other has; “ Ad S. Martinum episcopum Turonensem accessit, sub cujus institutione *quadriennium* peregit.” We find in Probus, after a confused account of a captivity, which, though called the third, was in reality the first, (see Usher *p. 833.*) it expressly stated that St.

Patrick, having landed in Gaul, “pervenit ad Martinum episcopum Turoni, et *quatuor annis* mansit cum eo, et tonsura capite ordinatus est ab eo in *clericum*, et tenuit lectionem et doctrinam ab eo.” (*L. 1. c. 14.*) In the tracts now referred to St. Patrick’s repairing to Tours and there spending four years is placed before the time of his going under the direction of St. German of Auxerre, and very justly; for German was a mere layman for several years after St. Patrick’s return. As to what is said of our saint’s going to St. Martin it is not to be understood of St. Martin in person, who was already dead some years, but, as the Bollandists have remarked, of St. Martin’s monastery, according to a manner of speaking that often occurs in ecclesiastical documents; *ex. c. ad S. Petrum*, for Rome; but which seems not to have been rightly understood by Probus and others. (See above *Note 11. to Chap. I.*)

(61) See preceding *Note*, and *Third Life, cap. 22.* These authorities are of more weight than Usher’s Tripartite and Joh. Tinmuth. (*ap. Pr. p. 834.*) for the space of only 40 days.

(62) In the passages quoted (*Not. 60*) there is not a word relative to St. Patrick’s monachism. His education and instruction are the only objects alluded to, besides, what Probus adds, his having received the tonsure and perhaps some minor orders. Probus makes him no higher than a *clericus*, meaning, according to the style of his times, that he was not even a deacon. St. Patrick’s promotion to the priesthood is placed by Probus several years later. (*L. 1. c. 17.*) The *Third Life*, in which our saint is spoken of as having spent four years with St. Martin, has nothing about his having embraced the monastic state. We find this story only in the Tripartite and Jocelin; and it appears to have been derived from no other source than from its having been recorded, that St. Patrick had been for some time in a college called a monastery, whence those sapient compilers concluded, that he had become a monk. To mend the matter St. Patrick’s *clerical* tonsure, mentioned by Probus, has been changed in the Tripartite (*L. 1. c. 32.*) into a *monastic* tonsure.

(63) Fleury, *Institution au Droit Ecclesiastique; Part 1. ch. 25.* St. Jerome says; “Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum: clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor.” *Ep. 1. ad Heliodor.*

(64) St. Ambrose writes; “Hæc enim primus in Occidentis

partibus diversa inter se Eusebius sanctæ memoriæ conjunxit, ut et in civitate positus instituta monachorum teneret, et Ecclesiam regeret jejunii sobrietate." (*Ep. 82. ad Eccl. Verceil.*) "Quod ipsum," says Baronius *ad an. 328. num. 22*, "præstantissimum vitæ genus sanctus Martinus Turonensis transvexit in Gallias et sanctus Augustinus in Africam, qui admirabili connexione," &c. According to the description of St. Martin's establishment by Sulpicius Severus, it was partly a monastery, strictly speaking, and partly a college or seminary for the education of ecclesiastical students. After telling us that St. Martin had a cell to himself and that some of the *brethren* dwelt in cells excavated in the mountain, he writes; "*Discipuli* vero octoginta erant, qui ad exemplum beati magistri instituebantur—Nemo ibi quidquam proprium habebat—Ars ibi, exceptis scriptoribus, nulla habebatur, cui tamen operi *minor aetas* deputabatur." Among other observances of strict discipline, such as abstinence from wine, he mentions the coarseness of their dress, and remarks that it was wonderful to see how they submitted to the rules of the house, particularly as several of them were of noble families. "Many of them," he adds, "we have since seen bishops." (*De vita S. Martini, cap. 7.*) Here we have an exact picture of an ecclesiastical seminary, united to a monastery. St. Augustin often speaks of his own institution; let it suffice to quote but one passage; "Volui habere in ista domo Episcopi meum *monasterium* clericorum. Ecce quomodo vivimus. Nulli licet in societate habere aliquid proprium." (*Serm. 49 de Diversis.*) And Possidius in his *Life cap. 25.* tells us, that he and his clergy lived together, having every thing in common; "Cum ipso semper clerici, una etiam domo ac mensa, sumptibusque communibus alebantur et vestiebantur." See also Fleury, *Institution, &c. Part 1. ch. 17.*

§. x. Having left that house at the end of four years, St. Patrick, as the Rheims breviaries state, applied himself most fervently to works and practices of piety. This was the period, during which, being, as it is natural to suppose, among his relatives, the second captivity, of which above, most probably took place. To return to the saint's own narrative, he relates that he was a few years afterwards, that

is, as the context seems clearly to point out, after the second captivity, with his parents, who requested of him not to leave them any more, considering all the hardships he had undergone. "And," he adds, "I saw in a nocturnal vision a man coming as if from Ireland, whose name was *Victoricus*, (65) "with innumerable letters, one of which he handed "to me. On reading the beginning of it I found "it contained these words; *The voice of the Irish*. "And whilst reading I thought I heard at the same "moment the voice of persons from near the wood "*Foclut*, which is near the western sea. (66) And "they cried out as if with one voice; *We intreat "thee, holy youth, to come and walk still amongst "us*. (67) And I was greatly affected in my heart, "and could read no longer; then I awoke." St. Patrick thanks God that what those people were crying out for was granted to them many years after by the Almighty. But he does not say, that he then formed, as some writers pretend, (68) a resolution of preparing himself for preaching the Gospel in Ireland. In what year this vision occurred I will not pretend to ascertain. (69) I find it mentioned, however, that St. Patrick was then about 30 years of age. (70) If this account be true, we may assign the vision to A. D. 417. The same authorities state, that soon after he went to put himself under the direction of St. German of Auxerre, when he was full 30 years old. (71) This brings us to the year 418, in which German was appointed bishop, having been but a very short time before taken from the laical state and secular administration, and successor of Amator, who died on the first of May in said year. (72) If we are to believe Probus, St. Patrick was a priest at the time the vision occurred, (73) and accordingly must have been then at least 30 years of age according to the discipline of the Gallican church. (74) Be this as it may, it is plain that our saint could not have placed himself under

the direction of St. German until the year 418; (75) at which time, counting from A. D. 387, the year of his birth, he had completed his 20th year.

After the period, at which St. Patrick attached himself to St. German and began to study under him, it is exceedingly difficult, and, I believe, impossible to arrange correctly, either as to chronological order or topographical accuracy, the succeeding transactions of his life until near the time of his mission. The accounts concerning the places, in which he spent those years, and the divisions of that space of time, are so confused and contradictory, that a precise and every way unobjectionable narrative cannot be expected. Were we to take the words of Erric of Auxerre in a strict sense, we should, according to him, admit that St. Patrick remained constantly with his illustrious teacher. (76) But, as he was mistaken with regard to the number of years, during which the discipleship of our saint lasted, he might have been also mistaken in this point, unless we should confine Erric's mistake to that of the years, and suppose that St. Patrick did not join himself to St. German until a few years prior to his mission. This hypothesis might seem to receive some degree of credit from Probus, who, as his text runs at present, makes St. Patrick proceed straight from St. Martin's monastery to a desert, there to pass eight years, and thence to an island where he remained nine years; next to the rock Hermon; whence, after having spent there a considerable time, he makes him take a trip to Ireland and preach to the natives; but, on his not succeeding in his holy exertions, the text sends him to Rome, and at last from Rome to Auxerre to put himself under the direction of St. German. But, considering the interpolations and derangement of that part of Probus' work, (77) we must look for some more consistent authorities, that may guide us as to this part of our saint's history. On the whole I think we may lay

down, as a sufficiently authorized fact, what has been stated above, viz. that St. Patrick, when 30 years of age, placed himself under the guidance of St. German; but it does not thence follow, that he spent the remainder of his years until near the period of his mission constantly at Auxerre. For it would be quite too sceptical to reject all that we read in his Lives and other tracts (78) of his having passed during that interval a considerable portion of his time in other places; nor will this prevent his being considered as having been during that whole period under German's direction, by whose advice, it is to be presumed, he was guided in the selection of such places as were the most conducive to his instruction and edification.

(65) Hence the name of the angel *Victor*. (See above *Not.* 41.) Could the name, *Victoricus*, have any reference to *Victricius* a famous saint among the *Morini*, and who is greatly praised by *Paulinus of Nola* in a letter to him? (*Ep.* 22.) After having suffered for the faith, and laboured much among the *Morini*, he became bishop of *Rouen*. *Malbrancq* treats largely of him, *Lib.* 2. *De Morinis*.

(66) The wood *Foclut* is called in *Fiech's* hymn *Caille Fochlad*. The Scholiast says that it was in *Hy-Amalgaidh*, now *Tirawley* in the county of *Mayo*.

(67) "Rogamus te sancte puer, ut venias et adhuc ambules inter nos." *Conf.* p. 9. It would seem that, instead of *puer*, some of the old writers read *pueri*, as if it were; *we boys intreat thee, O saint*. *Fiech's* hymn, (*Stroph.* 8.) the Scholiast (*No.* 15) the third *Life*, *cap.* 20. *Probus* *L.* 1. *cap.* 18. and the *Tripartite* *L.* 1. *c.* 30. speak of the voice as if coming from children; some of them say *infants*. The fourth *Life*, *cap.* 25. for *sancte puer* has *sancte Patrici*, and so has *Probus*, *loc. cit.* Perhaps it might be thought, that *St. Patrick* was at that time not young enough to be called *puer*; but those people from *Foclut* might be supposed to have addressed him according as he had appeared in *Ireland* during his captivity; or *St. Patrick* might have extended the term *puer* to an age exceeding that, which it is usual

to refer it to, somewhat in the same manner as we use the name, *lad*. It may also be asked how the people of Foclut could be introduced speaking in such a manner as if they were acquainted with St. Patrick, or how he could have known any thing about that place, having lived very far from it in Antrim or Down. Without recurring to other solutions it will be sufficient to observe, that, as the saint had been employed as a shepherd, he might have had many opportunities of going to Mayo or other parts of Connaught, either with his master or others, for the purpose of attending the sale or purchase of sheep, just as in our times shepherds resort occasionally from all parts of Ireland to the fair of Ballinasloe and to other great fairs.

(68) Not to quote some old writers, Harris mentions (*Archbishops of Armagh* p. 9.) this resolution, and then makes St. Patrick begin to travel. I shall not enter into a controversy on the subject of that resolution, although it might appear from various parts of the Confession, that St. Patrick did not understand the drift of the vision until at some later period, when he was informed by our Saviour of the task, which he had to undertake. (See *Conf.* p. 11.)

(69) Harris (*ib.*) places the vision about two years after St. Patrick's return from the second captivity, and quotes Usher in support of his assertion. But the two years allowed by Usher in the passages referred to were those, that intervened between the saint's return from Ireland and the second captivity. (See above *Not.* 56.) As to the years, that thence elapsed until the time of the vision, and which St. Patrick calls a *few years*, Usher has not undertaken to determine the number of them.

(70) "Erat autem tunc quasi annorum triginta." (Fourth Life, *cap.* 25. Tripartite *L.* 1. *c.* 31. Second Life, *cap.* 21.)

(71) Fourth Life *cap.* 26. Second Life, *cap.* 22. Tripart. *L.* 1. *c.* 33.

(72) It is painful to observe, what shifts Colgan was reduced to in endeavouring to show, that St. Patrick had been under the tuition of St. German as far back as A. D. 396, and indeed at Rome, as if St. German had, when very young, kept a school there. And then he strives to bring St. Patrick, after having been with German at Rome, to St. Martin in person. I pass over other absurdities, in which he has involved himself; and all for

the purpose of reconciling his computation of St. Patrick's years with certain stuff which he had found here and there, that induced him to think that St. German was his first preceptor after his Irish captivity, and with the story of our saint's having been under his direction full thirty years, as likewise with the mistranslation *Latium* for the *Letha* of Fiech's hymn. (See *Tr. Th. p. 241. seqq.*) Usher has given some of those passages, that led Colgan astray, without attempting to reconcile them, simply observing that those were mistaken who allowed even only 18 years for the time that St. Patrick remained under St. German, the number mentioned by Erric of Auxerre and some others after him. (*Pr. p. 837. seqq.*)

(73) Probus *L. 1. c. 17. 18.*

(74) The Council of Agde required that age for the ordination of priests as well as bishops; "Presbyterum vel episcopum ante triginta annos, id est, antequam ad viri perfecti ætatem perveniat, nullus metropolitanorum ordinare præsumat." *Can. 17.* This rule had been established long before by that of Neocaesarea, and, we may be sure, was observed in the Gallican church prior to its confirmation by the council of Agde.

(75) The Bollandists (*Comment. ad Vit. S. P. §. 5.*) bring St. Patrick to Auxerre in the year 414. Thus the 18 years mentioned by Erric of Auxerre (above *Not. 72.*) might in some manner be accounted for, as added to 414 they make 432. They state that in said year the saint attached himself to Amator, and afterwards to St. German; but Erric speaks of the 18 years as all passed under St. German, which, rigorously taken, could not be true. If, as indeed is not improbable, St. Patrick had been for some time at Auxerre with Amator, we might suspect, that it was by him he was ordained priest, and thus have a clue for what Probus and others say of his having been ordained bishop by one Amator not long before his setting out for the Irish mission. Those writers might have confounded one ordination with another, and, having heard of an ordination by Amator, understood it of his episcopal ordination, of which alone they make mention, excepting Probus. For Probus relates (*L. 1. c. 17.*) that St. Patrick was ordained priest by Senior, a bishop who lived on the mountain Hermon at the right side of the ocean, *in dextro latere maris oceani*, and whose city was protected by seven walls. The

Bollandists follow Probus with regard to Senior, and say that he was bishop, perhaps of Pisa; whereas they supposed that St. Patrick was then in Italy; for which supposition they could not produce any voucher worthy of credit, no more than for their conjecture that this ordination took place in the year 410, at which time our saint would have been, according to them, about 33 years old, as they placed his birth in 377. It is plain from Probus, that he did not allude to any part of Italy, as he places Senior's residence near the ocean, that is the Atlantic. The whole passage is very curious, not that we are bound to believe what it contains, but because it may be worth while to search for the place that Probus here alluded to. His phrase, *right side of the ocean*, must be understood as meaning the south side, according to the well known style of the ancient Irish, who, in the same manner as the nations of the East, called the South the *right* and the North the *left*, in consequence of their considering the point where the sun rises as the leading one in fixing geographical and astronomical positions. (See Vallancey, *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*; Vol. 2. p. 269. and O'Brien *Ir. Dict.* at *Deas*.) The name, *Hermon*, signifies a *great rock*, being a compound of two Celtic words, *Her*, great, and *Maen*, rock. (Bullet, *Dict. Celtique* at *Herma*.) This rock or mount adjoining the ocean to the South must be sought for in the great promontory of Britany, or close to some of the bays of Normandy. At first sight it might seem probable, that Hermon was one of the rocks near St. Malo, and that the town, called St. Malo's city, was Aletum or Aletha, a place of considerable note and the see of the celebrated St. Maclovius, whence it got the name of St. Maclovius' town, afterwards corrupted into *St. Malo*. Some writers maintain, that it was an episcopal see before the time of St. Maclovius. (See Hadr. Vales. *Notit. Gall. ad Aletum*.) The name of *St. Malo* together with the see was transferred in the 12th century to the present St. Malo, about a league distant from Aletum, the ruins of which are still to be seen under the name of *Quidalet* or *Guichalet*. (*ib.* and Martiniere at *Aleth*.) But what must we say of the *seven walls* mentioned by Probus? For, although Aletum was a garrison town, and the residence of the Prefect or commander of the soldiers called *Martenses*, we meet with no account of its having been defended by such a number

of walls. I am therefore inclined to think, that the *Hermon* of Probus is the rock now called *Mont St. Michel*, and which might justly be called *Hermon*, as it is a really stupendous rock, situated in a bay between Avranches and Dol at the points of Normandy and Britany. It has the sea to the North and is so close to it, that in times of high water it becomes an island. It was a celebrated place long before the period, in which Probus lived. A church was erected on its top in honour of St. Michael A. D. 709 by Autbert bishop of Avranches. Hadr. Valesius (at *S. Michaelis Mons*) says that it is thought to have been built by Paternus, who was bishop of Avranches in the sixth century. A Benedictine monastery was also established there, and a considerable town grew up at the base and sides of the rock. It was much resorted to by pilgrims, and supplied with a numerous garrison. To add to its natural strength, it was fortified in a prodigious manner, having from the bottom upwards various ranges of walls, which, including the balustrades around the church on its summit, may be fairly computed at the number of seven. (See Martiniere at *Mont St. Michel*.) It will naturally be objected, that it was not an episcopal see; but this is easily obviated on reflecting, that we often find bishops residing in monasteries, as was the case in Ireland, where the superior of the monastery was very often both bishop and abbot, a custom, according to which, not to enlarge at present upon something similar having been practised in the West of Gaul, Probus, as an Irishman, or whoever he got that passage from, might have conceived Senior of the rock *Hermon* to have been a bishop. As to the objection that no bishop of the name of Senior is spoken of by any writer as living in any part of Gaul at that period, it equally affects the hypothesis of the Bollandists; for no mention is made of a bishop of that name then in Italy. Perhaps the *Senior* of Probus is not to be taken as a proper name, but as signifying *aged, old*. It may also be objected, that there seems not to have been any town or church at *Mont St. Michel* in St. Patrick's time. Be that as it may, it is sufficient to observe, that as it was a place of note long before Probus wrote his work, being mentioned among the great monasteries of France in a deed of Lewis the pious A. D. 817, (Hadr. Val.) he, or others before him, who little minded chronological dates, might have thought it had been so

when St. Patrick was living. And it is probable that, to add to the respectability of that holy rock, a story had been circulated concerning our saint's having spent some time there, particularly as it was inhabited of old by hermits before the time of Autbert. (Martiniere.) What I have now endeavoured to explain will serve to throw light on a very strange passage in the third Life (*cap.* 25); "Et Angelus duxit eum ad montem Arnon *ar muir Lethe supra petram* maris Tyrrheni in civitate quæ vocatur Capua." Probus had in like manner mentioned the interference of an Angel in sending St. Patrick to Hermon. Here we have likewise a rock in *ar muir Lethe*, the sea of *Letha* or Armoric Gaul. (See above *Not.* 48.) What follows in that passage after *petram* was added by some bungler, who was striving to interpret the Irish words *ar muir Lethe*, and mistook *Lethe* for *Latium*. Hence was introduced the Tuscan sea and, wonderful to tell, *Capua*; which has greatly puzzled honest Colgan, who, knowing that Capua lies several miles distant from the sea, conjectured that for *Capua* we might read *Caieta*. Jocelin (*cap.* 26) has copied this stuff about the Tuscan sea and Capua, but calls the mountain *Morion*. The Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 37.) does not mention Capua, and retains the name *Hermon*. Colgan knew not what to do with a mountain or rock *Hermon*, *Arnon*, or *Morion*, as he could make out none of that name in Italy; but the Bollandists jumped over the difficulty by changing the mountain into a river; for they could have no other foundation for guessing at a Senior, bishop of Pisa, than their understanding *Arnon*, as in the third Life, of the river Arno, on which the city of Pisa is situated.

(76) "Patricius—sanctissimo ejus (Germani) discipulatu 18 addictus annis." (*De miracul. S. Germ. L.* 1. *c.* 12.) It was during this time that St. Patrick is said to have got the name of *Magonius* (above *Not.* 29) or, as Nennius has, *Maun*. Q. If there be any truth in this story, might not *Maun* be the same as *Maen*, a rock, by which appellation we may suppose that our saint was distinguished?

(77) *L.* 1. *capp.* 15—21. It is evident, that the text of Probus has been interpolated and thrown out of its original order in the chapters here referred to. One proof will suffice. After reading, as the text now stands, that St. Patrick was at Rome, we find him returning from Italy and then immediately we have the

following passage ; “ *Transnavigato vero mari Britannico et arrepto versus Gallias itinere venit—ad—Germanum, videlicet, Antissiodorensis Ecclesiæ episcopum.*” Thus we should place the British sea between Italy and the Gauls. Colgan had good reason to say ; “ *Ecce iterum insulsam et inversam rerum gestarum narrationem.*” (*Not. ad loc.*) He says *iterum*, alluding to a former observation of his on the absurdity of making St. Patrick preach the gospel in Ireland before he had been regularly appointed to that mission. It is strange, that the Bollandists (§. 5.) have swallowed that absurdity ; for in consequence of following the corrupted text of Probus they send St. Patrick, as a preacher, to Ireland straight from the school of their Senior of Pisa in the year 413, according to their whimsical calculations, and then bring him to Auxerre in 414. Now there is nothing more clear from the *Confession* than that St. Patrick never undertook the office of a missionary in Ireland until after he was consecrated bishop, and had been for a considerable time under the direction of St. German. Probus is not to blame for all this nonsense ; for it is plain from other parts of the work, *ex. c. L. 1. c. 27.* that he knew of no other preaching of St. Patrick in Ireland than that which commenced A. D. 432.

(78) See Usher, *p. 835, seqq.*

§. XI. In one of the Lives it is stated that he spent four years with St. German, and afterwards nine years in an island called *insula Tamerensis*, on the expiration of which he went to Rome, with the approbation of St. German, who sent along with him Segetius a priest as a voucher of his good character. (79) According to this account, in which there appears no inconsistency as to the number of years, we have a total of thirteen years, which, counting from the year 418, at which time St. Patrick was in his thirty-first year, brings us to A. D. 431 when Pope Celestine was planning the great mission for Ireland, and when our saint being then in the 44th year of his age set out for Rome, recommended by St. German as a proper person to be employed with others in that holy undertaking. But, as all the Lives

agree in stating, that he was with St. German, and had consulted with him on the business immediately prior to his journey to Rome, and consequently set out straight from Auxerre, which is confirmed also by his having been accompanied by one of St. German's priests, it is more natural to suppose, that the four years spent with St. German were not before but after the nine years, which he is said to have passed in the island. It will be easily admitted that, after nine years employed in study and retirement, four years of active service were not too many for his becoming completely qualified for a correct administration of the sacraments and for all the practical duties of the pastoral profession. Nor is there any other manner of reconciling the statements of the various writers of St. Patrick's Lives, concerning his having been with St. German, when 30 years of age, his living in an island or islands, and then his being with that saint immediately before he set out for Rome, than by laying down that, when 30 years old he actually put himself under the guidance of St. German, who soon after sent him to study for some years in a place fit for that purpose, after which, on our saint's return, he kept him with himself for some years longer until the affair of the Irish mission was determined upon. It is thus we find those circumstances arranged in Fiech's hymn, where he is stated to have been first with St. German, then in islands of the Tuscan sea, and again with that saint studying the Canons under him. (80) Probus also has the nine years in the island prior to St. Patrick's studying under St. German. But as in that part of his work there are evident marks of confusion, as we have seen already, I will not enlarge on that circumstance. There is, however, an argument, to which no such objection can be made, furnished by Probus in another place, where his text runs regular and consistent. Having told us that St. Patrick had been for a *considerable* time under

the immediate inspection of German, he then relates how our saint set about the necessary preparations for his mission to Ireland, and of his being accompanied by Segetius, or, as he calls him, Regirus. (81) Hence it appears, that the discipleship under St. German *in person* was immediately prior to the affair of the mission, and consequently after the period spent in the island. It now becomes easy to rectify the text and fix the true meaning of the passage of the third Life above referred to; (82) for which purpose nothing more is requisite than to place, as ought to be done, the four years at St. Martin's monastery not only before those in the island, but likewise before the other four years under St. German's immediate direction.

It has been just observed, that Probus agrees with that Life as to the number of nine years in the island. (83) The Tripartite has seven years, (84) which Colgan accounts for by supposing an erratum of a transcriber, who wrote *seven* instead of *nine*. Usher has quoted a passage from Tirechan, in which St. Patrick is said to have spent seven years partly in islands of the Tuscan sea and partly elsewhere. (85) But no reliance can be placed on that passage, at least with regard to the number of years, as appears from the stuff that immediately follows concerning our saint's having remained full thirty years in one of those islands. (86) This same number of thirty years is spoken of in some of the Lives as having been spent with St. German, and indeed, to complete the blunder, in the island (87) It is needless to remark further on this trash, than that these thirty years were introduced to make up the pretended age of sixty at the commencement of our saint's mission; for, as it was generally admitted that he was 30 years old when he placed himself under the direction of St. German, it was thought necessary to allow 30 years more for the period of his discipleship, be-

sides the consideration of the fine sound of those even numbers of thirties. (88)

(79) Third Life, *capp.* 21. 22. I must not conceal, that the author places the four years passed at Tours between the four other years with St. German and the time of St. Patrick's going to the island. This must be taken as a *hysteron proteron*; for we have already seen, that St. Patrick had been at Tours before he went to Auxerre. See above *Not.* 60. and the Bollandists, who also place St. Patrick's abode in St. Martin's monastery prior to his going under the direction of St. German. (*Comment. præv. ad V. S. P.* §. 5.)

(80) "Apud Germanum remansit in australi parte Latii (Letha.) In insulis maris Tyrreni mansit, uti memoro (memoratur). Legit canones apud Germanum." (*Stroph.* 5. 6. *Colgan's translation.*) The word *remansit* can mean only, that St. Patrick spent some time with St. German before he went to the islands. I much doubt whether the Irish phrase *comdhfargaib*, which Colgan has rendered *remansit*, should not rather be translated, *visited or conferred with*; as I also suspect that instead of *australi parte*, the South, the words, *andes an deisciort*, would be better explained by *South-east*. Leaving these discussions to persons more deeply versed in the Irish language than I can pretend to be, I shall only add that this narrative has given occasion to a singular mistake, which we find in some of the Lives of St. Patrick; viz. that, while in the island, he was instructed there by St. German himself. (*Second Life, cap.* 22. *Tripart. L.* 1. *c.* 33.) As if it were not well known, that St. German never resided nor taught in any of those islands near the south of France. Those good people supposed, that the account given in the hymn related to one uninterrupted chain of part of St. Patrick's life, and accordingly placed St. German along with him in the island or islands.

(81) "Apud quem (S. Germanum) *non parvo tempore demoratus est* in omni subjectione—*misitque cum illo S. Germanus presbyterum nomine Regirum.*" *L.* 1. *c.* 21. *seqq.*

(82) *Not.* 79.

(83) "Permansit cum insulanis illis novem annis." (*L.* 1. *c.* 16.) There is indeed in the preceding chapter an account of St. Pa-

trick's having spent eight years with certain hermits, as if prior to the nine years; but it is evidently an interpolation, and a mere repetition, with one or two variations (*ex. c. eight for nine*) of the same anecdote.

(84) *L. 1. c. 34.*

(85) “Septem annis ambulavit et navigavit, in fluctibus et in campestribus locis et in convallibus montanis, per Gallias atque Italiam totam, atque in insulis quæ sunt in mari Tyrrheno; ut ipse dixit in commemoratione laborum.” (*Pr. p. 835.*) Where St. Patrick has said so I cannot discover; in his tracts still extant there is not a word about these seven years, or plains, vallies, &c. There is a saying attributed to St. Patrick, in which his travels in Gaul, Italy, and some islands are mentioned; but no number of years is spoken of: “*Timorem Dei habui ducem itineris mei per Gallias atque Italiam, etiam in insulis quæ sunt in mari Tyrrheno.*” (*ib. p. 836.*)

(86) After *laborum* (*Not. 85*) the text goes on thus: “Erat autem in una ex insulis, quæ dicitur Aralanensis, annis 30, mihi testante Ultano episcopo.” If Ultan, who was bishop of Ardbraccan in the seventh century, ever said any such thing, the text must have been corrupted as to the number, by there being inserted *thirty* instead of, perhaps, *three*, a part of the total of the seven years just before mentioned. These calculations were patched up to support the favourite notion of St. Patrick's having been sixty years of age when his mission commenced. By adding 37 to 22, his age on escaping from captivity, we have 59 full years; then allowing a year or only some months for his preparations, prior to his setting out for Ireland, we come to sixty years. It is pitiful to consider, what useless trouble Colgan put himself to (*Tr. Th. p. 241. seqq.*) in endeavouring to arrange and distribute the 38 years, which he supposed had elapsed between the captivity and the mission, and to determine the respective places, in which so many years were spent, &c.

(87) “*Arelanensis* erat nomen insulæ, in qua sanctus Germanus docuit sanctum Patricium per *triginta* annos.” (Fourth Life, *cap. 26.*) And the second Life has, *cap. 22.* “Patricius quando pervenit ad Germanum in insula *Arelanensi* nomine, in qua docuit eum, *triginta* tunc annos impleverat; *triginta* annis legit cum

illo." We find the same story with all its circumstances in the Tripartite. (*L. 1. c. 33.*) See *Not. 80.*

(88) See above *Notes 7. 8. 86. 87.*

§. XII. We may now lay down, that St. Patrick went to some island probably in the year 418; but it becomes requisite to inquire what island it was, and whether the saint might not have passed the nine years partly in one island and partly in others. There were at that time religious establishments in several of the small islands of the Mediterranean, between the coasts of France and Italy; (89) among which that of Lerins, now called St. Honorat from the founder of that house St. Honoratus, became the most eminent. The author of the third Life, calls the island, that St. Patrick went to, *Tamerensis*, *i. e.* the island *Tameria* or *Tamaria*. (90) Colgan conjectures (91) that it was the same as *Capraria*, now *Capraia*, for which he had no foundation except his having misunderstood a passage of Usher. For although Usher, speaking in general of the islands inhabited by monks, mentions *Capraria*, (92) he does not make it the same as *Tamaria*; but, on the contrary, in another place (93) throws out a very plausible conjecture that *Tamaria* was no other than *Camaria*, now *Camargue* near Arles, an island close to the mouths of the Rhone formed by the branches of the river. This conjecture seems to be favoured by an expression of Probus, *in the island between the mountains and the sea.* (94) For it is not easy to understand these words except of an island in a river or lake, such as is *Camargue*, unless we should so explain them, as if Probus meant to say that the religious persons, to whom St. Patrick was sent, lived between the mountains of the island and the sea (95). Yet, in whatever manner that passage is to be understood, as we have no account of any religious house in *Camargue* at that time, although there were then monasteries in

other parts of Provence, (96) we cannot lay much stress on that conjecture, particularly as the character of Patroclus, who was bishop of Arles at that very period, was not such as to induce any pious person to place himself under his jurisdiction. (97) Passing over this conjecture and some strange hypotheses concerning the *insula Tamerensis*, (98) we must observe that the one or two writers, who have called the island by this name, meant the very same island, which in some of the other Lives is called *Arelanensis*. (99) For those that have *Tamerensis* say nothing about *Arelanensis*; and vice versa in the Lives, that have the latter name, we do not find the former. It is therefore very reasonable to suppose that *Tamerensis* is merely a various reading, and *Arelanensis* another, for the name of some island celebrated at that time for a school of learning and piety. It must be also recollected, that this island is to be sought for in some part of the Mediterranean not far from the western coast of Italy. (100) Now where can we find an island, with which these circumstances will so properly agree, or whose name bears such an affinity with *Arelanensis*, as the famous *insula Lerinensis*, *Lerinum*, *Lerins*, in which so many holy and learned men have been educated, and which might have been justly called a seminary of bishops? (101) The Bollandists agree as to the probability of this opinion, and even think that the expression of Probus above quoted is relative to it. (102) In fact that island is so near the coast and the mountains, that it might, in a loose way of speaking, be said to lie between them and the sea, that is, the *altum mare* the wide sea. Should it be objected that *Lerins*, or *St. Honorat*, is not in that part of the sea properly called Etruscan, but rather in the Gallican or Ligurian, it is sufficient to observe that it lies so far to the East towards Italy, that writers living at a period, when topographical niceties were not so strictly attended to, may be excused for plac-

ing it in the Italian or, according to their phrase, the Tyrrhene sea. Usher seemed inclined to think that Lerins was the island, in which St. Patrick remained, but mentions (103) an objection founded upon St. Honoratus not having as yet established his monastery there at the time St. Patrick might have repaired thither. This objection might have some weight, considering Usher's calculations as to the division of our saint's life, and his having antedated by many years the transactions of it, but is of no avail in the hypothesis that St. Patrick did not go to the island until A. D. 418; whereas it is universally admitted, that Honoratus' establishment in Lerins had been formed long before that year. (104) I think then we may safely conclude, that Lerins was the island, to which St. Patrick retired; and what better school could St. German have sent him to, than that, in which his friends Hilarius of Arles, Lupus of Troyes, Maximus of Riez, and so many other great men had been formed? (105) As to what we read of St. Patrick having been in *islands*, (106) without entering into further disquisitions it is sufficient to observe, that very near Lerinum was another island called *Lero*, (now *Ste Marguerite*) which became celebrated by its having been chosen for his place of retreat by the great St. Eucherius of Lyons. (107) St. Patrick might have occasionally visited this island, or some of the other small islands off those coasts then inhabited by persons, who had retired from the world. (108)

What has been already stated in this chapter concerning the monastery or college of St. Martin near Tours is equally applicable to the institution at Lerins, which was in great part a seminary for the education of clergymen, and thereby distinguished from the monasteries strictly so called, of whose plan that object constituted no part. Before concluding this subject of the islands, it will not be amiss to add a few words concerning the staff, called the staff of

Jesus, so much spoken of in the Lives of St. Patrick. He is said to have received it from a hermit in an island of the Etruscan sea, to whom it had been delivered by our Saviour himself, whence the name *staff of Jesus*, with an order to give it to St. Patrick, when he should arrive there. (109) Neither Fiech's hymn, nor the Scholiast, nor Probus (110) make any mention of it. Jocelin (111) and the Tripartite (112) have some prodigious stories relative to it, and compare it with the rod of Moses. St. Bernard speaks of it in his Life of St. Malachy, and describes it as covered over with gold and adorned with most precious gems, where he relates that Nigellus, the usurper of the see of Armagh, had taken it away together with the book of the Gospels, which had belonged to St. Patrick; adding, that both were held in such veneration, that whoever had them in his possession was considered by some foolish people as the real bishop. Giraldus Cambrensis says that in his time it was removed from Armagh to Dublin. (113) It was in all appearance the crosier used by St. Patrick, and might have been originally a plain walking stick. If there be any truth in St. Patrick's having got it from a person in that island, it is probable that he brought it with him as a keepsake of a friend. According to some accounts that person's name was Justus. (114) I find a bishop of that name among those, who assisted at a synod of Arles held about A. D. 450, and which was composed chiefly of prelates, who had been elevés of the school of Lerins. (115)

(89) Usher *p.* 836.

(90) *Cap.* 22. The same name occurs in Usher's Tripartite; *Pr.* *p.* 835.

(91) *Tr. Th.* *p.* 30.

(92) *P.* 836.

(93) *Ind. Chron. ad An.* 409.

(94) "Vade ad illos, qui sunt in insula inter montes et mare."
L. 1. cap. 16.

(95) The matter was thus understood by the compiler of the Tripartite; for, after mentioning that St. Patrick was *in mari Tyrrheno*, that is, in an island of that sea, he says that there he went to certain persons, who dwelt in a cavern between a mountain and the sea. (*L. 1. c. 34.*)

(96) Fleury, *Hist. Eccles. Liv. xxiv. §. 56.*

(97) See Tillemont, *Memoires, &c. Tom. xv. p. 54.*

(98) The Bollandists, having rejected the conjecture as to Camargue, give us one of their own, which is really unworthy of such men as Henschenius and Papebrochius. They would have us take the *insula Tamerensis* for Ireland itself; *Tamerensis* for *Temoriensis* from *Temoria* the capital of Ireland. What a wild idea! Ireland was never called by that name. In the third Life, where the word *Tamerensis* is found, Ireland is often mentioned but under no other name than *Hibernia*. Connected with this extravagant explanation is their sending St. Patrick to preach in Ireland long before his regular appointment for that purpose. (See *Not. 77.*) Another droll conjecture has been started by Porter, *Compend. Annal. Eccl. &c. p. 123.* He places the *insula Tamarensis* opposite the mouth of a river Tamar, that flows in England into the *Irish* sea. We find indeed a river *Tamar* in England *viz.* that of Plymouth (*Camden Britannia, col. 25*); but does it flow into the channel, and where is the island?

(99) See *Not. 86 and 87.* Colgan would fain read *Arelatensis* for *Arelanensis*, as he thought that Camargue was the island alluded to; (*Tr. Th. p. 17.*) while elsewhere he makes Tamaria a different island from the *Arelanensis*. (*ib. p. 30.*) The Bollandists also, prepossessed with their hypothesis concerning *Tamarensis* (*Not. 98.*) distinguish it from the *insula Arelanensis*.

(100) *In mari Tyrrheno.* See *Notes 80–85–95.*

(101) See Tillemont, *Memoires, &c. Tom. xv. p. 395.*

(102) “*Inter montes et mare—inter Alpes Maritimas et mare Gallicum-Hetruscum.*” *Comment. præv. ad V. S. P. §. 9.*

(103) *Pr. p. 836.*

(104) Some writers, and among others the Bollandists, say that Honoratus founded his monastery about A. D. 375. According to Tillemont (*Tom. XII. at St. Honorat Art. 7.*) this foun-

dition could not have taken place earlier than about A. D. 400. At any rate it was by many years prior to A. D. 418.

(105) In the tract on the Liturgy quoted by Usher, *p.* 343, Germanus himself is spoken of as having been a member of the *monasterium Lirenense*, or, as it is there written, *Linerense* together with Lupus. But this cannot be reconciled with what is known of the whole tenor of St. German's life, and only shows that he was much connected with the pious *solitaires* of Lerins, among whom there were persons of various nations and tongues. (See Tillemont at *St. Honorat.*) In the stories concerning St. Patrick's proceedings in the island there occur certain circumstances, that have a sort of similarity with some, which are said to have taken place in Lerins. I will mention but one. Probus says (*L. 1. c. 16.*) that St. Patrick, when in the island between the mountains and the sea, drove away a huge beast, that used to hinder the islanders from getting water at a fountain. This is somewhat like the story concerning St. Honoratus having driven a dragon out of the island of Lerins. Tillemont, *ib.*

(106) Fiech's Hymn, Tirechan, &c.

(107) Tillemont *Mem. Tom. xv. Art. St. Eucher.*

(108) See St. Ambrose, *Hexam. L. 3. c. 5.* and St. Jerome, *Ep. 30. ad Oceanum.*

(109) Henry the monk of Saltrey in Huntingtongshire in his fabulous book, *De Purgatorio S. Patricii*, says (*cap. 1.*) that St. Patrick received it from our Saviour himself. The Tripartite has the same story; *L. 1. c. 37.*

(110) Probus speaks of a staff, with which St. Patrick struck a certain grave; (*L. 2. c. 21.*) but he neither calls it the staff of Jesus, nor tells us how the saint came by it.

(111) *Cap. 24.*

(112) *L. 1. c. 36-37.*

(113) Whoever wishes to know more about this staff may consult Colgan, *Tr. Th. p. 263.* and Lynch, *Life of St. Patrick*, *p. 119.*

(114) Jocelin, *cap. 24.* and a Paris breviary quoted by Colgan, *loc. cit.*

(115) Tillemont, *Mem. Tom. xv. p. 407.*

§. XIII. The termination of the nine years passed in the island brings us to A. D. 427, at which time, as we may reasonably calculate, our saint was 39

years of age. On his returning to Auxerre he could not but have been actively employed by such a bishop as St. German. It is very probable that in the interval between that year and A. D. 431 he spent some time in his own country; and perhaps to his officiating at Boulogne as a priest we ought to refer what, as we have seen above, (116) Malbrancq has about his having acted as bishop in that town. For, his hypothesis concerning St. Patrick having been consecrated bishop in the year 424, or at any time before 431, cannot be reconciled with the most creditable accounts, that we have as to the time of his consecration. And, whether or not there were any bishop officiating in that country at this period, yet it appears more consistent to suppose, that our saint acted there only as a priest, particularly as very little time seems to have elapsed between his promotion to the episcopacy and his repairing to Ireland. Nor will this invalidate the assertion of Malbrancq, that St. Patrick at some time *after* A. D. 424 (the year in which he supposes him to have been consecrated at Rome) officiated at Boulogne; for although it may be doubted, whether the saint was then a bishop or only a priest, the fact of his having acted there as a clergyman remains untouched. Similar doubts as to the rank of celebrated men at the time of certain exertions of theirs frequently occur in ecclesiastical history; and Malbrancq himself furnishes us with a case quite in point. He tells us that the famous St. Victricius had preached and greatly exerted himself among the Morini, and that he was afterwards made bishop of Rouen; and he adds that one of the reasons, which induced St. German to send St. Patrick to Boulogne among that people was the state, to which their church had been reduced by the loss of Victricius. (117) Malbrancq was of the opinion of those, who maintain that Victricius had preached to the Morini before his episcopacy; while others hold

that he was already bishop of Rouen at the time of his pastoral labours among them (118)

(116) *Chap. III. §. VIII.*

(117) *De Morinis, L. 2. c. 26.*

(118) See Tillemont, *Mem. Tom. x. Art. St. Victrice.*

§. XIV. It was during the same interval that St. Patrick accompanied St. German and Lupus of Troyes in their spiritual expedition to G. Britain in the year 429 (119) for the purpose of extirpating the Pelagian heresy, which had taken root in that island. This fact is stated in some accounts of St. Patrick's proceedings; (120) nor in the Lives, that are silent about it, is there any circumstance to be met with, that might tend to invalidate it. The Bollandists do not admit it; as it would not accord with their calculations and their presupposing, that our saint was at that time still in Lerins. But, since it has been shown that he was not, nothing remains to prevent our receiving it as true; for it will not be denied, that German and Lupus took with them some clerical companions, nor does there appear any reason to show that St. Patrick was not one of them. And, as he was most probably at Boulogne (121) at the time they set out, he was accordingly in the very track of their course to Britain, and so had nothing more to do than to join them at the place of embarkation, which was perhaps Boulogne itself, or if not, certainly some port not far from it. (122) For, besides those having been at all times the usual places for taking a passage from the Gauls for Britain, it appears from the two prelates having on their way stopped for some time at Nanterre in the diocese of Paris, (123) that their journey was directed towards the Streights. In what particular manner St. Patrick was employed while in G. Britain it would be useless to inquire, as we have not records sufficient to guide us, there remaining only an imperfect account of the acts of that memorable expedition. (124) But we may be sure

that he was not idle during that time, and I will here for once observe, that whatever is to be met with here and there concerning St. Patrick's having preached in any part of G. Britain (125) must be referred to this period or to that of some short delays, which he is said to have made while crossing that country in his progress from Gaul to Ireland in the year 432. For it is clear from his own testimony, (126) that from the time he undertook his mission he remained with the Irish people during the whole remainder of his life.

(119) Usher *Pr.* p. 325. and above *chap.* 1. §. xv.

(120) Fiech's Scholiast has, *num.* 10; " Venit autem Germanus in Britanniam ad extirpandam haeresim Pelagii, quae in ea multum crevit. Et sic venit cum Patricio et aliis multis, illamque haeresim continuo extirpabat—Ipsae et Patricius reversi sunt in Galliam." This is what Jocelin alluded to, however mistaken as to the time, where he writes (*cap.* 92); " Quia pestis Pelagianae haeresis atque Ariana perfidia pluribus in locis Britanniae fidem foedaverat, ipse (Patricius) praedicando," &c. As to what Jocelin says of the Arian heresy then infecting Britain, there is no foundation for it. (See Bede *L.* 1. *cap.* 17. and Stillingfleet, *Antiquities*, &c. *chap.* 4.) A passage quoted by Usher (*p.* 840) from William of Malmesbury (*De antiq. Glaston. Eccl.*) contains something to the same purpose; and in the old tract on the liturgy (*ib.* and *p.* 343.) the preaching of German and Lupus in Britain and St. Patrick's connexion with them are spoken of in such a manner as to favour an inference, that he was along with them on that expedition.

(121) To St. Patrick's preaching the Gospel at Boulogne and in the adjacent territory is seemingly to be referred a passage of Probus, in which among the countries, that were to be enlightened through his ministry, Normandy is mentioned. " Scotiam atque Britanniam, Angliam et Normanniam—baptizabis." *L.* 1. *c.* 10. We have seen already (*chap.* III. §. xiv.) that the name of Normandy had been sometimes extended to tracts not comprized within the modern limits of that province.

(122) See above *chap.* III. notes 83. 106.

(123) Usher *p.* 327. and Tillemont, *Memoires &c. Tom. xv. p.* 16.

(124) Tillemont, *ib.*

(125) Besides the passage quoted (*Not.* 121) in which howsoever we may understand *Britanniam* (see *Chap.* III.) Probus certainly meant by *Angliam* a part of G. Britain, he writes (*L. 2. capp.* 24, 25) that at a certain time, when all Britain was nearly overspread with infidelity, St. Patrick was almost despairing of doing any good among the inhabitants, as they would not pay attention to his preaching; but that the Lord comforted him and told him, that his toils would not be quite useless. Accordingly on the day, after that affliction had seized him, he had the consolation of baptizing Muneria the daughter of a prince of the country. Probus gives us no hint as to the time when this might have happened; for in that part of his work, it being on miracles, he observes no chronological order. Yet it may be justly doubted whether the *Britain* here alluded to by Probus, or by whomsoever he got those anecdotes from, was not rather the Belgic than the insular one. The circumstances of G. Britain from A. D. 427 to 432 included (the only period to which we are authorized to assign any preaching of St. Patrick in that country) were not such as to afford a reason for asserting that infidelity prevailed there almost universally. The only complaint we meet with as to the state of the church of G. Britain at that time is its having been infected with the poison of the Pelagian heresy; nor did the deplorable state, to which that church was reduced by the Saxon persecution, and which is so feelingly described by Gildas, take place until after A. D. 450. (See Usher *p.* 415. *seqq.* and *Ind. Chron.*) On the other hand there are good reasons for believing, that the churches of Belgic Britain, which comprehended, besides the district of the Morini, some other adjacent territories, were in a sad condition about A. D. 427 or 428, the time at which St. Patrick seems to have gone to Boulogne after his return from Lerins. We may add to what Malbrancq has on this subject (see above §. XIII) the effects injurious to religion, that must have been produced in those tracts by the ravages of the Barbarians (*Not.* 51.); and we may suppose that the situation of those churches was somewhat similar to that, in which Victricius had found them some years before, and which is thus described by Tillemont; “Ce que les *Romains* ap-

pellaiant les *Morins* et les *Nerviens*, et qui comprend à peu pres la Flandre, le Brabant, le Hainaut, et le Cambresis, avait receu quelque connoissance de la verité des le temps de Diocletien. Mais la negligence des pasteurs ou les ravages des barbares y ayant empesché le progrès de l'Evangile, Dieu choisit Saint Victrice pour," &c. (*Memoires, &c. Tom. x. p. 671.*) The baptism of that British princess, but under the name of *Munessa*, is mentioned also in the third *Life*, (*cap. 78*) and, following the context, must be supposed to have been performed in Ireland; for it is there stated, that her parents hearing of the great reputation of St. Patrick brought her to him. In the *Tripartite* it is said (*L. 3. c. 73.*) that the daughter of a British king came to Ireland to be instructed by the saint; and *Jocelin* also has (*cap. 159*) the princess, calling her *Memessa*, her having been brought to St. Patrick, the baptism, &c. but without telling us in what country it took place. He would indeed elsewhere (*cap. 92.*) vain make us believe, that St. Patrick went to G. Britain after his mission had commenced; but our saint's authority is vastly preferable to that of a writer, who in that same chapter has so many falshoods, not to say lies, concerning 30 British bishops in Ireland, the isle of Man then subject to Britain, the fall of the magician Melin, &c.

(126) *Confess. p. 17.*

§. xv. The saints German and Lupus remained in Great Britain until the Easter of the year 430, and some time in that year returned to Gaul. (127) It is very likely, as has been observed elsewhere, (128) that the information, which they might have obtained, during their absence from home, concerning the state and wants of the Irish Christians, was communicated to Pope Celestine, who either had already determined on sending a bishop to Ireland, or was advised to do so by those prelates. But a bishop was not to be sent unaccompanied by other missionaries; and who could be better qualified for being chosen an assistant to that bishop than Patrick, who had lived six years in Ireland and had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language of the country? Having returned from Great Britain together with

the two prelates, he accompanied, according to the most consistent account, St. German to Auxerre, (129) where it would appear they did not arrive until rather late in the year now mentioned. And this accords with the sequel of our saint's proceedings; for it must have been either towards the close of said year or early in the next, *viz.* A. D. 431, that he was sent to Rome by St. German, recommended by him to the Pope as a person fit to be employed in the mission, which was then preparing for Ireland, and of which Palladius was appointed the chief. (130) We have already seen in this chapter, that St. Patrick went straight from Auxerre to Rome; nor, looking to the period of his return from Britain, was there much time to spare between it and that of his setting out for the capital of the Christian world. Whether he arrived in Rome before Palladius set out thence for Ireland, or not long after, cannot be ascertained; but there can be no doubt of his having been well received by the Pope; (131) for, were there no other reason for such a favourable reception, the recommendation of such a great saint as German would have been sufficient. He was accompanied by Segetius a priest, (132) who, besides being commissioned to give a good character of him, was probably charged with letters from St. German to the Pope concerning the success of his mission and the state of religion in Great Britain. The object of our saint in going to Rome or of St. German's recommendation was not to obtain an ecclesiastical preferment in that city; and all that we read in some late writers concerning St. Patrick's having been a Canon Regular of St. John Lateran is totally destitute of foundation; (133) for, besides there having been no such description of clergymen belonging to that church until a much later period, (134) our saint did not remain long enough at Rome to become regularly attached to that or any other church in that city. (135)

(127) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* (128) *Chap. 1. §. xv.*

(129) Fiech's Scholiast says (*num. 10.*) that St. German remained in Britain until he was informed, that his own city was infected with Pelagianism, and that he then returned to Gaul accompanied by St. Patrick as far as the city. William of Malmesbury writes (*De antiq. Glaston. Eccl. cap. de S. Pat.*) that St. German, after having settled the affairs of Britain, "inde in patriam meditatus reditum, Patricium ad *familiare contubernium* ascivit; eumdemque post *aliquot annos* Hiberniensibus, jubente Celestino papa, *praedicatorum misit.*" As to *aliquot annos*, counting from A. D. 430 to 432, it cannot stand; but that writer knew so little of the chronology of those times, that he brings St. Patrick to Ireland in the year 425.

(130) See *Chap. 1. §. xvi.*

(131) The Bollandists (*Comment. &c. §. 5.*) say, that St. Patrick went to Rome A. D. 430, and, what indeed I did not expect to meet with, that he was at first repulsed by the Pope. They add that he then returned to St. German, by whom he was sent after Palladius' death to the same Pope Celestine, who a few days before his death in 432 entrusted him with the care of the Irish mission. The former part of this statement is in direct opposition to all the accounts, that we have of St. Patrick's transactions at Rome, except a garbled one in Fiech's Scholiast, (*num. 13, 14*) which is as follows: "Germanus autem Patricio ait; pergas ergo tu ad successorem S. Petri, nempe Celestinum, ut te ordinet, quia hoc munus ipsi incumbit. Venit ergo Patricius ad eum, et nec ei honorem dedit; quia ante misit Palladium in Hiberniam ut doceret eam." Then, after sending St. Patrick to the islands of the Etruscan sea, &c. they make him return to St. German and continue thus: "Misit ergo Germanus *denuo* Patricium ad Celestinum et Segestium cum eo—Postea intellexit Celestinus Palladium decessisse—Tunc ordinatus est Patricius in conspectu Celestini et Theodosii junioris regis mundi. Amator ex Antissiodorensis episcopus est qui eum ordinavit. Et Celestinus non vixit nisi una septimana post quam ordinatus est Patricius." This story of two applications of our saint to the Pope for the purpose of being employed on the Irish mission, which, as Colgan remarks, are not mentioned by any other writer, was evidently fabricated for the purpose of reconciling the account of St. Patrick having gone

to Rome, recommended by St. German, about the time that Palladius set out for Ireland, and not having been *then* or *there* consecrated bishop, with the other story of his having been consecrated at Rome by Celestine himself; for which latter part, however, the sapient Scholiast, finding it could not agree with other accounts, substituted his being consecrated only in the presence of Celestine. The Bollandists saw into the absurdity of some parts of that unchronological narrative, and accordingly placed the first application of our saint to the Pope after the nine years spent at Lerins, whence they make him go straight to Rome, as if St. German had nothing to do with that application, although the Scholiast tells us he had. They were aware, that a recommendation by St. German would not be slighted by the Pope. On the whole it is strange that they could have paid any attention to such stuff, in which Theodosius the younger, who never resided at Rome, and Amator of Auxerre, who was dead 14 years before, are placed in company with Celestine; particularly as they did not admit, that St. Patrick was consecrated at Rome.

(132) Instead of *Segetius* Probus calls him *Regirus*. This may be owing to an erratum of transcription, as all the other Lives have *Segetius* or *Segestius*. The Tripartite (*L. 1. c. 35.*) makes him St. German's vicar in *spritualibus*; and it would seem that he was a member of the clergy of Auxerre. I find a bishop of this name in Italy during the pontificate of Leo the great about A. D. 443. (Tillemont, *Tom. xv. p. 424*) Might he have been the same person? Or would it be reasonable to conjecture, that *Segetius*, when a priest, had been sent by Pope Celestine with letters to S. German relative to his proceeding to G. Britain, and that, after having been with him in that country, he, on his returning to Rome, was requested to take St. Patrick along with him and to introduce him to the Pope?

(133) There is not a word in any of the Lives of St. Patrick concerning his having been a Canon Regular of St. John Lateran; nor is even the name of that church mentioned in them. Dr. Ledwich therefore had no right to deduce, with an air of triumph, an objection from that ill founded statement of late invention against the history of our saint and his very existence. (*Antiq. of Ireland, p. 372.*) The poor Doctor did not know or did not wish to know, how this story originated. Let us then explain the

matter to him. We have seen above, (*Not.* 64) that the practice of part of the clergy of a diocese living in common with the bishop had been introduced in several churches at an early period. The name *Canonici* or *Canons*, although it had been given originally to all such clergymen as were in the Canon or roll of a church (*Bingham B. 1. ch. 5. sect. 10.*) became particularly appropriated to those only, who thus lived in a community, inasmuch as they were bound to observe certain canons or rules relative to the institution. (*Fleury, Instit. Part 1. ch. 17.*) This is not the place to inquire into the regulations made at various periods for the purpose of upholding that salutary discipline, such as those of Chrodegang bishop of Metz in the eighth century, of the council of Aix-la-chapelle A. D. 816; &c. It is sufficient to state that, in consequence of such enactments, those clergymen, who observed them, might have been called *Canonici regulares*, that is, observants of the rules, while those, who had renounced living in common, were called simply *Canonici*. According to this acceptation St. Patrick might be said to have been during part of his life a *Canon*, and even, should any one wish to add to the title, a *Canon regular* (although not of St. John Lateran); whereas the discipline, according to which he had lived both in St. Martin's college and in Lerins, was similar to that observed in the communities of Canons. But he could not by any means be called a *Canon regular of St. Augustin*; because no such description of Canons was known until the eleventh century, at which time some communities of clergymen adopted a sort of monastic rule, vulgarly attributed to St. Augustin, who, however, has left no rule except certain regulations which he had drawn up for the direction of a nunnery under the superintendence of his sister, and which have, with some necessary alterations, been applied to communities of men under the title of the *Rule of St. Augustin*. This new class of Canons regular adopted the practice of vows, yet retaining the privilege of forming diocesan chapters, and of being employed in the care of souls. They soon branched out into various subdivisions, such as Praemonstratenses, Trinitarians, &c. and became very numerous. We may judge of the number of their establishments in England from the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, the second volume of which is taken up with an account of them. In Ireland we had very few of them until

the arrival of the English. Alemand (*Hist. Monast. d'Irlande*) and after him Harris (*Antiq. of Ireland, ch. 38*) have been guilty of a huge mistake in classing such a multitude of our ancient monasteries under the head of *Canons regular of St. Augustin*. Since the eleventh century the name of *Canons regular* has been confined to these institutions alone, and as such they are usually spoken of in the Canon law, and alluded to by Canonists. Thus Gibert says (*Corpus Jur. Can. tit. XIII. reg. 3.*); “Tantum seculo XI. visi sunt primum Canonici regulares, sic vocati, quia religiosorum vota faciebant, et ea vitæ clericali adjiciebant.” Of these *Canons regular* we shall have occasion to treat more largely hereafter. To return to what concerns St. Patrick, Gabriel Pennotus (*Hist. Can. Reg. lib. 2. c. 34, 35.*) and some other writers zealous for the honour of their institution have pretended, that our saint was a Canon regular, that is, of St. Augustin. But their claim has been strenuously opposed by several writers of the order of Augustinian hermits, more generally known by the single name of *Augustinians*, who maintain that he was one of themselves. Colgan has a whole dissertation on this contest, (*Tr. Th. p. 237, seqq.*) in which he states the arguments of both parties; and it is amusing enough to observe, with what sort of historical and critical skill the question has been handled, and how honest Colgan has endeavoured to accommodate matters between the disputants. Let it suffice here to remark, that both parties are in the wrong; the former for the reasons already assigned; and the latter for a reason equally powerful, *viz.* because the order of Augustinian hermits did not exist until about the beginning of the 13th century, when they appeared in Lombardy under the name of *Eremitæ fratris Joannis Boni, ordinis S. Augustini*; and afterwards became more generally known in consequence of the bulls concerning them of Gregory IX. and Alexander IV. both of whom lived in that century. I now conclude this long note with asserting, that St. Patrick was never a monk, properly so called, nor a Canon regular of St. Augustin, nor an Augustinian hermit.

(134) There were no Canons of any sort attached to the church of St. John Lateran until the time of Pope Gelasius, whose pontificate began A. D. 492. So Onuphrius Panvinius tells us (*Lib. 2. de Eccl. Later. c. 3.*) and adds, that they lived in common ac-

ording to the rule of *St. Augustin*. This might be understood as merely meaning, that they lived in a manner similar to that of *St. Augustin's* establishment, (see above *Not. 64.*) did he not elsewhere call them *Canons Regular of St. Augustin*; "*Gelasius Canonicos, ut vocant, Regulares ordinis Sti. Augustini Laterani primus collocavit, qui ibidem usque ad Bonifacium VIII. a quo expulsi sunt, permanserunt. Ex Archivis basilicæ Lateranensis.*" (*Note to Platina's Life of Felix II. alias III. just before the Life of Gelasius.*) That learned man was certainly mistaken in this point; for the *Canons regular of St. Augustin* were for the first time placed in the Lateran church by *Alexander II.* (*Fleury Instit. Part 1. cap. 22.*) and, as *Onuphrius* himself marks in his *Ecclesiastical chronology*, in the year 1062, or as it would appear from *Fleury*, (*Hist. Eccl. L. 61. §. 6.*) in 1063.

(135) It is plain from the nature of the business, upon which *St. Patrick* went to Rome, that he was not regularly attached to the service of any church there; and that his stay was short can be easily collected from a comparison of dates. His arrival in that city could scarcely be previous to the year 431, and from the sequel it will appear that he left it in the course of said year or very early in the next. It is allowed on all hands, that his abode at Rome on the occasion we are now speaking of was not that, during which it has been said by some that he studied at Rome, nor that of his being a Canon of the Lateran church. Those, who admitted these stories, have looked out for another part of his life, to which these circumstances might be assigned. *Usher* has affixed to A. D. 402 *St. Patrick's* first journey to Rome (*Pr. p. 790-835. and Ind. Chron.*) and quotes some passages, in which it is stated that he spent a considerable time there, which *Usher* considered as part of the seven years mentioned by *Tirechan* as passed by the saint in the Gauls, Italy, and the islands. (See above *Not. 85.*) *Tirechan*, however, makes no mention of Rome. *Colgan*, notwithstanding certain difficulties, which he did not well know how to get over, has in substance followed *Usher*, placing *St. Patrick's* first arrival in Rome A. D. 403, and observing that he could not have remained there more than six years. (*Tr. Th. p. 243.*) This was in fact the only period, to which he or *Usher* could, in their hypothesis of our saint's having been born A. D. 372, or 373, assign those pretended studies at

Rome ; for all the years from 409 to 432 were so taken up with other transactions, that no time could be found for them during this interval. But it happens unluckily for this system, that St. Patrick was, as has been shown, at the time guessed at for his Roman studies a captive in Ireland ; nor had Usher, by whom Colgan was led astray, any ground for his calculations except the fables concerning our saint, when on his way to Rome, having met Kiaran of Saigir and Declan in Italy ; which fables have been already exploded (*chap. I.*). Besides, there is not a word in any of the Lives of St. Patrick relative to those studies at Rome or his ever having been there until he went thither on the business of the Irish mission. As, however, it was stated in some of those Lives that he had been actually at Rome, and received the Pope's benediction, &c. this was amplified into his having remained there a considerable time for the sake of study. Yet Nennius is the only old writer, in whom we find this story, which, were it true, would certainly not have been omitted by all those, who had professedly undertaken to give an account of his life. The Bollandists, although they placed St. Patrick's birth ten years before the true time, did not, however, find room for those Roman studies, nor did they bring St. Patrick to Rome until A. D. 430. (See above *Not. 131.*) If it should be asked, whether he had been at Rome for any time ever so short before he went thither on the affair of the mission, I will answer that such a question is of no consequence, and that there is nothing to be met with in any of the Lives, which may lead us to think so. Were we indeed to follow the printed text of Probus, such a conclusion would seem to follow ; for we read (*L. 1. c. 20.*) that he went to Rome and received the Pope's blessing ; and then (*cap. 21, 22.*) it is stated that he remained a considerable time with St. German, who, when the proper time was arrived for his setting out for Ireland, sent with him the priest, whom he calls *Regirus*. (See *Not. 132.*) But it is evident, that the text of Probus has in that part of the book been deranged (*Not. 77.*) and that what is found in *cap. 20.* ought to follow *cap. 22.* This is confirmed by what Probus has about that priest having been sent with our saint as a witness or voucher for his character. Was he to vouch for him to the people of Ireland, who knew less of that priest than of St. Patrick himself ? And yet such would appear to be the meaning of Probus,

were we to adhere to the order of his text as printed; and we should also admit that, according to Probus, our saint was sent to Ireland not by the Pope but by St. German himself; for, as the text now stands, neither Rome nor Celestine is mentioned after what we find in *capp.* 21 and 22. The circumstance, however, of St. Patrick being said to have been accompanied by the priest, which, as we read in others of the Lives, was for the purpose of introducing him to the Pope, shows that Probus could not have meant what the text in its present state would seem to convey. If what Tirechan says about the saint having been not only in the islands but in Italy were true, we might suppose it probable that on some occasion or other he visited Rome, as other holy men used to do; but a visit is very different from a permanent residence.

§. XVI. The business upon which St. Patrick went to Rome, and what occurred in consequence, is very clearly and consistently stated by Erric of Auxerre and in some of the Lives, whence we learn that the saint, being approved of by the Pope, received his benediction, and was empowered by him to proceed to Ireland. (136) But they do not inform us, that he was consecrated bishop at Rome, while on the contrary in the greater part of the Lives his consecration is placed elsewhere, and after his departure from Rome, as will be seen lower down. It will also appear from the *Confession*, that he was consecrated not far from his own country, and, comparing the authorities furnished us in the Lives, in some part of the North-west of Gaul. It is easy to account for his not having been made bishop at Rome; for Palladius was the person fixed upon as chief of the mission and as the bishop on that occasion; (137) nor was it or is it usual to send, on the commencement of a mission, more than one bishop to any one country, particularly of such small extent as Ireland. Thus Gregory the great appointed at first but one bishop, Augustin, for the mission of England. (138) The account of St. Patrick's consecra-

tion by Celestine is not to be met with in any of the Lives except those two compilations of all stories, *viz.* Jocelin's and the Tripartite ; (139) whence it made its way into some breviaries and other late documents. (140) It has been rejected not only by the Bollandists, but even by Colgan, who, while he holds that St. Patrick was *instituted* by Celestine, yet maintains that he was not *consecrated* by him nor at Rome, but somewhere not far from the part of the sea that separates France from Great Britain. (141) Instead of saying with Colgan that St. Patrick was *instituted* by the Pope, that is, qualified to be consecrated bishop, I think it more consistent to lay down, that he was appointed only principal assistant to Palladius ; a situation, which, although it entitled him to be raised to the episcopacy in case of Palladius' death, was not equivalent to episcopal institution. For it is not to be supposed that, while there was no necessity for his consecration, Palladius being the then bishop, the Pope would have instituted him and thus authorized him to get himself consecrated when and wherever he pleased even during the life-time of Palladius. I have no doubt that the Pope's intention was that, in case of the demise of Palladius, St. Patrick should succeed him ; and there can be no objection to our supposing, that this intention had been officially declared. All this, however, was not tantamount to actual institution. If it be asked, why St. Patrick did not set out for Ireland in company with Palladius, there are two answers at hand ; first, that it is very probable he did not arrive at Rome until after Palladius' departure ; and secondly, that, besides being detained at Rome by some details relative to the mission, he got leave to pay a visit to St. German and his relatives in Gaul, and to settle some domestic concerns before his parting from his friends, under, however, the obligation of repairing to Ireland as soon as he conveniently could.

(136) Erric writes (*De Vita &c. S. Germ. L. 1. c. 12.*); “Ad sanctum Celestinum urbis Romae Papam per Segetium presbyterum suum eum direxit (Germanus) qui viro praestantissimo probitatis ecclesiasticae testimonium apud sedem ferret apostolicam. Cujus judicio approbatus, auctoritate fultus, benedictione denique roboratus, Hiberniae partes expetiit.” The fourth Life has (*cap. 29.*); “Misit ergo, ut praefati sumus, S. Germanus B. Patricium Romam, ut cum apostolicae sedis Episcopi licentia ad praedicationem exiret: ita enim ordo exigebat—Perveniente vero illo Romam, a sancto Papa Celestino honorifice est susceptus; et traditis sibi Sanctorum reliquiis ab eodem Papa Celestino in Hiberniam missus est.” The third Life agrees in substance with the fourth, except that St. Patrick’s consecration as bishop is placed before his arrival at Rome and his presenting himself before the Pope, which is contrary to all the other accounts, and is undoubtedly owing to a misplacement of the chapters, by making one the 24th, which ought to be the 26th. By what we find in these and other documents concerning the active part taken by St. German in procuring the appointment of St. Patrick for the Irish mission, we are to explain a passage of the old tract on the Liturgy, in which he is spoken of in general terms as having been constituted for that purpose by German and Lupus: “B. Patricium spiritaliter litteras sacras docuerunt (Germanus et Lupus) atque enutrierunt, et ipsum episcopum per eorum *praedicationem* archiepiscopum in Scotiis ac Britanniis posuerunt.” This does not exclude his having been previously directed to Rome by German (for elsewhere we do not find that Lupus was concerned in this business) and chosen among others by Celestine through his recommendation. Perhaps the word *praedicationem* here signifies *commendation* or *praise* according to a truly classical acceptance, which we find in the best writers; as when Cicero says, *Virtutem alicujus optime praedicare*. Were we to interpret it *preaching*, how could it apply in this place? For no one could be appointed to any situation by mere preaching. The meaning of the passage may then be this, that, in consequence of those saints having recommended St. Patrick, he became at length a bishop or archbishop, and was employed in Ireland, &c. In a somewhat similar passage of William of Malmesbury quoted above (*Not. 129.*) Celestine is ex-

pressly mentioned as the person, by whose order German sent St. Patrick to Ireland.

(137) It is worth remarking, that this is the very reason assigned in some of the Lives for St. Patrick's not having been consecrated bishop sooner than he was. The Scholiast says that, when St. Patrick went to Rome on what he pretends was the first of two visits to that city (see above *Not.* 131.) the Pope refused to ordain him, *i. e.* bishop; and why? Because he had already appointed Palladius; "*Nec ei honorem dedit; quia ante misit S. Palladium.*" The same reason is assigned, and in clearer terms by Probus (*L. 1. c. 24.*); "*Necdum tamen vir Domini Patricius ad pontificalem gradum fuerat promotus; quod ideo nimirum distulerat, quia sciebat quod Palladius archidiaconus Celestini—ordinatus ab eodem Papa directus fuerat ad hanc insulam.*" And the second Life, in accounting for the delay with regard to St. Patrick's consecration, has (*cap. 23.*); "*Certi etenim erant quoniam Palladius archidiaconus a Celestino Papa urbis Romæ—ordinatus et missus fuerat ad hanc insulam.*"

(138) Bede *Eccl. Hist. L. 1. c. 27.*

(139) See Jocelin *cap. 25.* and Tripartite, *L. 1. c. 39.* In the latter we have this pretty statement; Celestinus Papa coram S. Germano et Amato rege Romano eum (Patricium) ordinavit in episcopum, et Patricii insignivit nomine." St. German was certainly not at Rome in the year 432. And who was Amatus king of Rome? Something about Amator the predecessor of St. German was floating on the compiler's brain, and accordingly he patched up this neat piece of intelligence. From a similar source proceeded an equally ridiculous passage of the Scholiast. (Above *Not.* 131.)

(140) See Usher *p.* 841.

(141) To the authorities in favour of St. Patrick's consecration at Rome Colgan opposes the "*antiquiores actorum S. Patricii aucthores,*" viz. the authors of the second, third, and fourth Lives. He then sums up his conclusions in these words: "*Ex adductis supra testimoniis infero sequentia corollaria. Primum; quod S. Patricius prius fuerit a sede Apostolica institutus episcopus, et destinatus ad conversionem Hiberniæ, quam in episcopum consecratus. Secundum; quod audita jam morte Palladii (qui anno 431 obiit) et per consequens anno ultimo Celestini (qui obiit anno 432 die sexto Aprilis) S. Patricius in episcopum consecratus et in Hiber-*

niam missus fuerit. Ex quibus etiam refellitur placitum Malbranci asserentis ipsum anno 424 fuisse a Celestino ordinatum. Tertium ; quod episcopus, qui ordinavit S. Patricium (sive Amathus, sive Amatorex vel Amator vocetur) non fuerit S. Amator antecessor S. Germani in sede Antissiodorensi ; cum Amator Antissiodorensis obierit anno 418, die primo Maii—Quartum ; si concedamus S. Patricium aliquandiu obivisse munus episcopale Bononiæ inter Morinos, antequam in Hibernia prædicaverit, minime tamen concedi posse, quod illud munus *pluribus* annis ibi exercuerit, ut contendit Malbrancus, sed solum aliquot *mensibus* anni 432, quo ordinatus et missus in Hiberniam." (*Tr. Th. p. 253.*) He then gives it as his opinion, that St. Patrick was consecrated somewhere in Belgium or in the neighbourhood of that country.

§. xvii. St. Patrick left Rome either late in the year 431 or early in 432. Were we to believe some late writers, he was accompanied by Germanus, Axiilius and Servinius, Canons of St. John Lateran. That there were no Canons of that church in those times, we have seen already. As to Germanus, he is not mentioned in any of the Lives as a traveling companion of our saint ; and it is plain that a Germanus having been mentioned as such was owing to a misconception relative to the part, which St. German of Auxerre had acted for the purpose of having St. Patrick sent to Ireland. (142) The other two are very much spoken of in our church history under the names of *Auxilius* and *Iserninus*, or, as some call the latter, *Esserninus* or *Serenus*. They certainly were afterwards in Ireland with St. Patrick. It is stated in some of the Lives, that they were promoted to some degree of holy orders at the same time and in the same place that he was consecrated bishop. But whether they accompanied him from Rome, or were selected by him from among young clergymen of his acquaintance in Gaul cannot, as far as I know, be ascertained ; particularly as there are reasons to doubt whether they came to Ireland with St. Patrick or rather some years later. (143)

Be this as it may for the present, and passing over some stories of Jocelin and others about the number of St. Patrick's companions, (144) we may assume as certain that our saint went to Auxerre to take his leave of St. German; (145) and next we find him in a town called Eboria or Eburia situated somewhere in the Northwest of Gaul. (146) Colgan has endeavoured (147) to find out this town in or near Belgium; but his conjectures do not agree either with the names of places or with the situations of them. His thinking that it was the same as Boulogne might do very well, were there not too great a difference between the names *Eboria* and *Bononia*. Nor can his other conjecture of its having been in the country of the Eburones, now called the territory of Liege, be admitted; whereas, besides there having been no town there of that name, (148) the direction, in which it lies, would not have answered for a tour from Auxerre towards Great Britain. It was probably Evreux in Normandy; for the name *Ebroica*, (149) one of those by which it has been known, differs but little from *Eboria*. Evreux is near enough to the sea to agree with what is said of St. Patrick's having soon after his being there embarked for Great Britain, if we suppose that he took shipping at the mouth of the Seine; which is not improbable, considering his wish to hasten his arrival in Ireland as much as possible (150)

(142) The name of this Germanus was, as Usher conjectures, first introduced by that mighty historian Vincent of Beauvais, who in some part of his *Speculum Historiale* has; "Mittitur cum Germano Patricius, et Hiberniis episcopus ordinatur." Poor Vincent perhaps meant the great St. German; but we know, that he was not sent with St. Patrick. Usher seemed inclined to think, that a Germanus, who is said to have been made bishop of the Isle of Man, might have accompanied him. (See *Pr. p.* 842.) But it will be seen elsewhere, that there was no such person.

(143) See Usher *p.* 842 and Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 19.

(144) Jocelin says (*cap.* 26.) that he was accompanied all the

way from Rome by 20 men distinguished for their morals and wisdom. The third Life (*cap.* 27.) and Usher's Tripartite give him 24 companions, and others raise the number to 34, partly it seems from Rome, and partly picked up elsewhere. (See *Pr.* p. 845.) Such a huge number of missionaries at one stroke was never heard of before nor since. Not to mention the expense of conveying and maintaining such a caravan, why did not those story-tellers reflect that, if St. Patrick were to appear in Ireland with such a host of foreigners, and particularly Romans, he and the whole of them would have been driven immediately out of the country?

(145) It would be unnecessary to look for authorities in proof of a circumstance so natural, especially as Auxerre lay in the very track of our saint's journey. On this subject we may safely believe what Jocelin tells us (*cap.* 26.): "Versus Hiberniam—regressum maturavit. Divertit autem ad B. Germanum nutritorem et eruditorem suum; ex cujus munere accepit calices et vestimenta sacerdotalia, copiam codicum et alia quæ pertinent ad cultum et ministerium ecclesiasticum."

(146) That Eboria was in that part of the Gauls is evident from the concurrent testimonies of Probus and the second and fourth Lives, in which it is spoken of as not far from the port, at which St. Patrick embarked for Great Britain. The Bollandists well knowing, that it must have been in the continent, have by a strange conjecture, for which they had no foundation except a certain similarity of name, converted Eboria into Eporedia, now Ivrea in Piedmont. (*Comment. &c. ad V. S. P.* §. 5.) Could Ivrea be said to be near a port, whence one could sail for Great Britain after having been at Auxerre?

(147) *Tr. Th.* p. 254.

(148) The Eburones are mentioned by Cæsar, *De Bel. Gall.* L. 2. §. 4. L. 6. §. 31. and elsewhere. In his time they had a town named Atuatuca. Afterwards their chief town was Tongern, so called from *Tongri*, which was another name of the tribe. (*Cellarius, Geogr. Ant.* L. 2. c. 3.)

(149) The people of the district, in which Evreux is situated, are called by Cæsar (*L.* 3. §. 15.) Auleri *Ebuovices*. In Peutinger's table and Antoninus' Itinerary from Rouen to Paris their town is called *Mediolanum Aulercorum*. Afterwards it went by the name of *Civitas Ebroicorum*, then *Ebroica*, and so on until the

name was frenchified into *Evreux*. See Cellarius, *L. 2. c. 2.* and Hadr. Vales. *Not. Gall. at Aulerici Eburovices.*

(150) It may be objected that, if St. Patrick embarked at the mouth of the Seine, he would have lost the opportunity of seeing his relatives at or near Boulogne before his final departure from his country. To this we may answer that, on his going to Rome he most probably knew that he would be certainly sent to Ireland, and accordingly might have taken his last leave of his friends before he set out on that journey. And for reasons, which will be seen below, (*Not.* 161) he might have wished not to go again to Boulogne. Besides who knows but he had relatives also at Evreux? In the territory of that city there was a town called *Conchæ*, now *Conches*; and, however bold the conjecture may appear, yet it is not unreasonable to suspect, that his mother, who was called *Conchessa*, might have got that name from having been a native of *Conchæ*.

§. XVIII. While our saint was still in that place, Augustin, Benedict, and some others, who had left Ireland with Palladius, came to him and announced to him the death of the latter in Britain. (151) Hence it appears, that they were already apprized of St. Patrick's having been appointed to the Irish mission and next in rank to Palladius. On receiving this information it became requisite for St. Patrick to be consecrated, as the mission could not go on without a bishop, nor were there any bishops then in Ireland. (152) For this purpose he applied to a venerable prelate, who lived in the neighbourhood of Eboria, and from him received episcopal consecration. (153) Probus says this prelate's name was Amator, while by others he is called Amatorex, (154) Amathæus, Amatus, &c. (155) It is probable that those writers had in view Amator bishop of Auxerre, and that they might have confounded St. Patrick's ordination as priest with his consecration as bishop. (156) But, as he was dead 14 years before the time we are treating of, he could not have been the bishop, by whom our saint was consecrated. (157) Nor do we find any Gal-

lican prelate, living at that time, named *Amator* or *Amatus*. The venerable St. Amandus of Bourdeaux, who succeeded Delphinus about A. D. 404, was still alive in the year 432, having survived St. Paulinus of Nola, who died in the year 431. (158) The name *Amandus* might have been easily changed into *Amatus*, *Amathaeus*, or *Amator*. The description given by Probus and others of the consecrator of St. Patrick corresponds very well with what we know of St. Amandus. For they represent him as an *archbishop*, and a man of extraordinary sanctity. The chief and perhaps only difficulty that occurs against supposing that St. Amandus was the prelate alluded to by these writers is, that Bourdeaux was too far out of the track of St. Patrick's journey towards Great Britain. To this it may be answered, that St. Amandus, of whose proceedings we know little or nothing after about the year 408, might, in consequence of the troubles caused by the irruption of the Goths, the devastation of Bourdeaux in the year 414 or 415, and the final occupation of that city by them in 418 or 419, (159) have been obliged to quit his diocese and to take shelter in some part of the Gauls not subject to that nation. About the very time, that St. Patrick was on his way towards Ireland, the southern provinces of that country were harrassed by wars between the Romans and the Goths. The want of information concerning the transactions of the last years of St. Amandus' life and even the time of his death seems to lead to a conclusion, that he had retired into some solitary place, such as Probus and others hint at by giving us to understand, that the consecrator of St. Patrick lived in the country. Add to this, that no account remains of any archbishop of Bourdeaux between him and Gallicinus, who held that see about the year 474. (160) If, however, St. Amandus was not the prelate sought for, our not being able to decide who *Amator* might have been does not invalidate the truth of the transaction, it being well

known that the history of the Gallican prelates of those days is very imperfect, and that the names of many of them are sunk in oblivion. We have an instance of this in the case just referred to of Gallicinus being the next mentioned as archbishop of Bourdeaux after St. Amandus.

(151) Probus has (*L. 1. c. 25.*); “Audientes itaque de morte Palladii archidiaconi, discipuli illius, qui erant in Britanniis, id est, Augustinus, Benedictus, et cæteri venerunt ad St. Patricium in Euboriam, et mortem Palladii ei denunciabant.” The second Life (*cap. 26.*) and the fourth (*cap. 31.*) give the same account, and nearly in the same words. Harris, although he had the works now quoted before his eyes, yet has fabricated a quite different account of the matter; and tells us (*Bishops p. 11.*) that, “as Palladius died among St. Patrick’s relations, it was easy for him to hear of his death, which he soon did.” He adds, that the saint was then at Auxerre. What stuff, invented to keep up the story of St. Patrick’s having been a native of North Britain! Even had he been such, what right had Harris to say, that Palladius died among his relations? For Kilpatrick, where Harris pretends that St. Patrick was born, is at a great distance from Fordun, where Palladius died. (See *Chap. 1. not. 149.*) And what relatives could St. Patrick, who was born in a Roman province, have among the Picts? As to his having got that news at Auxerre, it is not worth arguing against; unless one would say that Eboria and Auxerre were the same place; which, independently of the great difference of the names, would be in direct opposition to Probus and the other writers, who often mention Auxerre under its own name of *Antlissiodorum*.

(152) See *Chap. 1.*

(153) Probus after the words cited (*Not. 151.*) immediately subjoins; “Patricius autem et qui cum eo erant declinaverunt iter ad quemdam mirae sanctitatis hominem summum episcopum *Amatorem* nomine, in propinquo loco habitantem; ubi S. Patricius, sciens quæ superventura essent illi, episcopali gradu ab eodem archipraesule *Amatore* sublimatus est.” The second and fourth Lives (*loc. cit.*) agree with Probus almost word for word; and the third Life has the same in substance, *cap. 24.* Notwith-

standing these explicit testimonies, some of the writers, who hold that St. Patrick was consecrated at Rome, pretend that he went thither *after* he had heard of the death of Palladius. Usher, who took the lead on this point, (see *Ind. Chron.* at A. 432) has been followed by Harris, and others. The Bollandists also, though they admit that St. Patrick was not consecrated at Rome, yet send him to that city after the death of Palladius, that is, according to them, on a second expedition (above *Not.* 131). The whole of this hypothesis was framed for the purpose of explaining how it came to pass, that St. Patrick was appointed head of the Irish mission after Palladius. But had it been considered, that the whole business had been arranged at Rome before the departure of Palladius, and that due provision had been made for supplying his place in case of any untoward accident, those writers would not have placed themselves in direct opposition to Probus and the above quoted Lives, without being able to produce from any other a single passage in favour of their system. For even the Scholiast does not say, that St. Patrick before his *second* going to Rome had heard of Palladius' death, but merely that, while he was there, the Pope had got an account of it. (See *Not.* 131.) And this is likewise all that Jocelin (*cap.* 25.) and the Tripartite (*L.* 1. *c.* 39.) have on the subject. Usher's hypothesis has given rise to a very serious objection, and I allow, very hard to answer on his principles, against the mission of St. Patrick by Pope Celestine. It is this. Palladius arrived in Ireland A. D. 431, and remained there until about the end of said year. (See *Chap.* 1. §. xvi.) Between his departure from Ireland and arrival at Fordun some not very short time must have intervened, probably three weeks or a month. How long he stayed at Fordun we do not know, but there is no reason to make us think, that he died as soon as he reached that place. It is altogether most likely, that he lived until some time in the year 432. Then we must allow some weeks to have passed between the day of his death and the time, at which news of it was announced to St. Patrick at Eboria in Gaul or at Auxerre, as some of those writers would have it. For besides some delay, which it is reasonable to suppose Palladius' companions made at Fordun after his death, it is to be observed that the distance between it and the part of Gaul, where St. Patrick then was, is very consider-

able, and that in those days there was neither post-travelling nor fast-sailing packet boats. On the whole I think it must be admitted, that our saint could not have heard of Palladius' death until about the latter end of February or the beginning of March A. D. 432. How then can we account for a journey of his to Rome and his arriving there in due time to be consecrated, or even to receive powers relative to the mission from Pope Celestine, who died on the sixth of April in that year? To obviate this objection Usher says, that Bale or Balaeus (*Centur.* 14.) assigns the death of Palladius to the 15th of December. Harris (*Bishops p.* 11.) and O'Flaherty (*Ogygia vind. ch.* 16.) have greedily seized on this date. Now admitting it, no small difficulty still remains. For in all probability St. Patrick, whether at Auxerre or elsewhere in Gaul, could not get the account of it until about a month after; accordingly his preparations for going to Rome, the journey thither, and his proceeding there must be all crammed into the time that elapsed between the middle of January and the latter end of March; I say *the latter end of March*, whereas we are not to suppose, that the Pope could attend to business until the very day of his death. The fact however is, that Palladius did not die as soon as that despicable scribbler has stated; for the Anglican Martyrology and Ferrarius, much better authorities than Bale, place his natalis, or exit from this world, on the 27th of January. (P. Ferrar. *Catal. &c. at said day*, and Colgan *Tr. Th.* p. 18.) As to what some have said of his having died on the 6th July, that is A. D. 432 (for it would be absurd to assign it to A. D. 431 the year of Palladius' departure from Rome for Ireland) this date would be still more contrary to Usher's calculations; but there are much better reasons for affixing Palladius' death to January 27. The short way to get rid of these difficulties is to reject the whole of Usher's hypothesis, as indeed we must in conformity with all the old Lives of St. Patrick. I have dwelt thus much on this subject, merely to show the futility of the objection now discussed, and which has been so often brought forward by persons not acquainted with the true history of our saint.

(154) Second Life, *cap.* 26; Third, *cap.* 24. Fourth, *cap.* 31. &c.

(155) See Usher *p.* 839.

(156) See above *Not.* 75.

(157) Baronius fell into this mistake (*in Martyrol. Roman. Mai. 1.*) Pagi in his strictures on the Annals of Baronius (*Critica, &c. ad A. 431.*) throws out a conjecture almost equally inadmissible. Having found an Amator bishop of Autun, of whom the Sammarthani make mention (in the *Gallia Christiana*) about the year 314, he thought he might have been the consecrator of St. Patrick, and that accordingly this Amator was not as ancient as is commonly supposed. But, not to enlarge on the awkwardness of making a huge leap of above 100 years on no other foundation than a mere coincidence of names, Autun is not so situated as to allow us to look for Eboria in its neighbourhood. Instead of lying between Auxerre and the Ocean, it is between that city and Rome. Now, supposing even that it was on his way from Rome to Auxerre that St. Patrick got the account of Palladius' death, and supposing him to be then near Autun, who does not see that he would have pushed forward to Auxerre to be there consecrated by his friend St. German, rather than stop at Autun, which is not very far distant from it?

(158) Sammarthan. *Gallia Christiana, Tom. 2. col. 789, 790.* It is there added, that he was perhaps the Amandus, who subscribed the synodical epistle of the Gallican bishops to Pope Leo, *A. 451.*

(159) Tillemont having touched on these transactions makes the following remark; "Il ne faut pas s'étonner si parmi tant de troubles il ne s'est rien conservé des actions de S. Amand." *Memoires, &c. Tom. x. Art. S. Amand.*

(160) Tillemont, *ib.* It is related by Gregory of Tours, that St. Amandus gave up his see for some years to a St. Severinus. If so, might not the year 432 have been one of them, and spent by him in retirement?

§. XIX. On the occasion of St. Patrick being about to be consecrated bishop, a person, who had been a friend of his, publicly announced a fault, which the saint had been guilty of when a boy, and of which we have already seen an account in this chapter. This friend's object seems to have been to prevent St. Patrick from going to Ireland and quitting his own country for ever. For this purpose he did not scru-

ple to denounce him as unworthy of being promoted to the episcopacy, expecting that thereby he would be obliged to remain among his relatives and friends, who were very anxious on this subject, and not only besought him with tears in their eyes not to quit them, but even offered him many presents to induce him to remain. (161) These persuasives failing, recourse was had to the desperate shift of endeavouring to excite a prejudice against him in the mind of the consecrating bishop. But all these manœuvres were of no avail; for the Lord was with him and enabled him to surmount every difficulty. (162) From what we have now seen, it is evident, as Tillemont has properly observed, (163) that St. Patrick was consecrated in his own country, by which we are not to understand his mere native town, but some place not very far from which his relatives and old friends and acquaintances resided. This is an additional proof, that he was not consecrated at Rome. It is also an invincible proof, that he was a native of the Continent, and precisely of some part of the N. West of the country now called France; (164) nothing being better ascertained than that he was consecrated bishop before he embarked at some Gallic port for G. Britain. If the neighbourhood of Evreux was the place of his consecration, there is nothing to prevent our supposing that he had relatives in that part of Gaul; (165) and, as to his paternal connexions at Boulogne, it will not be denied that some of them, on hearing that he was at Evreux, might have repaired thither with a view of endeavouring to put a stop to his going to Ireland. And here it may be allowed to observe, that St. Patrick's not making the route by Boulogne his way to G. Britain might have been owing in some measure to his wish to avoid the importunities of his relatives, whom he had already found so much opposed to his determination.

(161) " Sed ut Patriam et parentes amitterem; et munera mul-

ta mihi offerebantur, cum fletu et lachrymis, et offendi illos, necnon contra votum aliquantis de *senioribus meis*. Sed, gubernante Deo, nullo modo consensi, neque adquievi illis, non mea gratia, sed Deus qui vicit in me, et restitit illis omnibus, ut ego venirem ad Hibernas gentes Evangelium praedicare." *Confess. p. 14.* The *seniores*, whom he mentions, were apparently his elder relatives and friends. He uses the same term, where he speaks of the charge brought against him by the former friend, whom he reckons among them. "Et quando temptatus sum áb aliquantis *senioribus meis*, qui venerunt, et peccata mea (divulgaverunt) contra laboriosum episcopatum meum—adversus verbum quod confessus fueram antequam essem diaconus, propter anxietatem moesto animo insinuavi amicissimo meo, quae in pueritia," &c. *Ib. p. 10.* Tillemont's conjecture (*Mem. Tom. xvi. p. 459.*) that by *seniores* he meant *priests* agrees with neither the context, which plainly shows, that under at least a part of these *seniores* he comprized some of his relatives, nor with his using the word *presbyter*, wherever he talks of a priest. Besides, it would be very awkward for a person, while as yet only a priest himself, to use the phrase *my priests*.

(162) See above *Not. 16.*

(163) *Mem. Tom. xvi. p. 458.* He adds (*p. 783.*) and that country *G. Britain*. In this point Tillemont followed the current opinion of his day, having relied on Usher and the Bollandists; without paying any attention to Probus and the other Lives, several of which he appears never to have looked into.

(164) Compare with *Not. 141.* (165) See *Not. 150.*

§. xx. It is related, that Auxilius, Iserminus and some others received certain clerical orders on the same day that St. Patrick was consecrated, and from the same bishop. (166) These persons are spoken of as companions of his on the affair of the mission. (167) Every thing being thus arranged, St. Patrick soon after embarked, probably at the mouth of the Seine, and had a prosperous passage to *G. Britain*. According to Probus and some of the Lives he crossed that country without stopping on the way, and hastened his course until he arrived in Ireland. (168) Yet some writers pretend, that he preached for some

days in G. Britain, (169) and it is added that he spent some time in the neighbourhood of Menevia, or, as it is now called, St. David's in Wales. (170) As these subjects are of little consequence, it is unnecessary to enter into any further discussion about them. (171)

(166) The second Life has (*cap. 26.*); "Sed etiam Auxilius et Serenus (Iserminus), et caeteri inferioris gradus, ordinati sunt eodem die, quo sanctus Patricius." The fourth Life (*cap. 31.*) has nearly the same words. Probus, (*L. 1. c. 25.*) without giving their names writes; "Sed et alii nonnulli clerici ad officium inferioris gradus ordinati sunt." Nennius seems to say, that Auxilius was then ordained priest and Iserminus deacon. Whence he got this information I do not know; nor is the matter worth inquiring into.

(167) See above §. xvii.

(168) Tunc venerabilis sacerdos Domini Patricius navem celeriter ascendit, et pervenit in Britanniam, *omissisque omnibus ambulandi anfractibus cum omni velocitate*, prospero fluctu mare nostrum in nomine S. Trinitatis adiit." Probus *L. 1. c. 25.* Second Life, *cap. 26. &c.*

(169) Nennius in a passage, almost word for word the same with that just quoted from Probus, throws in this addition; "Et praedicavit ibi (in Britannia) *non multis diebus.*" In the chronicle of Matth. Florilegus the *not many* days of Nennius have been changed into *many*. See Usher, p. 839, 843.

(170) Usher, p. 843. *seqq.* (171) See above §. xiv. and *Not. 125.*

CHAPTER V.

St. Patrick's arrival on his mission A. D. 432. Landed somewhere in Leinster—After a short time goes to E. Ulster—His proceedings there—Returning thence goes to Meath—His reception there by the king Leogaire and others—His transactions in various parts of that province—Proceeds to Connaught, where in the course of several years he converted a vast number of persons—Termination of his mission in that part of Ireland.

SECT. I.

AT length we are come to St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland, which was in the year 432. (1) Pope Celestine was already dead; for the Irish Annals, (2) in marking the date of this event, add, that it took place in the first year of the Pontificate of Sixtus, viz. Sixtus the third, who, after a vacancy of 21 days, was raised to the Papal chair on the 28th of April in the same year. Hence it appears, that our saint did not land in Ireland until some time after that day. The place, where he landed, is generally supposed to have been what is now called Wicklow; for Probus tells us that it was a harbour, then very famous among the Irish, in the country of the Evoleni, which country or district, according to Colgan and other antiquaries, was a maritime tract of the present county of Wicklow. (3) Other writers call St. Patrick's landing place *Inbher-de*, that is, the mouth of a river De or Dee, (4) which those, who hold that our saint landed at Wicklow, tell us was the ancient name of its little river now called *Leitrim*. (5) St. Patrick having landed went to a place in the neighbourhood called *Anat-cailtrin*, where he was repulsed by the natives and obliged to go again on board the ship.

(6) This repulse has been stated as proceeding from Nathi Hua-Garrechon, who had already opposed Palladius. (7) There are, however, very good reasons to doubt whether Nathi had any thing to do with this affair, particularly as we have but very slender authority for it, (8) nor is Nathi spoken of on this occasion in the greatest part of the Lives. And it is not very likely, that St. Patrick would have preferred landing in the district belonging to a chief, who had declared himself so hostile to the Christian religion. What follows, on the same authority, concerning Sinell, a Leinster man, the son or rather grandson of Finchada, having been the first convert and the first person baptized in Ireland by our Apostle, (9) is not less doubtful. For, besides that Sinell is stated to have lived until A. D. 549 (10) and accordingly could not have been, in 432, of an age sufficient to become a convert, Probus and others Lives inform us, that Dichu, a native of Ulster, was the first person converted in Ireland by St. Patrick ; and it is more than probable, that what has been said about Sinell originated in provincial pride and rivalry. After St. Patrick's leaving Aonach Tailten, or rather Anat-caltrain, Usher's Tripartite sends him to a place called *Rath-inbher*, so called from having been a castle near the mouth of a river. Usher threw out a conjecture (11) that this place might have been the same as Old-court near Bray at the mouth of its little river, and has been followed by Harris and others, as if it were almost certain. But that name would answer equally well for a place near the mouth of any river, and, considering the circumstances of the narrative, better for the neighbourhood of the river, at which our saint landed, than of any other. Jocelin relates, that from Anat-cailtrin St. Patrick turned off towards a small island not far from the shore since called St. Patrick's island. (12) If this statement be correct, it will follow that Anat-cailtrin was in the tract extending from Dublin to

Skerries, near which is that small island now called Holm-patrick. It will also follow that Inbher-dee must be looked for somewhere in the bay of Dublin, or between it and Skerries. (13) Another account, without mentioning Anat-cailtrin, states that St. Patrick, after the opposition he had met with, returned to the ship which had brought him to Ireland, and then turning to the left, that is, to the North, with an intention of proceeding to Ulster, and sailing along the coast of the Bregenses, put in at Holm-patrick, (14) where he remained for some time. Probus, who makes no mention of the opposition made to our Apostle, or of his having put in at Holm-patrick, agrees with the other Lives in stating, that his reason for going forthwith to Ulster was to pay a visit to his former master Milcho, and to endeavour to bring him over to the Christian faith. (15)

(1) It would be a waste of time to adduce proofs of this being the true date; for, besides its being the only one that can agree with what we have seen about Prosper's mission, Pope Celestine, &c. it is laid down in our best Irish Annals. As to what some writers have said to the contrary, it is easy to show, that they were mistaken. Thus the date A. D. 425 assigned by Wm. of Malmesbury (See *ch. IV. not. 129*) and copied from him by Stanihurst, Alford, Cressy, and others, is strangely erroneous; for, in that case, St. Patrick would have been in Ireland five or six years before Palladius. Tillemont went to an opposite extreme; (*Mem. Tom. xvi. p. 784.*) and it is strange, that he could have fallen into such a mistake. He thought that St. Patrick's mission could not have commenced before A. D. 440. One of his arguments is that, as Palladius did not arrive in Ireland until A. D. 431, some years should be allowed for his mission, which, as it would appear from Prosper, was attended with some good effects. For a full and satisfactory answer to this argument I beg to refer the reader to *Chap. I. and ib. notes 144, 145*. His other argument is that, considering the short time, that intervened between Palladius' arrival in Ireland and the death of Celestine, it was impossible that St. Patrick could have been appointed by *that* Pope as his successor for the Irish mission. This difficulty, which, by the bye,

should not have induced Tillemont to go as low down as the year 440, has been already solved by what is stated and discussed at full length in the preceding chapter, and particularly in *note* 153.

(2) Annals of Ulster, Innisfallen, and the 4 Masters. See Usher *p.* 1046, and Colgan *Tr. Th.* *p.* 254.

(3) Probus writes (*L. 1. c. 27.*); “*Consummato igitur navigio ac labore S. Patricius—in optatum portum regionis Evolenorum, utique apud nos clarissimum, delatus est.*” Colgan in a note says, that for *Evolenorum* we must read *Cuolenorum*, that is, the tract called in Irish *Crioch-cuollan*, whence he concludes, that the harbour was that of Kilmantan now called Wicklow. (See also Usher, *p.* 845.) If *Cuolenorum* be the true reading, Usher’s and Colgan’s corollary will naturally follow; but I confess I have some doubts on this subject; for it is not easy to admit that the harbour of Wicklow could at any time be very famous, *clarissimus*, considering not only how badly situated that place is for trade with the interior of Ireland, but likewise the badness of the harbour, which is fit only for small vessels. And if we retain *Evolenorum*, which I find no sufficient reason for rejecting, we may suppose that Probus meant the harbour of Dublin, *i. e.* the portum *Eblanorum* of Ptolemy. Between the two names (*b* and *v* being commutable) the difference is very small; and the harbour of Dublin was very celebrated, at least in Probus’ time, the Danes being then in possession of it.

(4) Third Life, *cap.* 28.—Jocelin, *cap.* 29. In second Life, *cap.* 25, *Deac.*

(5) See Harris, *Bishops p.* 11. Colgan says, that the real name of that harbour was *Inbher-Dagadh*, from a prince of that name, who had been drowned there. (*Tr. Th. p.* 109.)

(6) Third Life, *cap.* 29. Jocelin (*cap.* 30.) has *Aonach-Tailten*, mistaking a place in the interior of the county of Meath, where solemn sports used to be held, and thence called *Aonach Tailten* or the *sports of Tailten*, (Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 31. *not.* 43. and Seward at *Tailten*) for *Anat-cailtrin*, which was near the sea. In the same third Life both places are well distinguished; for in the chapter now quoted *Anat-cailtrin* is said to have been overflowed by the sea, while in the 43d chapter mention is made of the place of royal sports, *qui dicitur Tailtin*. I cannot but think

that Tailten or Taitin was situated at or near the place now corruptly called Teltown in the barony of Kells.

(7) See above, *Chap.* 1. §. xvi. Nathi's opposition to St. Patrick is mentioned in the second *Life*, *cap.* 25, and in the *Tripartite L.* 1. *c.* 42. The old tract, quoted by Usher (*p.* 846.) on the same subject, and on what follows about Sinell, was in all likelihood one of the two works now referred to; for the words of the whole passage are almost exactly the same. This passage, as it appears in the second *Life*, is evidently an interpolation, as it not only breaks the thread of the narrative, but is directly contrary to circumstances related in the 28th and 29th chapters of said *Life*. Even as it is found in the *Tripartite*, it smells strongly of interpolation, and has all the appearance of a note, that had crept into the text. It is also to be remarked, that the opposition made by Nathi to St. Patrick is in this work related immediately after that of the people, who lived near Inbher-de, and as distinct from it.

(8) See *Not. prec.*

(9) The *Tripartite* adds to what we have seen about Nathi, "Sinell vero *filius* Finnachdha per praedicationem S. Patricii omnipotenti Deo credidit, et a S. Patricio primus ex gente Scottorum baptizatus fuit; et sibi et semini ejus benedixit vir sanctus." Colgan gives us (*Tr. Th.* *p.* 18.) a genealogy of Sinell, whence it appears that he was grandson of Finchada and eighth in descent from Corbmac Cucorb king of Leinster, and says that he was surnamed the *elder*. The Bollandists have, with regard to Sinell, followed the *Tripartite*.

(10) To that year (*alias* 548) is assigned the death of Sinell, *alias* Senchell, the *elder* in the *Annals of the 4 Masters*. See *Tr. Th.* *p.* 188. *no.* 120, and his *Life AA. SS.* at 26 *Mart.* in which there is nothing about his having been converted by St. Patrick.

(11) *Pr.* *p.* 846.

(12) Jocelin *cap.* 30. For *Aonach-Tailten* of his text I read *Anat-cailtrin*. See *Not.* 6.

(13) Since the occupation of all that coast by the Danes or Fingalls it is no wonder, that almost all the old names have been lost.

(14) "Unde navem denuo ingressus dedit vela ventis et, juxta fines Bregensium ad sinistram flectens, dirigit in Ultoniam—In via autem—declinavit ad quamdam parvulam insulam," &c. (*Tripart.*

L. 1. c. 44.) The country of the Bregenses or Bregii was between Dublin and Drogheda. (Colgan *Tr. Th. Ind. Topogr. at Bregae.*) If Wicklow was the port of St. Patrick's arrival and accordingly that whence he set sail for Ulster, would the coast of the Bregenses be thus the first spoken of, without any mention of the coast southward between them and Wicklow? Our saint's stopping for a while in Holmpatrick is mentioned also in the second Life *cap.* 28, and in the fourth, *cap.* 32. In both of them the district of the Bregenses is the first referred to as to St. Patrick's course towards Ulster.

(15) Probus, L. 1. c. 27. Second Life, *cap.* 28. Third, *cap.* 30. Fourth, *cap.* 32. &c.

§. II. St. Patrick, then continuing his course, arrived with his companions at a port in the district now called the barony of Lecale in the county of Down. (16) Having landed, and gone a little way into the adjacent country to rest themselves and deposit their luggage, they were met by a herd in the service of the lord of the district, whose name was Dichu or Dicho. Thinking they were robbers, he ran to give information to his master, who immediately came up with an armed force for the purpose of exterminating them. Dicho, however, on seeing St. Patrick was so struck with his appearance that, being also internally moved by the Almighty, he brought the whole party to his house, which was at the place now called *Saul*. There the saint had an opportunity of announcing to him the Christian faith, and, through the mercy of God, Dicho became a believer and was baptized, being the first person converted by St. Patrick in Ireland. All his family followed his example and likewise became Christians. (17) It was, if we are to believe some of the Lives, on this occasion that the celebrated church or chapel, called *Sabhall Padruic*, or *Patrick's barn*, as Probus interprets it, (18) was erected. (19) We are told that, in compliance with Dicho's wish, it was, contrary to the usual practice, con-

structed in a direction from North to South. The reason assigned for its being called a *barn* is, that it was built according to the form and position of Dicho's barn ; but I should rather think that it was originally nothing else than a real barn belonging to Dicho, in which St. Patrick celebrated divine worship, in the same manner as even in our own times barns have been used in Ireland for the same purpose. This barn was probably thenceforth applied to religious objects. It was certainly, as will be seen, a favourite retreat of our Apostle. On the site of it a regular church and monastery were erected, but not as early as the time we are now treating of. That this barn was presented to St. Patrick by Dicho as a place for religious exercises, and for the accommodation of himself and other pious persons, I see no reason for doubting ; but what is added concerning Dicho's having annexed, by donation, lands for the support of an ecclesiastical establishment there accords neither with the system followed by St. Patrick, (20) nor with the practice of the religious men of those days, who, instead of being endowed with estates, earned their scanty meals with the labour of their hands. The most that may be allowed is, that he accepted of a small field or spot of ground annexed to the barn ; and in fact it is thus that the matter is represented in some of the Lives. (21)

(16) There have been some doubts concerning the part of Lecale, and the port at which St. Patrick landed. Harris says it was the bay of Dundrum ; but it is much more probable that it was at or near Strangford. The part of the sea near where he landed is called a *fretum* or streights, and the place of landing is represented as being very near *Sabhall Padruic* or, as it is now called, *Saul*. These circumstances agree much better with Strangford bay and lough than with any part of the bay of Dundrum. In the second Life we read (*cap.* 29) ; “ In quoddam *fretum*, quod est *Brennese*, se immisit (Patricius) et ad terram descendit ad ostium *Slain*.” The third Life has (*cap.* 33.) nearly the same

words and, instead of *Brennese*, reads *Brenasse*. The Tripartite states the whole matter thus: “Appulit in portu de *Inbher Slainge*. Ibi que e navi ipsi et socii cgressi defessos artus somno et quiete in loco postea *Sabhall Padruic* appellato reficiunt.” (*L. 1. c. 47.*) Colgan says that the *fretum Brennese* was the same as Lough Cuana, that is, the lake of Strangford; although he adds that it was perhaps part of the bay of Dundrum. This conjecture will not suit what is stated of its proximity to Saul. As to *Inbher Slainge*, *the mouth of the Slainge or Slain*, Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 19.*) endeavours to account for the name by telling us, that *Slieve-donard*, the highest of the mountains of Mourne, was anciently called *Slainge*, and that thence, perhaps, the name was extended to the bay of Dundrum, which is adjacent to a part of those mountains. But it is plain that *Slainge*, as connected with *Inbher*, must mean a body of water, and the question then arises, where it is to be found. Harris cuts the difficulty short by giving us a river *Slaing* or *Slain*, which, he says, falls into the North end of the bay of Dundrum. I cannot find a river so called in that or any other part of the county of Down, and I am very much inclined to think that *Slainge* is the same as Strangford lough, or probably a part of it; and that the name *Strangford* does not mean, as Seward supposes, *strong ford*, alluding to the rapidity of the current in the bay; for, were this the origin of the name, it should have been called *Strangbay*, not *Strangford*. And it is more natural to admit, that *Strangford* means the ford of the *Strang*, which is, I dare say, no other than the *Slainge*, the name of which has by a slight alteration been changed into *Strang*. Harris had no right to say, that Saul is on the East side of the bay of Dundrum; for it is situated some miles to the North of that bay, and at the East side of a branch of Strangford lough.

(17) This interesting narrative is given very perspicuously by Probus *L. 1. c. 28.* Second Life, *cap. 29.* Fourth, *cap. 33.* As to *Dicho* having been St. Patrick's first convert, Probus writes; “Credidit ergo homo ille (*Dicho*) *primus* omnium insularum cum omni domo et familia sua.” The second Life expresses it still more clearly; “Credidit et baptizatus est, et *primus Scotorum* per Patricium confessus est.” Here we have a direct contradiction of what appears about *Sinell* in the interpola-

tion at *Ch. 25.* of said Life. (See above *Not. 7.*) The fourth Life has; “*Credidit et baptizatus est; qui primus Scotorum, ut fertur, per Patricium confessus est.*” Colgan, who wished to reconcile all parties, thought that the matter might be settled by laying down, that Dicho was the first convert not in all Ireland, but in Ulster. This evasion, which has been adopted by Harris, cannot by any means agree with the authorities now quoted. The Tripartite, indeed, treating of this subject, (*L. 1. c. 47.*) makes Dicho the first Christian *in Ulster*; an addition that became necessary in consequence not only of what it has about Sinell (above *Not. 9.*) but likewise of its placing Seschnen and his son Benignus (of whom hereafter) as converts before Dicho. This stuff, together with some strange fables related in that part of the Tripartite, and which Jocelin has not forgot to amplify (*cap. 32.*), is not worth attending to. The same Tripartite and the third Life (*cap. 31.*) call Dicho *son of Trichem*, on which the other Lives are silent. The second and fourth Lives have one Rus son of Trichem, who lived to the South of Dicho’s residence. Had the authors known that Dicho also was his son, it is odd that they have not designated him as such, in the same manner as they did with regard to Rus. Be this as it may, hence has proceeded the notion that Dicho and Rus were brothers. And then come three and four more brothers, all of the most noble house of Dalfiatach descended from Fiatach Fionn once king of Ireland. (See *Tr. Th. p. 19—110. Ogygia vind. ch. 12.*)

(18) *L. 1. c. 28.*

(19) Third Life, *cap. 31.* Tripart. *L. 1. c. 47.* Jocelin, *cap. 32.* Usher’s Tripart. *Pr. p. 846.*

(20) St. Patrick made it a rule not to accept of presents, at least of any considerable value, lest, as he himself says, he might give occasion to the incredulous to defame his ministry. And he challenges the people to point out any donations he had received; “*Forte autem, quando baptizavi tot millia hominum, speraverim ab aliquo illorum vel dimidium scriptulæ. Dicite mihi et reddam vobis.*” *Confess. p. 19.* On the contrary he used to make presents, out of his own property, to princes and powerful people for the purpose of smoothing the way for his apostolical exertions, until at length he reduced himself to poverty. Of this more hereafter.

(21) Third Life, *cap.* 31. Tripart. *L.* 1. *c.* 47.

§. III. St. Patrick having remained *not many days* at Dicho's house, and left his ship or boat in the care of Dicho until he should return, set out by land for the place where Milcho his old master lived. (22) This was, as already observed, (23) in the large territory called Dal-aradia, (24) and its precise situation is marked by the circumstance that it was near the mountain called *Mis* in the county and barony of Antrim. Proceeding thither our Apostle, according to Probus and others, directed his course to a district occupied by the Crutheni or Irish Picts, and comprized within what we might call the province of Dal-aradia; in which district they seem to place Milcho's habitation. (25) He was an obstinate heathen, and, on hearing of St. Patrick's approach, was determined not to receive or see him. But it will not be easily believed that, to guard against the saint's visit, he set fire to his house, furniture, and property, and, to complete the climax of his folly, threw himself also into the flames and was burned to death. (26) St. Patrick, finding his efforts for the conversion of Milcho unavailing, returned to the district in which Dicho resided, that is, to *Maginish*, (27) and remaining there for several days preached the Gospel with great success throughout the whole of it. One of his principal converts on this occasion was Rus or Ross son of Trichem, (28) who lived in a town called Derluss, and afterwards Inreathan, (29) near Downpatrick on the South side. Passing over some prodigious fables, that occur concerning Ross in one or two of our saint's Lives, (30) we read that St. Patrick met in that neighbourhood a youth, called Mochoc, whom, after instructing him, he baptized and tonsured, thus dedicating him to the ecclesiastical state. It is added that he gave him the book of the Gospels and some sacred utensils. (31) This, however, must be understood as not having all

taken place during the present stay of St. Patrick in Mag-inis or Lecale, whereas some time must be allowed for Mochoe's learning Latin so as to be able to understand the book, and for qualifying himself for the clerical state. (32) And we may admit, that either Mochoe followed St. Patrick, or that, as the saint in the course of his mission visited that country more than once, he had opportunities of furthering the youth's education and of promoting him in the church. Nor is there any thing repugnant to probability in what is related of Mochoe, who is well known in our Calendars and Annals, and, having governed as bishop, or abbot, a church at Antrim, died A. D. 496, (497) June 23. (33)

(22) Probus, *L. 1. c. 29.* Second Life, *cap. 29, 30.* The Tripartite and Jocelin mention some transactions as having taken place while St. Patrick had been on this occasion at Dicho's house. Being partly ridiculous, and partly irreconcilable with the short stay he made in that place, they are undeserving of any notice. The vessel, in which the saint had sailed to near Saul, was rather a boat or wherry than a ship; for it is recorded, that on reaching land they hid it in some sequestered part of the coast. This could not have been done, had it been a ship. It was therefore a sort of large boat, which St. Patrick had either purchased or hired.

(23) Chap. IV. §. VI.

(24) Dalaradia must not be confounded with Dalrieda. The former (says Harris, *Antiq. p. 48* and *Bishops, p. 8.*) comprehended the South and S. East parts of the county of Antrim and the greatest part of, if not all, the county of Down. It extended from Newry to the mountain Mis in the barony of Antrim. The latter, he adds, comprehended the North, N. West, and part of the South of the county of Antrim. It has been called also Reuta and by corruption the Routs. According to a statement in Usher's *Pr. p. 1029.* Dalrieda stretched 30 miles from Glenfinnaght (one of the Antrim Glynnnes in the eastern part of the county) to the river Bush. The Rev. Mr. Dubourdieu in his excellent work, (*Statistical Survey of the county of Antrim, p. 4.*) extends the Routs

(supposed to be the old Dalrieda) more to the West, viz. as far as the river Bann.

(25) The second Life has (*cap.* 30.); “Cumque vellet ire et visitare praedictum hominem Miliuc coepit per terram iter dirigere ad regionem *Cruthenorum* donec perveniret ad montem Mis.” We find nearly the same words in the fourth Life, (*cap.* 34.) and in Probus (*L.* 1. *c.* 29) except that, through an error of transcription, *Egli* appears in the text instead of *Mis*. These Crutheni, or as they are called in Irish *Cruithneach*, that is, Picts settled in a part of Ireland, are often spoken of in our history, as distinct from the Picts of G. Britain. Colgan has confounded them with the Dal-aradii in general (*Tr. Th.* *p.* 380.) and has been followed by O’Flaherty (*marginal notes ib.* and elsewhere). Usher is, I think, more correct on this point. His opinion was, that those Crutheni possessed only the northern part of Dal-aradia, viz. the tract since called Clandeboy. (*Pr.* *p.* 1019—1047.) The Clandeboy, alluded to by Usher, is what has been named *North Clandeboy*. I cannot describe it better than by quoting the following passage from Mr. Dubourdieu’s work; *p.* 3. “North Clandeboy, so called ‘to distinguish it from South Clandeboy, a territory in the county of Down, extended from Carrickfergus bay, and the river Lagan, west to Lough Neagh; consequently it contained the baronies of Belfast, Masserene, and Antrim.” That the name *Crutheni* was not co-extensive with *Dal-aradii* is evident from a passage in the third Life (*cap.* 57.) in which, among other northern tribes converted by St. Patrick, the *Cruithne* and *Dalnaraide* are mentioned distinctly; whence we see that, although the Crutheni lived in a part of Dal-aradia, they did not occupy the whole of it, and that there was a tribe or people called Dal-aradians distinct from them. Some of the Crutheni might, perhaps, have been found in other parts of Ulster. A place called *Dun-cruthen*, apparently in the district now called the barony of Colerain, is mentioned in the Tripartite. (*L.* 2. *c.* 125.) Colgan thinks the name signified *Fort of the Crutheni*, and conjectures that it was the same as Dunboe. How any of those Crutheni or Picts came to be settled in Ireland, is not easy to discover. In the *Chronicon Pictorum*, published by Innes (*Critical Essay, &c. Vol.* 2.) an allusion is made to the Picts of Ireland. Whether some of the Picts, who, as Bede tells us, (*Eccl. Hist.* *L.* 1. *c.* 1.) touched at Ireland

before they occupied the northern parts of G. Britain, were allowed to remain in Ireland, let those, who have more leisure, inquire.

(26) This story is told in almost all the Lives of St. Patrick. If there be any truth in it, we may suppose that Milcho's house was by some accident burned, and that he lost his life on that occasion. This misfortune would be naturally attributed to his refusing to see the saint; and thus was laid a foundation for story-tellers to build on. It is added that St. Patrick foretold that, in consequence of the horrible act of Milcho, all his posterity would be reduced to slavery. If so, how can the Tripartite, which in common with the other Lives, relates this prediction, be reconciled with itself, when it makes Guasact, afterwards bishop at Granard, a son of Milcho, and places two sisters of his, both called Emeria, in the nunnery of Clonbrone near that town (*L. 2. c. 30.*)? Jocelin also has (*cap. 36.*) those two Emerias of Clonbrone, but makes no mention of Guasact. Both he and the Tripartite had already given us a pretended vision of Milcho relative to these circumstances. (See above *Ch. IV. not. 39.*) That there were such persons in Ireland and probably in St. Patrick's time, I do not mean to question; but we have no sufficient grounds to make us believe, that Milcho was their father. In Tirechan's list of St. Patrick's disciples (*ap. Usher, Pr. p. 951.*) I find a Gosachus, who was, perhaps, the same person as Guasactus.

(27) The second Life has (*cap. 30*) *campum Inish ubi Dichu erat*. The same name occurs in the fourth Life, *cap. 36. Mag* is the Irish word for *campus*; and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 19.*) observes, that the district, afterwards called Lecale, went in older times by the name of *Mag-inis*, i. e. the *insular plain*. For it is almost an island and a level tract of country.

(28) See *Not. 17.*

(29) The Tripartite (*L. 1. c. 52.*) calls it *Brettan*, and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 19.*) says that in his time it was merely a castle and a gentleman's seat, known by the name of *Breatain*, near Downpatrick.

(30) Third Life, *cap. 33.* and Jocelin, *cap. 34, 35.*

(31) The second Life has (*cap. 32.*); "Baptizavit eum ac totondit, et dedit ei Evangelium et *Ministeir*." The Tripartite, having mentioned the baptism and tonsure, adds (*L. 1. c. 53.*);

“ Reliquit discipulo vir Dei sacrum Evangeliorum codicem cum aliis sacri ministerii utensilibus.”

(32) Jocelin (*cap.* 37.) makes St. Patrick on this first occasion teach Mochoe, or, as he calls him, *Mochua*, only the alphabet, that is, the Roman Alphabet, for the purpose of learning Latin. From the mention often made of St. Patrick's giving alphabets to his Irish disciples the Bollandists, who were totally ignorant of the Irish language, and nearly so of Irish history, rashly concluded (*Comment.* §c. at 17 *Mart.* §. 1.) that alphabetic writing was unknown in Ireland until the arrival of St. Patrick. Their arguments have been already well answered; (see among others Ware and Harris, *Antiq. Chap.* 3.) and, without entering into further discussions, it will suffice here to observe that, besides the Ogham characters (on which see the chapter now quoted and Vallancey, *Collectan. de reb. Hibern. Vol. VI. parts 1 and 2*, and elsewhere *passim*), the old Irish alphabet called *Bethluisnon* was of a quite different construction from the Roman. It was therefore necessary for the Irish, who wished to learn Latin, to make themselves previously acquainted with its alphabet, in the same manner as whoever among us wishes to know Greek must first learn the Greek letters. The Bollandists' argument is like that of an Arab, who, on being told that the Europeans cannot read Arabic books without being taught the letters, would thence conclude, that they have no letters of their own. The late Mr. Tighe has published an inscription in alphabetic characters, prior to the period of Christianity in Ireland, in his *Statistical Survey of Co. Kilkenny*; p. 622.

(33) Annals of the 4 Masters, *Tr. Th.* p. 20. and *AA. SS.* p. 189.

§. iv. These transactions occupied the latter end of the year 432, and part of 433, until not long before Easter time. St. Patrick having determined on celebrating that festival near Tarah, where the princes and states of the whole kingdom were to be assembled about that time, took leave of his friend Dicho and sailing southward arrived in the harbour called *Colbdi*, (34) now *Colp* at the mouth of the Boyne. There leaving his boat (35) he and his

companions set out on foot (36) for the plain of Breg, in which the city of Tarah was situated. On their way, and, as it seems, very soon after getting out of the boat, it is said that they went to the house of a respectable man, whose name was Seschnen, there to pass the night, and that, being well received by him, St. Patrick baptized him and his family. A son of his, whom at the baptism our saint, considering his sweet disposition, called Benignus, became so attached to him that he insisted on going along with him. St. Patrick received him with pleasure into his society, and thenceforth Benignus became one of his most favourite disciples, and afterwards archbishop of Armagh. But, whether or not it was on this occasion that Benignus attached himself to St. Patrick, (37) it is not to be supposed that his baptism and that of Seschnen and others took place during that very night, which our saint spent in their house. For, although the Apostles occasionally baptized persons without waiting until a certain time for instruction and probation had elapsed, (38) yet St. Patrick, who was well acquainted with the church discipline of his time, undoubtedly adhered to it as far as the circumstances of a new mission and the urgency of cases would allow. Accordingly, when adults offered themselves, he took care to have them previously instructed and to keep them in the rank of catechumens, at least for some days, before they should be baptized. (39) And if it be true that Benignus and others were baptized about this time, it is very probable that their baptism did not take place until the Paschal solemnity, which was then near at hand.

(34) Probus, *L. 1. c. 33.* In the second Life (*cap. 34.*) it is written *Colpdai*; and in the fourth (*cap. 39.*) we read *Inver-Colpoe*. The Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 1.*) has *Inver Boinne*, or *mouth of the Boyne*.

(35) The Tripartite (*L. 1. c. 55.*) introduces on this occasion

Loman or Luman, whom it makes a nephew of St. Patrick, as left to take care of the boat; and (*L. 2. c. 1.*) adds that, in consequence of an order of the saint, he sailed up against the current of the river as far as Trim. This was too good a story to be slightly passed over by Jocelin, who, (*cap. 51.*) to make it still more marvellous, subjoins that, the sails being hoisted, the vessel went up, without the assistance of oars, notwithstanding furious blasts of wind in the direction straight opposite to its course. He might as well have said, that it had been carried in the air; for, as Usher has remarked, (*Pr. p. 853.*) the channel of the Boyne is so unfit for navigation, that it would be impossible for a boat to proceed as far as Trim, even were both the current and the winds favourable. Tirechan quoted by Usher (*ib.*) has a part of this story as given in the Tripartite, but, instead of calling Loman a nephew of St. Patrick, he makes him only a disciple of his. (As to our apostle's pretended relatives in Ireland, see *Chap. III. §. xviii.*) Connected with this fable is what we read in the tracts now referred to (for in the other Lives there is no mention of Loman) concerning his having been placed at Trim (Jocelin makes him a bishop) and the antiquity of that church, which Tirechan says was founded the 22d year before that of Armagh. This foundation could not have been prior to *A. D. 433*, the year in which St. Patrick first preached in Meath. There can be little doubt, that Loman lived at a much later period, and that he was no other than the bishop Loman, who is reckoned in the third order of Irish saints in the catalogue published by Usher, *p. 915*. The saints of that order flourished in the seventh century, as appears from the times of the kings, during whose reigns they lived. The donations of towns and lands spoken of in the above tracts as made by Fedlimid, chief of the country about Trim, to St. Patrick and Loman (Tirechan makes him give away his whole territory) do not by any means agree with the times of St. Patrick. (See above *Not. 20.*) Tirechan, or rather the person, who assumed his name and who was a Meath man, represents these possessions as annexed for ever to the see of Trim. But it seems they were claimed by the archbishops of Armagh; and hence Jocelin, one of whose patrons was the primate Thomas O'Connor, mentions a disposal of those lands &c. made not long after, in virtue of which the right to them was transferred to St. Patrick and the see of

Armagh. The Tripartite also, a compilation apparently patched up at Armagh, has something to the same purpose. Thus we have a key to the whole business. While it was pretended that those possessions belonged to St. Patrick, that is, to Armagh, and not to Trim, the name of *St. Patrick* was mistaken for the saint considered personally, and thus he and Loman were made contemporaries; whence flowed other allegations, &c. Had Usher and the Bollandists reflected on these circumstances, they would not have laid down, that Loman was the first bishop consecrated in Ireland and Trim the oldest Irish see.

(36) *Pedestri itinere*; Probus, *L. 1. c. 33.* and the second Life, *cap. 34.* much better authorities than the third Life or Jocelin, who make them go in a chariot.

(37) The conversion of Seschnen, &c. as having occurred on this occasion is mentioned only in the third Life (*cap. 36.*) and Jocelin (*cap. 39.*). The Tripartite (*L. 1. c. 45.*) makes it prior to St. Patrick's first arrival in Lecale and the conversion of Dicho; but this date is contradicted by the whole tenour of St. Patrick's proceedings. See above *Not. 17.*

(38) An ancient commentator on St. Paul, usually quoted under the name of Ambrosiaster, writes (*in Ephes. 4.*); "Primum omnes docebant et omnes baptizabant, quibuscumque diebus vel temporibus fuisset occasio. Nec enim Philippus tempus quaesivit aut diem, quo Eunuchum baptizaret; neque jejunium interposuit. Neque Paulus et Silas tempus distulerunt, quo Optionem carceris baptizarent cum omnibus ejus."

(39) In the Epistle against Coroticus St. Patrick alludes to the rules and ceremonies relative to the administration of baptism. He speaks of the white garment, chrism, &c. The 19th canon of what is called his Synod runs thus; "Octavo die *Catechumeni* sunt; *postea* solemnitatibus Domini baptizantur, id est, Pascha, Pentecoste, et *Epiphania.*" From the mention of *Epiphania* it is plain, that this canon must be very ancient; and I find no reason for denying that St. Patrick himself was the author of it.

§. v. On the following day, which was Easter-eve or Holy Saturday, St. Patrick continued his journey and arrived in the evening at a place called *Tertáfer-feic*, now Slane. (40) Having got a tent pitched

there he made preparations for celebrating the festival of Easter, and accordingly lighted the paschal fire about night-fall. (41) It happened that at this very time the king Leogaire (42) and the assembled princes were celebrating a religious festival, of which fire-worship formed a part. There was a standing law that, at the time of this festival, no fire should be kindled for a considerable distance all around, until after a great fire should be lighted in the royal palace of Temoria or Tarah. (43) St. Patrick's Paschal fire was, however, lighted before that of the palace, and being seen from the heights of Tarah excited great astonishment. On the king's inquiring what could be the cause of it, and who could have thus dared to infringe the law, the Magi told him that it was necessary to have that fire extinguished immediately, whereas, if allowed to remain, it would get the better of their fires, and bring about the downfall of his kingdom. (44) Leogaire enraged and troubled on getting this information set out for Slane, with a considerable number of followers and one or two of the principal *Magi*, (45) for the purpose of exterminating those violators of the law. When arrived within some distance from where the tent was, they sat down, and St. Patrick was sent for with an order to appear before the king and give an account of his conduct. It was arranged, that no one should show him any mark of respect nor rise up to receive him. But, on his presenting himself before them, Herc son of Deago disobeyed the injunction and standing up saluted him, and receiving the saint's blessing became a believer. (46) He was afterwards bishop of Slane and celebrated for his sanctity. (47) Passing over certain contests between St. Patrick and the Magi, and some partly prodigious and partly ridiculous fables, we find St. Patrick the next day (Easter Sunday) in the palace of Tarah preaching before the king and the States general, and disconcerting the Magi. The only person, that on his

appearing there rose up to pay his respects to him, was Dubtach an eminent poet (48) and instructor of Fiech son of Erc, who afterwards became bishop of Sletty. (49) Dubtach was the first convert on that day, and the saint became greatly attached to him. Thenceforth he dedicated his poetical talents to Christian subjects, and some works of his are still extant. (50) St. Fingar or Guigner, who is said to have suffered martyrdom with many others some years afterwards either in Cornwall or Britany, is stated by one Anselm, who has written his Acts, (51) to have been converted on that occasion, or rather on the preceding night, and to have been the son of a king called Clito. It is added that he was the only person, who stood up in honour of St. Patrick; thus attributing to him what was done either by Here or Dubtach. Of all this there is nothing in the Lives of St. Patrick, the authors of which would not have omitted so remarkable a circumstance, had it occurred. (52)

(40) *Tr. Th. p. 20.*

(41) All the Lives agree in stating, that this Paschal fire was lighted in the evening of the day of St. Patrick's arrival at Slane, and hence Jocelin was not wrong in saying, (*cap. 40.*) that said day was Holy Saturday. Harris, probably through ignorance of the ceremonies observed at Easter time, omitted the circumstance of that fire having been Paschal and lighted merely through a religious motive. According to Harris' account (*Bishops, p. 14.*) one might suspect, that St. Patrick by lighting a fire meant to bid defiance to the king without any necessary cause, while his real object was to celebrate the festival in the manner practised by the Church.

(42) Leogaire king of all Ireland was son of Niell Naoigiallach, and succeeding his cousin Dathy, (see *Chap. iv. not. 20.*) who was killed in the continent, began his reign A. D. 428. (O'Flaherty, *Ogygia, p. 429.* and Colgan, *Tr. Th. p. 449.*) This date agrees with Ware's computation, who, with our antiquaries (O'Flaherty *ib.*) assigning 35 years to his reign places (*Antiq. cap. 4.*) his death in the year 463. It agrees also with what is mentioned in

some of the Lives of St. Patrick, viz. that he arrived in Ireland in the fourth year of Leogaire's reign. (Usher p. 815) Yet Usher affixes (*Ind. Chron.*) the first year of Leogaire to A. D. 427. Unless this be owing to an error of the press, we must admit that he contradicts himself; for elsewhere (*Pr. p. 949.*) he lays down, that the latter end of the 4th year of Leogaire might have been the same as the latter end of A. D. 432. This could not happen, had Leogaire's reign begun any time in the year 427.

(43) In the second Life (*cap. 34.*) we find a summary account of these transactions agreeing in substance with the other Lives, thus expressed: "Fixo itaque ibi tentorio debita Paschae vota in sacrificium laudis Domini celebravit. *Isisin indainsir sindam dorighmedhned feis Temradhi la Leogaire mac Neill & la firu Ereann;*" or, as translated by Colgan, "istud erat tempus et hora, qua celebrabantur encocnia Temoriana per Leogarium filium Neill, et per populos Hiberniae. Congregatis igitur regibus et ducibus ad illum Leogaire regem eadem nocte, qua sanctus Patricius pascha, illi festivitatem exercuerunt suam. Statutum autem apud eos erat ex edicto, ut quicumque in cunctis regionibus, sive longe sive juxta, illa nocte ignem prius accenderet quam in palatio Temoriae succenderetur, morte damnaretur. Sanctus vero Patricius, rite Pascha celebrans, incendit divinum ignem," &c. Colgan, following Keating, says that this festival used to be celebrated once in every three years. Yet Probus (*L. 1. c. 35.*) seems to speak of it as held every year. On this subject let our antiquaries decide. The law here alluded to adds another to the innumerable proofs, such as the name *Bealtinne* for the first of May, &c. &c. (see Vallancey's *Vindication of the ancient history of Ireland*, p. 394, *seqq.*) that could be adduced to show that, in the time of Heathenism, fire was an object of worship in Ireland. That the Irish adored the sun is evident from St. Patrick himself, who, alluding to that mode of idolatry, says (*Confess. p. 22.*); "Nam sol iste, quem videmus, Deo jubente propter nos quotidie oritur sed nunquam regnabit, neque permanebit splendor ejus. Sed et omnes, qui adorant eum, in poenam miseri male devenient. Nos autem credimus et adoramus Solem verum, Christum;" &c. The moon, and probably the stars, or the whole host of heaven, were also objects of veneration; and even the wind or air. (Ware and Harris *Antiq. cap. 16.*) Well-worship was a prevalent superstition;

and some, who adored water as a propitious deity, considered fire as a bad one. A singular anecdote relative to this opinion occurs in the Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 70.*). It is there related, that in a place called Finmagh (in Mayo) there was a well, which the foolish vulgar called *king of the waters*, and which they considered as a god and worshipped as such. This superstition was much enhanced by the circumstance, that a certain *Magus*, who worshipped water as a propitious god, and held fire to be an evil genius (*et ignem habebat ut infestum*) had got himself buried under a stone in that well. This reminds us of the old Oriental contests between the worshippers of fire and those of water, and leads to a conclusion that some connexion had existed between Ireland and remote parts of the East. The Irish believed in the existence of a sort of genii or fairies called *Sidhe* (third *Life cap. 48.*) and supposed to inhabit pleasant hills. But, as O'Flaherty justly observes, (*Ogygia, Part III. c. 22.*) they knew of no such beings as Jupiter, &c. and he concludes thus; “Unde colligendum Hibernorum numina fuisse deos topicos, *sc. montanos, campestres, fluviales, aequoreos, et id genus alios locorum genios.*” As to idols properly so called, the use of them was not general in Ireland, as will be seen below, *Not. 45.*

(44) “*Hic ignis, quem videmus,—nisi extinctus fuerit hac nocte, non exstinguetur in aeternum: insuper et omnes ignes nostrae consuetudinis superexcellet; et ille, qui incendit eum, regnum tuum dissipabit.*” (*Probus, L. 1. c. 35.*) The other Lives agree in substance. Supposing this part of the narrative to be true, there is nothing in it which may not be easily admitted. Those Magi had some knowledge of the preaching of Christianity in Ireland, and wishing to put a stop to it made use of these arguments. But it will not follow, that they were endowed with a sort of prophetic gift, any more than the Jews, when they said of our Saviour; *If we let him alone in this manner, all will believe in him; and the Romans will come and take away our place and nation.* *John xi. 48.*

(45) The Magi, so often spoken of in the history of St. Patrick, seem to have enjoyed a rank and privileges similar to those of the Brahmins of Hindostan and, besides the superintendance of religious matters, to have practised the arts of divination, necromancy, &c. Ware, Harris and some other writers call them *Druids*, and

consider them as similar in every respect to the Druids of Gaul and Britain. It is true, that the persons called by Probus and others *Magi*, who pretended to foretel the consequences of allowing the preaching of the Gospel, are called in Fiech's hymn (*Strophe* xi.) *Druidh*. But, although the names seem to agree, yet they were, I believe, a description of persons very different from the Druids described by Cæsar (*De bello Gall. L. vi. §. 13. seqq.*). For the Druidical religion, as there explained, was far from being the same as that of the ancient Irish. Instead of the worship of the sun, moon, and elements (see *Not. 43.*) the religion of the Gallic Druids was downright idolatrous, consisting, in theory, of a multiplicity of gods, the chief of whom was Mercury, then Apollo, Mars, &c; and, in practice, of heaps of images or idols. Among the principal deities of the Irish we find first the name of Bel, Mann, or other names relative to the sun, of which a very remarkable instance is still extant on Tory-hill (Co. Kilkenny) called in Irish *Sleigh-Grian* or the *hill of the sun*. In a circular space formerly dedicated to heathen worship, and similar to those so generally met with in Ireland, there is still remaining a *cromlech* or large stone supported by others, on which is an inscription in Pelasgic, or, at least, very ancient characters, which, written in Roman letters, gives these two words *Beli Diuose*, that is, *Bel Dionusos*, or *Bel Bacchus*. That Bel was the sun is universally admitted; and it is well known that *Dionusos* or *Dionysos*, as a surname, was originally applied to the sun. On this subject let me quote the 29th epigram of Ausonius. “Ogygia me Bacchum vocat—Osirin Ægyptus putat—Mystae Phanacen nominant—*Dionyson Indi* existimant—Romana sacra Liberum—Arabica gens Adoneum—Lucaniacus Pantheum.” All these names were merely epithets or surnames of the sun; for, as Huet observes, (*Demonstr. Evang. Prop. iv. cap. 3.*) “Osirin et Liberum nemo solem esse nescit.—Adonin autem esse solem et asseverat Macrobius,” &c. (See also Bryant, *Analysis of Anc. Mythol. V. 1. p. 305. 4to. ed.*) Next came the moon, under various names or epithets. (See Vallancey, *Vindication &c. p. 493. seqq.*) Of those kinds of worship or of that of water Cæsar says nothing; and accordingly Harris was wrong in applying (*Antiq. ch. xvi. sect. 2.*) indiscriminately his account of Druidism to the state of Ireland. Nor had he a right to introduce into that account Diana, of whom Cæsar makes no

mention, although, inasmuch as she was taken for the moon, the Irish had her under other names. It is, however true, that a number of semigods or genii were venerated in Ireland (Vallancey *ib.*); but the greater gods, the *Dii majorum gentium*, were different from those of Gaul. As to the practical part of religion, the use of statues or idols was far from being general in Ireland, although it cannot be denied that some were to be met with, to which St. Patrick alludes, when he says, (*Conf. p. 16.*) that the Irish had worshipped *idola et immunda*. Idols, properly so called, are not mentioned but once in the Lives of St. Patrick, and that only in three of them, which are the most intermixed with fables. The third Life (*cap. 46*) has an idol, called *Cenverbhe*, and made of gold and silver, which king Leogaire used to adore. The Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 31.*) calls it *Cromcruach*, (*i. e. heap of the sun*, from *Crom* an ancient name of the god of fire or the sun; Vallancey, *ib. p. 495.*) and adds that twelve smaller idols of brass were placed around it. Jocelin (*cap. 56.*) agrees, as usual, with the Tripartite, except that to the great idol he gives the name of *Ceancroith*, which he interprets *head of all the gods*. I strongly suspect, that what are here called idols were in reality nothing else than plain rude stones, placed in a circular space of the sort above mentioned, the large one indicating the sun, while the smaller ones represented the signs of the zodiac. Of stones thus arranged there are very many remains in Ireland, as, *ex. c.* on Tory-hill (*Stat. Survey of Kilkenny, p. 622.*) Cairngraimey, or *heap of the sun*, in the county of Antrim (Dubordieu, *Stat. Surv. p. 581.*) and other places noted for the worship of the sun. On Killeny hill not far from Dublin, a place of worship thus laid out is still in tolerable preservation. Harris suspects that the *Ceancroith* of Jocelin ought to be read *Cean-grioth*, *i. e.* head of the sun. As to the name *Crom-cruach*, which Harris was wrong in explaining by *crooked stone of adoration*, the thing so called as being a *cruach* (heap) could hardly have been an idol regularly shaped. But, admitting the truth of what the Tripartite &c. have, it will only follow, that in that one instance there were real idols. The place was called *Mag-slecht*, or *field of adoration*, and was situated in some part of the now county of Leitrim. It is remarkable, that it was in that district the worship of idols is said to have been first practised in Ireland. Lynch (*Cambr. Evers. p. 59.*) writes;

“Tigermasius (king of Ireland) idolorum in Hibernia colendorum *author*, quorum praecipuo dum ingenti multitudine stipatus cultum in *Brefnia* impenderet, ipse ac comites eadem morte sublatis sunt anno mundi 3650.” Yet, if we take the name *idols* in a more enlarged sense, that is, for any material objects distinguished by adoration, it is certain that they were very general in Ireland. For the upright stones, found in the circular spaces and in many other parts were intended to represent objects of adoration, according to that original mode of superstition, which was prior to the more refined fashions of idolatry, and to the practice of exhibiting deities under human forms. The famous stone at Clogher, which the pagans used to cover with gold, and adore as representing *Kermant Kelstach* a deity of the northerners (*Ogygia*, Part III. cap. 22.) was of this kind. Those stones were, in fact, the *baetylia* of the Phenicians mentioned by Sanchoniathon or Philo Byblius, (*ap. Euseb. Praep. Evang. L. 1. c. 10.*) for a further account of which the reader may consult Bochart, *Chanaan*, L. 11. cap. 2. Our *rocking stones* are some of those *baetylia*, viz. moving or *animated* stones, which had Bochart rightly considered, he would probably not have changed, by a conjectural emendation, the *animated stones* of Philo into *anointed stones*. While other nations substituted for those rude emblems statues of elegant form and workmanship, the Irish adhered to the old practice with very few exceptions. (See Vallancey, *Vindication*, &c. p. 460 *seqq.*) Another very remarkable circumstance is, that in the same manner as with the Persians, Chanaanites, and apostate Hebrews, the mountains and hills, viz. the *high places*, as they are called in Scripture, without any covering, and in the open air were the chief places of religious worship in Ireland. As to sacrifices, a certain species of them, such as that of a sow pig for the increase of the fruits of the earth, was observed by the Irish; but I greatly doubt whether, notwithstanding what some say, they had the practice of human sacrifices, particularly such as those horrid ones which were so common in the Druidical system of Gaul. Nor can any argument be deduced from the name *Druidh* occurring in Fiech’s hymn; for it signifies merely *wise men*, being the old plural of *Draoi* or *Druí*, in the same manner as *Philidh* is the plural of *Phile* a poet. In modern Irish *Draoith* is used, instead of *Druidh*, to signify wise men or *Magi*; *ex. c.* in the

Irish version of *Matth.* II. 1. The oak tree (in Irish *Darach*, *Dair*, *Darag*,) whatever veneration the Irish might have had for it as well as almost all pagan nations, had nothing to do with this name; and it is more than probable, that even the Gallic and British Druids did not thence derive their appellation. *Druidh*, at least in Irish, meant nothing else than *wise men* or *Magi*, the word used by Probus and the other writers, who have given us Lives of St. Patrick in Latin. It is therefore a mistake to conclude from the similarity or even identity of the name *Druid*, that the pagan systems of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland were the same. One might as well argue from the general acceptance of the Latin word *Sacerdotes*, that all religions were and are the same, Christian, Jewish, Pagan, &c. whereas all of them have their *sacerdotes*. I allow that some analogies are to be found between the ramifications of the Irish, Gaulish, and British superstitions, as is the case between every pagan system; and particularly between the Irish and British, owing to causes, which the reader may find in Lhuyd's, Camden's, and Vallancey's works; but I think that on a close examination it will be found that the system of the Gallic Druids, as described by Cæsar, was much different from that of our Irish *Magi*, or, if any one choose to call them so, *Druids*. I have, however, to guard against equivocation, preferred retaining the name, *Magus*, *Magi*.

(46) If this account be true, it will follow that Herc was only about nine years old at that time, as according to the Annals referred to by Usher (*Pr. p.* 1047 and *Ind. Chron.*) he died A. D. 514. (the 4 Masters have 512 *i. e.* 513.) in the ninetieth year of his age. Most of the Lives, however, seem to represent him as then a grown up person. In Usher's Tripartite (*Pr. p.* 849) he is spoken of as one of the king's pages; *Unus ex juvenibus regis nomine Ercus*; and is said to have offered his own seat to St. Patrick, who blessed him, &c.

(47) Probus has (*L. 1. c.* 37.); "Hercus filius Degeo, cujus reliquiae nunc venerantur in civitate, quae vocatur Slane."

(48) Fiech's Scholiast calls Dubtach the Arch-poet or chief of the Irish poets or bards. The Tripartite makes him the arch-poet of the king and kingdom; and Jocelin calls him a certain poet of the king, whence Harris formed his *poet laureat*.

(49) Harris here introduces Fiech as being present at Tarah

with Dubtach and there converted. This is in direct opposition to what the Scholiast, the Tripartite, &c. relate as to Fiech, who, as will be seen hereafter, did not become known to St. Patrick until some years after Dubtach's conversion. Harris was led astray by not having rightly understood Probus and the author of the second Life, where they say that Fiech, then a youth, was at that time a disciple of Dubtach; but they do not mention his having been along with him, when St. Patrick made his first appearance at Tarah.

(50) *Tr. Th. p. 8. no. 5.* Ware and Harris, *Writers*, p. 6.

(51) Although certainly not written by Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, (see Tillemont, *Mem. Tom. xvi. p. 471.*) they are printed in some editions of his works. They have been published also by Messingham, (*Florilegium insulae sanctorum*) and Colgan *AA. SS. Febr. 23.*

(52) Among other fables in that tract of Anselm it is said, that of seven Irish kings assembled on that occasion Clito was the most noble and powerful. Now there is nothing better authenticated than that the head king was at that time Leogaire. That there was a saint Fingar I am ready to admit; and it is very probable that he was one of those newly baptized Christians, who were carried off by Coroticus, of which hereafter.

§. vi. In some of the Lives it is said that Leogaire himself, terrified by certain miracles performed by St. Patrick, became a convert; but this cannot be reconciled with what we read in other Lives concerning his obstinate infidelity, (53) nor with the statements given by the saint in his Confession. For it can hardly be supposed that he would have suffered imprisonment and various persecutions, on account of his preaching the Gospel, from any of the petty princes, (54) had their chief, the king of all Ireland, been a Christian. Nor do I find sufficient authority for what is related of the queen's conversion, (55) although the arguments against it are less strong than in the case of the king. Yet St. Patrick, who, when touching upon the extraordinary success with which God blessed his mission, makes

mention of the sons and daughters of chieftains, who had embraced the Christian faith, (56) says nothing about any queen having been converted. Be this as it may, it seems that he got permission from the king to preach the Gospel on condition of his not disturbing the peace of the kingdom. (57) He then repaired to Tailten, the place where public games were celebrated ; (58) and it seems that the chiefs assembled at Tarah had adjourned thither. According to the Tripartite St. Patrick arrived at Tailten on Easter Monday, and remained there or in the neighbourhood until the Monday following. (59) He preached to Carbre a brother of Leogaire, but was very badly received, insomuch so that his life was in danger from him. The conduct of Conall, another brother of theirs, was quite different ; he listened to St. Patrick with delight, believed, and was baptized. To this memorable Easter week, which was the first that occurred since the saint's arrival on his mission, must, I believe, be referred the origin of the festival called *St. Patrick's baptism*, that used to be held on the 5th of April. This festival was instituted, as already remarked, (60) in commemoration not of St. Patrick's having been baptized, but of the first *solemn* baptism performed by him in Ireland. I say, *solemn*, because I find no reason for supposing that he had not already baptized, in a private manner, some of his converts, such as Dicho and others in Ulster. But it is more than probable, that he reserved such converts, as he acquired since his landing at the mouth of the Boyne for the Paschal time, which was the principal solemnity in the year for administering the sacrament of baptism. And it must be recollected, that not only Easter eve or Holy Saturday, but likewise the whole of Easter week, and, in some churches, many days following were, as belonging to the Paschal solemnity, considered fit for that purpose. (61) The baptism of St. Patrick is

said to have been performed on a Wednesday; (62) now the 5th of April A. D. 433 fell on a Wednesday and apparently in Easter week; so that according to the Paschal cycle of 84 years, and the method of applying it practised in Gaul, which St. Patrick introduced into Ireland (of which more hereafter) Easter Sunday, as kept in Ireland, seems to have fallen in that year on the 2d of April. As to what is said of Conall having given to St. Patrick his own castle or house to be changed into a church &c. (63) it merits no more attention than many other stories of the same kind fabricated in later times.

(53) Probus (*L. 1. c. 46*) makes the king say to his nobles on that same day (Easter Sunday); *It is better for me to believe than die*; and tells us that accordingly he and many others professed themselves Christians. The second Life (*cap. 41.*) and the fourth (*cap. 49.*) agree, nearly word for word, with Probus. The Tripartite (*L. 1. c. 67.*) has the same account, and yet afterwards (*L. 2. c. 8.*) states that Leogaire was not a sincere believer, and that he used to say, that his father Niell had laid an injunction on him never to embrace the faith of Christ but to adhere to the gods of his ancestors. According to the third Life (*cap. 42.*) he remained an infidel, and Jocelin (*cap. 49.*) says, that St. Patrick could not prevail on him to receive baptism. Even Colgan more than once, (*ex. c. AA. SS. p. 111.*) represents him as an obstinate pagan and a persecutor.

(54) See *Confess. p. 20.*

(55) The third Life (*cap. 42.*) and Jocelin (*cap. 49.*) having mentioned the obstinacy of Leogaire, state that the queen was converted. The Tripartite also (*L. 1. c. 67.*) seems to make her a Christian and calls her Angussa, adding an anecdote concerning her interfering with St. Patrick in favour of a child then in her womb, who was afterwards Lugadius king of Ireland. But from what is related (*ib.*) of the unfortunate end of Lugadius it would seem, that he was not a Christian; and if not, it is probable that the mother had not been one.

(56) “ *Filii Scottorum et filiae regulorum monachi et virgines*

Christi esse videntur. Et etiam una benedicta *Scotta* genitiva nobilis, pulcherrima, adulta erat, quam ego baptizavi." (*Confess. p. 16.*) The manner, in which the *Scots* are alluded to in this passage, is well worth the attention of our antiquaries; for, as the Bollandists and Tillemont have observed, and after them Innes, (*Crit. Essay, &c.*) it plainly shows, that in St. Patrick's time all the people of Ireland were not called *Scots*. When speaking of the great mass of the nation, the saint uses the name *Hiberionaces*, from *Hiberione* his name for Ireland. From the context, in which this passage occurs, it appears that his object was to show, that not only very many of the lower order in Ireland had become Christians, but likewise some persons of the ruling and powerful party, a description of persons, which, from the commencement of Christianity, has been uniformly found to be more careless about religion and less easy to be converted than any other. In his letter against Coroticus, which was written before the Confession, these *Scots* are introduced by St. Patrick among the persecutors of Christians; but before his death he had the consolation to see several of them brought over to the faith. The *Scots* were at that period in Ireland, compared with the old inhabitants, what the Franks were for a long series of years in Gaul before they became so mixed with the Gallic people as to give their name to that country. And, following the analogy usual in such cases, we may conclude that the invasion of Ireland by the *Scots*, who were a warlike nation such as the Franks, ought not to be referred to as high an antiquity as some of our historians have pretended. Otherwise it would be very difficult to explain, how they could have been in our saint's time considered as a nation distinct from the greater part of the people of Ireland. Yet within less than a hundred years later the appellation of *Scots* was extended to all the Irish, and our island became as well known under the name of *Scotia* as that of *Hibernia*. The *Scots* might have been four or five hundred years in Ireland before the distinction of names between them and the other inhabitants totally ceased; a length of time nearly equal to that, which elapsed from the arrival of the English in this country, before their descendants were, at least generally, comprized under the name of Irishmen.

(57) Probus and others relate, that St. Patrick after his interview with Leogaire preached freely through the country. The Tripartite goes further, and mentions (*L. 2. c. 8.*) an agreement entered into between them, according to which the saint pledged himself not to eject Leogaire from his kingdom, and the king promised not to make an attempt on St. Patrick's life. If there was any such compact, we must suppose that Leogaire was impressed with the false notion suggested to him by the Magi (*Not. 44.*) that St. Patrick's views might be hostile; and that on the other hand he had conceived such an opinion of his supernatural power, that he was afraid to have him put to death. The Bollandists assign the permission granted to St. Patrick by Leogaire to the year 436; but, according to what the Tripartite has, it must have been given in 433.

(58) See *Not. 6.*

(59) The Tripartite has (*L. 2. c. 4.*); "*Prima autem feria venit Patricius ad Talteniam.*" That this was Easter Monday is clear from a passage lower down (*cap. 6.*) which, after the account given of the saint's transactions with Carbre and Conall, runs thus; "*Paschae quoque clausula finita, prima feria exiit,*" &c. These two passages appear as quotations from some old Latin work, and are therefore entitled to a certain degree of credit.

(60) *Chap. IV. §. 1.*

(61) See Bingham, *Orig. Eccles. Book XI. ch. vi. sect. 7.*

(62) Usher has (*p. 882*) from the book of Sligo a passage in Irish, which literally translated is as follows; "Three Wednesdays of Patrick, birth, baptism, death." As he seems to have been unacquainted with our Calendars and Martyrologies, that explain what was meant by the baptism, (see *Chap. iv. §. 1.*) he thought it might have meant the baptizing of St. Patrick himself, while it is well known that *St. Patrick's baptism*, so celebrated in Ireland, was the one first solemnly administered by him in this country.

(63) Third Life *cap. 44.* Tripart. *L. 2. c. 5,* &c. The place, according to this story, was thenceforth called *Domnach-Patrick*, Donagh-Patrick four miles East of Kells. The most, that can be allowed, is that Conall gave him a spot of ground to build a church on; and thus the matter is represented in the fourth Life, *cap. 52.* In course of time that church might have swelled into a considerable religious establishment and town. (See above §. 11. and

Not. 20.) Archdall (*ad loc.*) quotes Colgan to show that it was anciently called *Domnach mor muighe siuil*; but in the passage referred to Colgan gives this name to a Donagh-Patrick in the diocese of Tuam.

§. VII. Henceforth it becomes extremely difficult and next to impossible to arrange, with a sufficient degree of chronological accuracy, the subsequent transactions of St. Patrick's mission. We here lose the assistance of our best guides in this respect; (64) and Usher himself has been obliged, in endeavouring to fix dates, to jump over many intermediate years here and there. (65) Colgan has nearly followed Usher; while the Bollandists, wishing to strike out a new arrangement, have succeeded worse than either of them. The Tripartite, although abounding in anachronisms, now becomes our best resource; but, however aided by some dates supplied by our Annals or other documents, it is not to be expected that a regular series of proceedings, year by year, can be drawn up for the information of the reader.

(64) The second Life stops short at what passed between St. Patrick and Leogaire, and so does the first book of Probus, which is the only truly historical one, as the second is merely a miscellany of miracles and some odd facts thrown together without any chronological order.

(65) *Pr. Ind. Chron.*

§. VIII. St. Patrick, having celebrated Easter week set out on the following Monday (66) for other places in Meath, in which he seems to have passed a considerable time, although it would be ridiculous to admit the number of churches and religious foundations reported to have been established by him in that territory. (67) He is said to have erected a church at a place called *Druim-corcorthri*, perhaps Drumconrath in the barony of Slane, and to have

placed over it one Diermit. The church of Drumshallon not far from Drogheda is mentioned also among those of his foundation. Turning towards the district of Delbhna Assuill, now Delvin and Moyashill in Westmeath, he preached with success to the inhabitants, notwithstanding the opposition of of a man called Fergus, who seems to have been a relative of the king. (68) St. Patrick then went to the celebrated hill of Usneagh (in Westmeath,) the territory about which belonged to two brothers, Fiach and Enda, (69) the latter of whom became a convert. Passing over the stuff about the splendid donation of lands made on that occasion to the saint, it is worthy of observation that Enda is stated to have entrusted one of his sons, named Cormac, to the care of St. Patrick, who accordingly superintended his education. He tells us in his Confession that, to gain the good will of the chieftains, he used to make presents to them, and provide for some of their sons, whom he used to keep along with himself. (70) He is then made to proceed from Usneagh to the country now called Longford; but the most remarkable transactions, which the Tripartite assigns to this period, (71) occurred many years after and will be related in their proper places. Yet there is every reason to believe, that a considerable number of converts was made in that district as well as in Meath and Westmeath during this first time of St. Patrick's preaching in those tracts, and that he left some of his companions or newly ordained priests to take care of these congregations. It was a rule with him to supply his converts, according as he acquired them, with clergymen. (72) How long he remained in the districts now mentioned we have no grounds for ascertaining; but we may be certain that he continued there long enough for the purpose of consolidating these new churches and of instructing and preparing persons for ordination, to whose care they were to be consigned. When on the

point of quitting, for some time, those parts of Ireland, he turned off a little to the Northward for the purpose of destroying the idol *Crom-cruach*, or as some say, thirteen idols, standing in Mag-slecht, or, as others call it, *Moy-slecht*, which is stated to be a plain near Feanagh in the county of Leitrim. (73) This he effected by his prayers, and is said to have erected a large church (74) in the neighbourhood, over which he placed Mauran surnamed Barban.

(66) See *Not.* 59.

(67) Many of the persons named as placed over those churches are known to have lived long after St. Patrick's time. For instance it is said (*Tripart. L. 2. c. 10.*) that he placed one Casanus over the church of Domnach-mor *in campo Echnach* (Donaghmore near Navan), to whom he consigned for his education Lonan son of Senan afterwards abbot of Killhailleach (King's county, Archdall). Jocelin has the same (*cap.* 144). Now this Lonan was contemporary with Finnian of Clonard (*Tr. Th. p.* 174), who died A. D. 552. (*Usher Ind. Chron.*) In like manner Cromman abbot of Leekin (Westmeath) is reckoned (*Tripart. ib. cap. 20.*) among those persons then appointed by St. Patrick. But Colgan suspects, (*AA. SS. p. 140. No. 5.*) that Cromman was contemporary with the renowned Fechin, who died A. D. 664 (665). And, to account for Cromman's having been a disciple of St. Patrick, he has been made to live 180 years. (*Tr. Th. p.* 175). The Tripartite is full of stories of this kind, as in it we find collected a heap of those pretensions to high antiquity, which many religious institutions and episcopal sees were anxious to claim, through a sort of pious vanity not peculiar to Ireland, and of which many instances occur in the ecclesiastical history of almost every Christian country.

(68) *Tr. Th. p.* 174. *no.* 48.

(69) The Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 17.*) makes them brothers of the king Leogaire. But from other documents and particularly the third Life (*cap.* 43.) it appears that St. Patrick was not acquainted with any other brothers of Leogaire than Carbre and Conall. Jocelin speaks of them (*cap.* 100.) and mentions another brother called *Leoger*, but different from the king. Some of our anti-

quaries have given more brothers to king Leogaire and sons to Niell Naoigiallach than, I am sure, they really had.

(70) “*Interim præmia dabam regibus, propter quod dabam mercedem filiis ipsorum qui mecum ambulant.*” *Confess. p. 20.*

(71) *Ex. c.* The appointment of Mel to the see of Ardagh, although he had not yet arrived in Ireland. It has also Guasactus as then placed bishop at Granard, without, I am sure, any sufficient foundation. In all the other Lives there is nothing about him or any see of his; and had such a circumstance occurred, it would not have been omitted; for in that case Guasactus would have been the first bishop consecrated in Ireland by St. Patrick, and accordingly his name and reputation would have spread far and wide. And it can scarcely be supposed that, at so early a period of our saint’s mission, the congregations had become sufficiently numerous or respectable so as to entitle them to be governed by bishops. Concerning Guasact see more above *Not. 26,*

(72) “*Ut clerici ubique illis ordinarentur ad plebem nuper venientem ad credulitatem.*” *Confess. p. 14.*

(73) O’Connor Map of *Scotia Antiqua*, Seward, &c. See above *Not. 45.*

(74) When we hear of churches erected by St. Patrick, very many of which were certainly of much later foundation, we are not to understand such edifices as are so called in our days, but humble buildings made up of hurdles or wattles, clay and thatch, according to the ancient fashion of Ireland, and which could be put together in a very short time.

§. IX. St. Patrick then set out for Connaught, and not sooner I dare say, considering the time he must have spent in the last mentioned districts, than the year 435. (75) According to the Tripartite he crossed the Shannon at a place called *Snaw-daen*, (76) and arriving at *Dumha-graidh* ordained priest one Ailbe (77) different from the great Ailbe of Emly. Among a heap of other transactions, most of which belong to a later period, we find recorded the conversion of Ethnea and Fethlimia daughters of the king Leogaire, who had been placed under the di-

rection of two magi, Mael and Caplat. These men also, notwithstanding their violently opposing St. Patrick at first, are said to have embraced Christianity. (78) The occasion of St. Patrick's meeting with those princesses is thus stated. When advanced into the plain of Connaught (79) he stopped with his clerical companions at a fountain near the royal residence Cruachan (now Croghan near Elphin) and at break of day began to chaunt the praises of the Lord. (80) The ladies, having come very early in the morning to the fountain for the purpose of washing themselves, were struck with the singular appearance of persons clothed in white garments and holding books in their hands. On inquiring who they were and to what species of beings they belonged, whether celestial, aerial, or terrestrial, St. Patrick seized the opportunity of announcing to them the true God author of all; and answering certain questions of theirs, such as, where his God dwelt, in heaven or on the earth, on mountains, in vallies, in the sea, or in rivers; was he rich, how to be revered, was he young or old, had he sons and daughters, were they handsome &c. explained the principal truths of the Christian religion. Delighted with his discourse they expressed a wish to know how they could become acceptable in the sight of the Almighty, and declared themselves ready to go through whatever the saint would command them to do. Accordingly he instructed them; and, on their having professed their belief in the doctrines proposed by him, he also baptized them. In answer to their desire of seeing Christ face to face, he told them that Eucharistic communion was one of the necessary requisites with regard to that object, upon which they said; "Give us the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, that we may be freed from the corruption of the flesh, and see our spouse, who is in heaven. And, St. Patrick then celebrating Mass, they received the holy Eucharist." (81) It is added, that they

died immediately after; but this, I dare say, is a mistake, that originated in their having received the veil, as it is mentioned (82) they did, and thus becoming dead to the world and *nearer to God*. (83) If we are to believe the Tripartite, the church of Elphin was founded about this time, and the place for it is said to have been given to St. Patrick by a magus called Ono. Over this church was placed Asicus who became a bishop, but certainly not as early as the time we are now treating of. (84) Bronus, bishop of Caissel-irra (West Cashel in Co. Sligo) is spoken of also in this part of our saint's history; but, although a disciple of St. Patrick as was also Asicus or Asacus, (85) he did not become a bishop until several years after this period. (86)

(75) Usher places (*Ind. Chron.*) St. Patrick's journey to Connaught in the year 434. His reason for doing so was that, having taken Jocelin for his guide, he passed over the saint's proceedings in Meath, Westmeath, &c. after what had passed between him and Conall (§. vi.), and supposed that he went to Connaught directly from Conall's house. But the order and arrangement of St. Patrick's journeys and excursions, as laid down in the Tripartite, is much more natural and consistent, as will be seen all through, than that of Jocelin. For although the Tripartite, treating of the incidents, that might have occurred in such places as it states the saint to have been in, frequently inserts transactions and names of persons of a much later period, yet it observes a rather regular system with regard to his movements from one place to another, while Jocelin rambles here and there, according as it suited his fancy. As to what he has (*cap. 55.*) concerning St. Patrick's anxious wish to proceed without delay to Connaught, on account of the vision, in which he seemed to hear the voice of persons from near the wood of Foclut (see above *Chap. IV. §. x.*) such an argument would prove too much; for it would thence follow, that he should, immediately on his arrival in Ireland, have gone straight forward to that country, or, at least, have moved thither directly from Ulster. It must likewise be observed, that in said vision the whole nation appeared as if addressing him, and

that accordingly he might have chosen for the theatre of his first exertions such parts of Ireland as he might have thought most favourable to his views. Now the capital, Tarah, and the adjacent districts must naturally have been considered as such; in the same manner as at the commencement of Christianity great cities and capitals, such as Antioch, Rome, Alexandria, &c. were generally fixed upon for the same purpose, and indeed for a very good reason; as whatever becomes prevalent in a metropolis is thereby more speedily and easily diffused through the provinces.

(76) Q. Might it have been near Drum-snave in Leitrim? Ferrar's nonsense about St. Patrick having crossed the Shannon at Lumneach, now Limerick (*Hist. of Limerick p. 4.*) is not worth attention.

(77) I cannot discover the place called Dumha-graidh. It was in Connaught; and so Colgan tells us in his topographical Index, but does not inform us in what part of that province. This is his usual mode of marking the positions of places. He says *in Leinster, in Munster, &c.* and no more. The Ailbe here spoken of was Ailbe of Senchua in Tirellil. How could he be ordained by St. Patrick, particularly at this early period, as he did not die until A. D. 545 (546)? *AA. SS. p. 191.*

(78) The conversion of these magi and of Ethnea and Fethlimia is related in the third and fourth Lives, Probus, Tripartite, &c.

(79) Probus (*L. 2. c. 13.*) has *campum Hai*, which Colgan explains by *Machaire Connacht*. It is the level country of Roscommon. (See Seward at *Magh-nai*.)

(80) So the Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 44.*) alluding to the Lauds and Morning service. Probus says, that St. Patrick was then holding a synod near the fountain together with three bishops and many clergymen, and deliberating on ecclesiastical concerns. The third Life also mentions bishops as present. But who were those three bishops at that time? I am sure there were none such then in Ireland.

(81) Probus, *L. 2. c. 15.* Tripart. *L. 2. c. 44, 45.* From this passage it appears, how essential it was, according to the opinion of our Irish theologians, for all persons come to the use of reason not to neglect receiving the Eucharist, notwithstanding their having been recently baptized.

(82) Tripart. *L. 2. c. 44.*

(83) St. Patrick makes mention of a young lady of an illustrious family, whom he had baptized, and who some days after came to tell him that she was admonished by a messenger of God to become a virgin of Christ and to come near to God; "Ut esset virgo Christi et ipsa Deo proximaret." He says on this occasion, that the more those virgins were persecuted by their parents the more did their numbers increase. *Conf. p. 16.*

(84) It is impossible, in following the history of St. Patrick as given in the Lives, to determine the true times of the foundation of most of our ancient sees or of the first bishops. It becomes therefore necessary to treat of them under a distinct head, which will be found lower down.

(85) Tirechan's list *ap. Usher, p. 951.*

(86) Bron was bishop in St. Brigid's time, and died *A. D. 511 (512). Tr. Th. p. 176.*

§. x. St. Patrick, proceeding westward, preached in the territory of Hua Nolella, of which Tirellil or Tiraghrill (Sligo) now forms a part. Among other disciples he left there Cethenus. He is said to have visited the native place of Cethecus (87) another of his disciples, which appears to have been in that district. Some time after he seems to have been at Huarangaradh (Oran in Roscommon) at which place he afterwards erected a church, called *Killgaradh*. (88) Near this place he assigned situations for some Gallic disciples and followers of his, who wished to live in retirement. This is more probable (89) than what we are told of his moving down to the district called Hy-maine, (90) there founding a church at Fidhart, and placing over it a deacon of the name of Justus, who, as the Tripartite adds, when in the 140th year of his age, baptized St. Kieran of Clonmacnois. (91) Next we find him at Mag-seola, at some distance from Elphin to the west, (92) in which place he is said to have held a synod. Among the persons named as bishops on that occasion I find Sacellus of Bais-leac-mor (Baslick, Roscommon) and

Felartus of Domnach-mor in Mag-seola, both of whom were disciples of St. Patrick, (93) but whether then bishops or not there is good reason to doubt. Thence he is said to have gone to the neighbourhood of the lake Techet (now *Lough-Gara*, Sligo) and to have laid the foundation of a church at a place called *Druimnea*. (94) In the same tract, continues our author, he founded the nunnery of Kill-athracta, so called from the virgin Athracta, daughter of Talan and sister of a St. Coeman; (95) whom St. Patrick is said to have placed over it. But it so happens, as will be seen elsewhere, that St. Athracta did not live before some time, and perhaps late, in the sixth century. Turning into the country called *Kierragia Airteach* (96) he there pacified two brothers, who were near killing each other in consequence of a dispute about their paternal inheritance, and got from them a field, (97) in which he erected a church, placing over it Cona a brother of Sacellus. (98) We now find St. Patrick in that part of Mayo, called at present the barony of Costello, where he is said to have instructed one Loarn, and placed him over a church, the name of which is not given. (99) Proceeding westwards to the district called Cera (now barony of Carragh) he preached there, baptized a vast multitude of people, and left among them Conan (100) a priest. Thence he went to Umallia or Hymallia (the territory of the O'Maleys) and there erected a church at *Acadh-fobhuir* (Aghagower) assigning it to Senachus a most holy and humble man, whom, we are told, he consecrated bishop. (101)

(87) Cethecus or Cethiacus is found in Tirechan's list. His mother was of a Tirellil family, and he was born in that country. His father was a Meath man, from Domnach-sarige near Duleek. Cethecus is well known in the Irish Calendars and is called Patrick's bishop, that is, says Colgan, a suffragan of St. Patrick. He is said to have been employed as bishop in various places far distant from each other, as *ex. c.* sometimes at Domnach-sarige,

and other times in Tirellil. In this there is nothing improbable; for although Cethecus could not well have been a bishop before A. D. 440. (see below *Chap. VI. Not. 4.*) it is very natural to suppose that St. Patrick wanted the assistance of some bishops, who, without being attached to any fixed sees, might ordain priests, &c. and perform other episcopal functions in places where he could not attend himself. And this was undoubtedly the mode first practised by him; nor was it, I believe, until about the time of the establishment of the see of Armagh, that other regular sees were formed in Ireland. Colgan thought that Cethenus was the same as Cethecus; but they are mentioned distinctly in the Tripartite (*L. 2. cap. 41—48.*), and the former is not called a bishop. They are distinguished also in Tirechan's list, one by the name of *Cetennus*, and the other by that of *Cethiacus*.

(88) Cethecus was buried at Kill-garadh or Oran. But it does not thence follow, that he was bishop of Oran, as Archdall says (*Monast. Hib. at Oran*). See *Not. prec.* Nor should Oran have appeared among the monasteries; for it was no more than a parish church.

(89) Considering the unhappy state of many parts of Gaul in those times, it is not to be wondered at, that some persons from that country, on hearing of the progress made by their countryman in Ireland, might have taken shelter here. Colgan quotes (*Tr. Th. p. 177.*) from the Litanies of Aengus invocations of Gallic saints, whose remains were in various parts of Ireland. It is, however, more probable that the greatest part of them did not come to Ireland until several years later than this period.

(90) A district partly in Roscommon but chiefly in Galway.

(91) Kieran was born A. D. 516. (*Usher Ind. Chron.*) This, together with the stuff about the 140th year is more than sufficient to show, that Justus could not be placed over a church as early as the Tripartite states. It is also to be observed, that in Kieran's Life he is said to have not only baptized him but likewise instructed him. Yet Archdall, in his usual uncritical manner, gives us an abbey of Fidhard, and, to make the story better, places it both in Roscommon and Galway; founded, he says, by St. Patrick who consigned it to Justus. Besides the incorrectness of the latter part of this statement, Archdall was mistaken

also in calling it an abbey; for the church of Fidhard, according to even the Tripartite, was no more than a deanery, although afterwards it became a parochial church in the diocese of Elphin, as Colgan says it was in his time.

(92) The situation of Mag-seola, *the field of Seola*, is laid down somewhat precisely in the Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 39*), which places it "in regione de *Hy Bruin Seola*, quae haud parum ab Ailfinnia ad occidentem distat." Harris seems to have overlooked this passage; otherwise, he would not have reckoned (*Antiq. ch. 7.*) Hy-Bruin Seola among the *Hy-Bruins*, whose situations are not easy to be guessed at.

(93) Tirechan's list has Sachellus and Falertus. Of either of them very little more is known. Colgan has a bishop Fulartus, or rather Fulartach (*AA. SS. at March 29*). Archdall, according to his usual mode of converting churches into monasteries, has introduced the Domnach-more of Falertus into his Monasticon (at *Dunmore Co. Galway*) although the Tripartite, the only authority on the subject, mentions it as simply a church. He is wrong in placing it at Dunmore, whereas it was at the place now called Donaghpatrik in the barony of Clare in said county.

(94) Colgan, without any authority, places (*Tr. Th. p. 271.*) a monastery at Druimnea, and so does his humble follower Archdall. This and some other churches, the foundation of which has, upon no sufficient grounds, been attributed to St. Patrick, would not be worth noticing, were it not for the sort of importance, that these and other writers have attached to them.

(95) Harris is shamefully wrong (*Antiq. at Monasteries p. 270.*) in making Athracta a sister of St. Patrick; for, besides that among all those pretended sisters of his (above *Chap. III. §. xviii.*) no such person as Athracta is mentioned, the family connexions of Athracta are distinctly mentioned both in the Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 54.*) and in her Acts at 9th Feb. He is also wrong in placing her nunnery in Roscommon, a mistake which even Ware had fallen into. From the same documents it is clear that it was in some part of Sligo, and the same as Killaraght, a place in the barony of Coolavin, and not, as Archdall says, in the *half barony of Coloony*, there being no such barony or half barony in that county. (*Stat. Survey of Sligo p. 107.*) As to the Killaraght of Roscommon, which also Archdall has, it had either nothing to do

with St. Athracta, or undoubtedly was not her original nunnery.

(96) Kierragia Airteach was a district of what is now called Roscommon, adjoining Kierragia-Airne, which, as O'Flaherty observes, (*marg. not. to Tr. Th. Ind. Geogr.*) is now the barony of Costello in Mayo.

(97) Jocelin has this transaction, be it true or not, (*cap. 76.*) but, through his ignorance of Irish topography, places it in Kerry in Munster. The Kierragia of Munster was distinguished by the surname *Luachra*.

(98) Colgan was inclined to think, that Cona was the same as Mochonna (my Cona) of Cluain-airdne a church in that district, and who is mentioned in the Irish Calendars at September 30. His only reason for doubting of their identity was, that this St. Mochonna's death is assigned by the Four Masters to A. D. 713. (*Tr. Th. p. 178.*) Consequently either he was not the same as Cona, or the Tripartite amidst its numberless anachronisms has placed Cona in times long prior to his real ones.

(99) Here again comes forward Archdall with a monastery, called *Aghamore*. It is curious to observe how he made it out. Colgan, searching for Loarn's church, found a *priest* of that name, who was reported to be revered in the parish church of Achadmore; but he says nothing about a monastery. Archdall, however, *proprio motu*, converted that church into an abbey, and indeed under the abbot Loarn, as if every parish priest had been an abbot.

(100) There is a Conan in Tirechan's list.

(101) We find in our Ecclesiastical history several persons of the name of Senach. There is one in Tirechan's list. It is not improbable that he was this Senach of Aghagower. *Ecce iterum Crispinus!* Archdall places a monastery under Senach at Aghagower, although in whatever account we have of him no such thing is mentioned, and Colgan more than once (*Tr. Th. p. 178. 271.*) calls Aghagower merely a *bishop's see*.

§. XI. While St. Patrick was thus labouring in Connaught, it is related that on the coming on of Lent (102) he retired to Cruachan-aichle (Mount Eagle) and remained there until he completed the

quadragesimal fast. I do not mean to deny, that he might have spent some part of that holy season in retirement on that mountain; but it is difficult to believe, that he would have absented himself from his converts during the whole of a time, which, according to the universal practice of the Church, particularly required the presence of a bishop among his people. Such a retirement for the purpose of more strictly observing the duties enjoined in Lent would have answered very well for a hermit, but would not have well suited St. Patrick, who, in the then thriving state of his mission, would have been better employed in preparing his Catechumens for baptism at Easter, and those, who were already baptized, for a worthy celebration of that great solemnity. In one of the Lives he is merely said to have retired to the mountain in Lent-time, without any mention of the number of days, which he might have passed there. (103) Or, if it be true, as other Lives state, that he remained 40 days and as many nights on that mountain, I should rather assign those days and nights to some part of the year different from Lent. (104) That precise number of 40 days and nights does not correspond exactly with the whole time of Lent, which, even in St. Patrick's time, consisted, including Sundays, of 42 days. According to the Tripartite, the Lent, which it makes St. Patrick pass on the mountain, although his fasting days are said to have been forty, consisted of 43 days; for it informs us, that he commenced his fast on the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent. (105) Whatever might have been the season of the year, in which the saint observed this fast, we are to consider his fasting only in the same light, as we do that of other holy persons, that is, as consisting in abstinence from food and drink, as far as the calls of nature would permit, and not, as the Tripartite and Jocelin have represented it, in a total abstinence from every sort of aliment dur-

ing 40 days and nights. (106) As to what we read in some of the Lives about St. Patrick having been surrounded by innumerable demons in the form of birds, (107) and his having driven them into the ocean at the foot of the mountain, to which Jocelin has added the expulsion, at the same place, of all poisonous animals collected there from every part of Ireland, (108) it would be a waste of time to dwell upon these and some other fables relative to pretended transactions on Cruachan-aichle. It is indeed very probable, and, considering the constant tradition of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, I dare say certain, that St. Patrick spent some time in prayer, meditation, and fasting, on that mountain, which for said reason has been since called *Cruach Phardruic* (Croagh-Patrick in Mayo,) that is, the *heap or mountain of St. Patrick*.

(102) Harris speaks of this as the Lent of the year 434. Whatever we may think of the truth of the whole transaction, it must be assigned to some year later; for all the proceedings of St. Patrick after his first celebration of Easter A. D. 433 until his arrival at Cruachan-aichle could not be comprized within less than two or three or perhaps more years. The third Life (*cap.* 85.) places the saint's visit to that mountain several years after this period. (See also Jocelin, *cap.* 171.) The Bollandists assign it to about the year 453.

(103) "Exiit in desertum, id est, *Croighan-eigle* in tempore Quadragesimæ ante Pascha." 3d Life, *c.* 85.

(104) Probus, (*L.* 2. *c.* 19.) and the fourth Life (*cap.* 59.) have the 40 days and nights, but do not mention their having been in the time of Lent. Nennius and others, forming a comparison between St. Patrick and Moses (above *Chap.* IV. §. 1.) reckon those days without alluding to the Lent-fast. And in fact, were St. Patrick's fasting merely that of Lent, what reason would there have been to liken him to Moses on that account any more than the millions of Christians, who have fasted in that time of the year?

(105) *L.* 2. *c.* 63. The author must here have alluded to the commencement of Lent as observed at his own time in Ireland.

And elsewhere (*L. 3. c. 87.*) he expressly calls the Saturday, before the first Sunday, the *first day of Lent, caput jejunii*. This is a circumstance worth noticing. It is well known that, for at least six centuries, the longest Lent in the Western church did not exceed six weeks, and accordingly that the real fasting days were at most 36, Sundays having been always days of exemption. This is the Lent still observed in the diocese of Milan. How and by whom the four days beginning with Ash Wednesday came to be added, it is not easy to ascertain. Perhaps they were introduced gradually; and it is probable that, to check the habit of gormandizing on the last days previous to Lent it was deemed advisable to anticipate the fast by a day or two, in the same manner as some religious communities do, at present, abstain from flesh meat on some of the last days of Carnival. The Saturday prior to the first Sunday of Lent was, it seems, a day of great feasting and intemperance with our ancestors, particularly as it was not a day of abstinence. To put a stop to such excesses, it was made a part of Lent. As to the three preceding days, I cannot find the precise time, at which they were received as fast days in Ireland. It was probably at a later period than in some other parts of Europe; for those days seem not to have been known by the Irish as a part of Lent, when the Tripartite was compiled, *viz.* in the tenth century. See above, *Chap. III. §. iv.*

(106) The other Lives make no mention of total abstinence. Probus and the author of the fourth Life speak in general terms of St. Patrick's fasting; but it does not hence follow that he did not take some nourishment occasionally. The third Life, as we have seen, merely states, that he went to the mountain in the time of Lent. The wish to make out conformities between him and Moses gave rise to the addition as to complete abstinence; and hence it got into the Tripartite, which mentions those conformities, and into Jocelin's collection of stories. Roth's arguments in favour of it (*Elucid. 4ta in Jocel.*) prove nothing more than its possibility; but, as the schoolmen say, *a posse ad esse non fit conclusio*.

(107) Probus (*L. 2. c. 19.*) says that St. Patrick, when he arrived at the top of the mountain, was surrounded by a multitude of birds, but does not call them devils. "Multitudo avium venit circa illum, ita ut non posset videre faciem caeli et terrae ac maris

propter aves." In this there is nothing improbable, as it is easy to believe that sea fowls and various birds of prey might assemble in great numbers on seeing a person in such a lonely spot. It appears, however, that they soon dispersed; for Probus says no more about them. The circumstance became amplified, and the poor birds were transformed into demons.

(108) Jocelin is the only biographer of St. Patrick, that has spoken of the expulsion by him of serpents and other venomous creatures from Ireland. From his book this story made its way into other tracts and even into some breviaries. Had such a wonderful circumstance really occurred, it would have been recorded in our Annals and other works long before Jocelin's time. Colgan has a very good dissertation on this subject, (*Tr. Th. p. 255. seqq.*), in which he refutes Jocelin's assertion and shows the weakness of Roth's arguments in defence of it (*Elucid. 5. in Jocel.*). Among other proofs Colgan alleges, that in the most ancient documents of Irish history there is not the least allusion to venomous animals ever having been found in this country.

§. XII. From this mountain St. Patrick went (109) to Corcothemne, a district, it seems, not far distant, and is said to have there baptized some thousands of persons. In this tract he preached against the superstitious practice of some people, that revered a certain well as containing something divine. (110) Proceeding Northwards he arrives in Tir-Amalgaidh (Tirawley) the country of king Amalgaidh not long before deceased, whose seven (111) sons, after the termination of a dispute concerning the succession to the principality, which had been recently decided by the monarch Leogaire in favour of Enda Crom, were, together with a great number of people, assembled at a place called *Forrach-mac-namalgaidh*. Thither St. Patrick repaired, and having preached to the assembly gained over to Christ the seven princes, including the king, and twelve thousand persons more, all of whom he soon after baptized in a well called *Tobur-enadharc*, the well of *Enadharc*. (112) This celebrated conversion is mentioned in most of the

Lives of St. Patrick with more or less circumstances, and has been recorded by Nennius and other writers. (113) On this occasion, or not long before the general conversion took place, an attempt was made against St. Patrick's life, in which the Magi were principally concerned; but Enda, one of the converted princes, and his son Conall protected him against their fury, and the sudden death of Recraid their chief deterred the others and made them desist from their wicked purpose. (114) The saint himself, after mentioning his having been in remote parts of Ireland, where no missionary had ever been before, (115) relates that certain persons wished to kill him, but that the Almighty and under him some powerful friends delivered him out of their hands. By those remote parts it is very probable he meant *Tir-Amalgaidh*, which seems to have comprised a greater extent of country than the present barony of Tirawley, and among other tracts some parts of Erris. And a few lines before he speaks of his having baptized several thousands of persons, (116) whereby he seems to allude to the transaction we are now treating of. It has been observed, that by this important event and the great success of St. Patrick in that territory was fulfilled the wish of the people from near Foclut, expressed in a vision many years before, for his coming to their country. (117) The Tripartite and its follower Jocelin say, that St. Patrick placed over these numerous converts the holy Manchen surnamed the *Master*; but that celebrated man, who was also surnamed the *Wise*, and of whom hereafter, lived in the seventh century, and died A. D. 652. (118) A church Domnachmore in that district is spoken of on this occasion and a bishop Mucna; (119) as also the church of Killala, over which, were we to believe the Tripartite, St. Patrick placed Muredach as bishop, who, as will be seen, was not as yet born at that period, having flourished in the sixth century; and it is very probable that Mucna did not live earlier. Before

quitting Tirawley, he is said to have gone to a place near the river Moy, which in after times was called Lia-na-Manach, *the rock of the Monks*, from its having got into possession of certain monks, (120) and to have there converted a prince Eochad son of the former monarch Dathy. (121)

(109) The Tripartite and Jocelin, in consequence of their having placed St. Patrick on the mountain in Lent, make him celebrate Easter immediately after his descent, and, says the former, at Aghagower. The other Lives make no mention of this celebration of Easter.

(110) See *Not.* 43.

(111) The Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 76.*) mentions twelve sons, and even gives their names. But lower down (*cap. 77.*) it states that in *St. Patrick's books* only seven sons are spoken of.

(112) I wish some of our antiquaries would point out the precise situations of these places and not merely say with Colgan that they were in Tir-amalgaidh, which even a child could collect from the history of the transaction.

(113) See Usher *p.* 865.

(114) Probus *L. 2. c. 23.* See also Tripart. *L. 2. c. 79—84.*

(115) Hence it appears, that St. Patrick knew that in some of those parts of Ireland, which he would not have called *remote*, such as the Eastern and Southern districts, the Christian religion had been announced and practised before his time.

(116) See *Confess. p.* 19, 20. (117) See *Chap. iv. §. x.*

(118) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* Usher indeed, in consequence of his close adherence to Jocelin, mentions the *Master* Manchen at A. D. 434, the year, to which he erroneously assigns the conversion of the princes and people of Tir-Amalgaidh. Colgan does not attempt to fix the date of it, notwithstanding his having usually followed Usher in his chronological calculations. He must have known, that this conversion could not be placed as early as the year 434. And as to Manchen, whom Usher at that year speaks of merely by way of quotation from Jocelin, Colgan's endeavours (*Tr. Th. p.* 111) to find out a Manchen in St. Patrick's time are of no avail; it being evident, from the epithet *Master*, that the

Tripartite and Jocelin alluded to the great Manchen of the 7th century.

(119) A St. Muckin of Magin (in Tirawley) is mentioned in the Irish Calendars at the 4th of March ; but there is no account of the time in which he lived. He was probably the same as Mucna, whom the Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 83.*) makes mention of, not as having been placed by St. Patrick over Domnach-mor, but rather as having been buried there. Archdall however (at *Domnachmor* in Mayo) reckons it among the abbeys founded by St. Patrick, although even Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 271.*) following the Tripartite speaks of it as simply a church. As to Mucna having been placed *bishop* at Domnachmor, Colgan indeed so states it (*AA. SS. at 4 Mart.*), but without any sufficient foundation ; and then finding himself puzzled about the time that Mucna lived he throws out a conjecture, that his appointment took place A. D. 470 ; although it is clear, that St. Patrick's preaching in Tirawley was about thirty years prior to that date. Colgan assigns as a reason for this conjecture, that the Tripartite seems to indicate that Mucna was alive about the year 520 ; for it has (*loc. cit.*), " Venit Patricius ad Ecclesiam de Domnach-mor, ubi *est* episcopus Mucna." He imagined, that *est* referred to Mucna's being alive at the time the Tripartite was written, which he most uncritically (see above *Chap. III. §. iv.*) thought was in the sixth century ; and thus, not to make Mucna live too long, he affixed his appointment as bishop to the year 470. But he should have known, that nothing is more common in some of St. Patrick's Lives than to use *est* for *requiescit* ; so that the meaning of the passage now quoted is, that Mucna's remains were at Domnach-mor ; but at what time they were deposited there we have no means of discovering. At any rate there is not the least foundation for the assertion that he was made bishop by St. Patrick ; for the Tripartite, the only authority on the occasion, says nothing about it. I have here said thus much about Mucna, as no other opportunity will occur for treating of him.

(120) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 271*) and after him Archdall (at *Lianamach*) have changed this rock into a monastery founded by St. Patrick. The Tripartite, however, which they are pleased to quote, does not mention either church or monastery there, but describes it as a spot forming part of the estate of some monks in

later times, and as having got its name “ a monachis *postea possidentibus.*” (*L. 2. c. 90.*) These monks were probably those of Kilmore or Kilmormoy (*Kilmormoyle*, Archdall), that is, Kilmore near the Moy; for Lianamach is stated to have been above the church of Kilmore. A monastery was erected there, it is said, by one Olcan, whom the Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 92.*) calls a disciple of St. Patrick. There is an *Olcan* in Tirechan’s list, and also an *Oltcan*. Usher (*p. 951*) makes Olcan bishop of Derkan in Antrim after his return from his studies in Gaul. The founder of Kilmormoy was certainly another person (see Olcan’s acts *AA. SS.* at 20 *Febr.*); and whether or not he was Oltcan of the list, I am not able to determine.

(121) Tripart. *L. 2. c. 91.* Jocelin (*cap. 145.*) calls him only a *nobleman*.

§. XIII. Having crossed the Moy near its mouth our Apostle entered Hy-Fiachra (the barony of Tireragh, Sligo) and proceeding along the coast is said to have baptized seven sons of one Drogen, and to have selected among them Mac-erca for the purpose of his being particularly instructed in religion. This Mac-erca, when duly qualified, was some years afterwards placed over the church of Kilroe in Tirawley. (122) St. Patrick having gone as far as the river Sligeach (Sligo) turned towards the East and on his way was opposed by some inhabitants of Calrigia, (123) who, on his addressing them, soon became pacified and asked for his pardon. Wishing to inquire into the state of the churches in some of the back parts of Connaught he went as far as Moylurg, where he was badly received by the family of Mick-erca. Maneus, whom he is said to have baptized some time before and who was afterwards a bishop, (124) is stated to have interceded for them, being a relation of theirs, and thus to have averted a part of the divine vengeance, which was to fall upon that family. The saint then returned to Calrigia, and at Dromahare baptized one Maccarthen. (125) In the neighbourhood of that place he is said to

have erected a monastery at Druimlias, and to have placed over it his *pupil* Benignus, who, it is added, governed it for 20 years. The mention of this circumstance is alone sufficient to show, that, at whatever time there might have been a monastery there, it was not founded by St. Patrick. (126) From that country he went to the maritime parts of North Connaught, and continued his course through Caissealirra (West Cashel,) Drumcliff, &c. until he arrived in Ulster. Thus ended his mission in Connaught, where he spent on the whole seven years, having crossed the Shannon three times. (127) We may hence conclude, that his departure from that province did not take place until about the beginning of the year 442.

(122) Tripart. *L. 2. c. 97.* It was a church situated within a mile of Killala (*Stat. Survey of Mayo, p. 147.*), of which some ruins still remain. Archdall is right in placing it in Mayo, but wrong in converting it into a monastery, and still more singularly wrong in saying, that it was erected either by St. Fechin or St. Patrick. Colgan, whom he quotes for that purpose, has no such thing; nor does he mention any patron saint of Kilroe, except Macerca.

(123) This district must, besides a part of Sligo, have comprehended some part of the present county of Leitrim; for Dromahare is mentioned (Tripart. *L. 2. c. 103*) as situated in Calrigia.

(124) See Tripart. *L. 2. c. 35.* Maneus is there said to have been consecrated bishop by Bron; if so, it is difficult to believe, that he was among St. Patrick's followers at this time, that is, about the year 440. See above *Not. 86.*

(125) Who this Maccarthen was, we have no further account. If there was such a man at Dromahare, he was certainly different from the great St. Maccartin of Clogher. The Carten in Tircchan's list was in all probability the latter.

(126) The compilers of the Tripartite in this story about Druimlias (*L. 2. c. 103*) plainly alluded to the celebrated Benignus, as appears from their calling him the *alumnus* of St. Patrick. Now this Benignus was, although occasionally employed

here and there, a rather constant companion of the saint, and afterwards became archbishop of Armagh. Who then will believe, that he was left behind at Druimlias and that for 20 years? The Tripartite does indeed mention elsewhere another Benignus, as contemporary with St. Patrick, whom it makes a brother of Cethecus; but I have no doubt that this Benignus was introduced merely to answer some objection against certain stories about the real Benignus, such as that of his having been abbot of Druimlias. If ever there was a person of that name abbot in said place, he must have lived at a later period. I pass over the multitude of chapels and houses, which, says the Tripartite, (*loc. cit.*) St. Patrick and his disciples built at Druimlias; things which belong to after times and not to the commencement of a mission. Harris was mistaken in placing Druimlias in Sligo, and has been followed by Archdall, who however, has the same Druimlias again in Leitrim, where alone it ought to be placed. For, as Dr. M'Parlan observes, (*Stat. Survey of Sligo, p. 100.*) there is no such abbey or place in Sligo, it being in Leitrim about a mile East of the town of Dromahare.

(127) The Tripartite has (*L. 2. c. 108.*); “*Tribus autem vicibus trajecto Sinnano flumine, venit in Connaciam, in eaque—mansit annis septem.*” According to this passage it might seem at first sight, that during those seven years St. Patrick had been twice back and forward in some other province different from Connaught, as it states that he crossed the Shannon three times on his way to that country. And yet, as has been seen in the course of this chapter, the same Tripartite, after having once brought the saint into Connaught, represents him as constantly employed there, and makes no mention of any excursion of his to any other province until his departure for Ulster. There is indeed one passage (*L. 2. c. 104.*), which is evidently misplaced; for, after mentioning St. Patrick's being at Druimlias in Leitrim, he is made to appear in the North of Antrim, and then immediately after we find him travelling along the coast of Sligo from South to North. I think it is easy to reconcile the Tripartite with itself, if it be recollected that St. Patrick had been during those seven years once or twice in some parts of Leitrim to the East of the Shannon, and accordingly had to cross the river a couple of times more for the purpose of getting into the heart

of Connaught. Jocelin also assigns (*cap.* 96.) seven years, and uninterrupted, to St. Patrick's preaching in Connaught; which, considering all his proceedings and exertions there, were not too many.

CHAPTER VI.

Arrival in Ireland of the bishops Secundinus, Auxilius, and Isserninus—St. Patrick's proceedings in Tirconnell, Dalrieda, Dalaradia, and other parts of Ulster—Next in Meath and Leinster—Thence he goes to Cashel—Conversion of Aengus either then, or afterwards, king of Munster—His transactions in other parts of that province—Cause of his writing his Letter against Coroticus—The saint again in Ulster—Some account of Maccallus, Mocteus, and Maccarthen—Foundation of the church and see of Armagh.

SECT. I.

BEFORE we follow St. Patrick to Ulster, it is necessary to mention a matter of no small importance in our ecclesiastical history, which, according to some of our annalists, occurred during the time that he is stated to have been in Connaught; I mean the arrival in Ireland of the three bishops, Secundinus, Auxilius, and Isserninus, who, we are told, were sent as auxiliaries to St. Patrick in the year 439, (1) but by whom we are not informed. The two former are said to have been brothers, and nephews of the saint by his sister Darerca; but we have already seen (2) what little credit is due to these stories about St. Patrick's relatives. That those three prelates were in Ireland along with our Apostle is unquestionable; but if it be true, that Secundinus and Auxilius were disciples of his, as they are called in Tirechan's list,

how can it be admitted that they first appeared in Ireland as bishops? Nor will it be easy to understand how Auxilius and Isserninus could be said to have come to Ireland at that time, whereas in almost all the Lives of St. Patrick they are spoken of as having joined him in the continent, and having received some degree of clerical ordination at the time that he was consecrated bishop. (3) And they are generally represented as having been among the persons chosen to accompany him on his mission to Ireland. The most satisfactory mode, that I can discover for reconciling these authorities, is, that St. Patrick, finding himself in want of episcopal helpers, had sent them and Secundinus to G. Britain or Gaul for the purpose of their being consecrated bishops according to the established usage of the church, which required the presence of at least three bishops for the consecration of another; and which, although it might be dispensed with in some cases of urgent necessity, our saint, who was well acquainted with the Nicene and other decrees on that subject, did not think himself authorized to depart from, (4) particularly as those countries were not far distant and an intercourse of trade was kept up between them and Ireland. In this manner the difficulty can be readily solved; and it is quite natural to suppose, that St. Patrick would have chosen as his first colleagues those followers and disciples of his, who had been for some years members of the clerical body. It is true, indeed, that Auxilius and Isserninus seem to be spoken of as having been made bishops some years later by St. Patrick himself; but this can be very well understood not of their episcopal consecration, but of their being, after having been employed in various parts of the country, affixed to particular sees. (5) The arrival of those three persons, as bishops and auxiliaries to St. Patrick, about the year 439 was a circumstance well worth recording; but it does not contradict their having been already in Ireland.

(1) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* from the Annals of Ulster and Innisfallen. The latter have; "Secundinus et Auxiliarius (Auxilius) et Esserninus mittuntur in auxilium Patricii; nec tamen tenuerunt apostolatam, nisi Patricius solus."

(2) Chap. III. §. XVIII. (3) Chap. IV. §. XVII—XX.

(4) This observation will enable us to form an opinion concerning those several bishops, whom the Tripartite makes mention of as being in Ireland very soon after St. Patrick's arrival, such as Luman, Asicus, Cethecus, &c. The fact is, that the first bishops in Ireland next after St. Patrick were Secundinus, Auxilius, and Isserninus, who were foreigners and, it seems, from Gaul. With their assistance he consecrated others in the course of his mission. In the order of the holy bishops (*ap. Usher, p. 914.*), that were in St. Patrick's time, the first mentioned are those, who were Romans, and Franks, that is, natives of Gaul.

(5) Usher, (*Ind. Chron. ad A. 448.*) following his Tripartite, says, that St. Patrick appointed Auxilius bishop of North Leinster. His see was, from his name, called *Kill-ausaille* (Killossy, Kildare). The third Life (*cap. 58.*) states, that St. Patrick "*ordinavit ibi Auxilium discipulum Patricii.*" Colgan's Tripartite does not mention ordination, but informs us (*L. 3. c. 18.*) that he left there Auxilius, and at Kilcullen Isserninus: "In ecclesia, quae, ex ejus nomine denominationem sumens, *Kill-ausaille* vulgo vocatur, *reliquit* S. Auxilium; in Kill-cuillin S. Isserninum." Colgan took it into his head that Isserninus was the same as saint Sezinus or Sezni, an Irish saint celebrated in Britany, whose acts interspersed with fables he has published (*AA. SS. ad Mart.*) from Albert le Grande (*De SS. Britann. Armor.*) Sezinus is said to have been born in Ulster A. D. 402; to have studied at Rome; to have become bishop at *Warrham!* in Ireland; to have arrived in Britany A. D. 477, and to have died at Guic Sezni in that country as late as the year 529, having lived, they tell us, 127 years. Lobineau (*Hist. de Bretagne p. 76.*) mentions St. Sezni, adding that scarcely any thing is known about him except his name. Now Isserninus is always spoken of as a foreigner, and after his consecration lived constantly in Ireland until his death in the year 469. But, because Isserninus has been sometimes called *Serenus*, Colgan, perceiving some affinity between that name and *Sezinus*,

gave himself the useless trouble of striving to identify two quite different persons.

§. 11. St. Patrick being arrived in the province of Ulster preaches in Tirconnell (Donegal) and is said to have erected a church in Rathcunga, (6) and to have thence turned back a little towards the river Erne, near which he gave his blessing to prince Conall, (7) a brother of the king Leogaire, and to his son Fergus. On this occasion, if we are to believe the Tripartite, he foretold the birth and extraordinary sanctity of the great Columba, (8) who was to descend from Fergus. Thence he went to a small district called *Mag-hithe*, (9) where, they tell us, he founded the church of *Domnach-mor*, (10) and placed over it one Dubduban. We find him next in the country now called *Innish-owen*, where he is said to have converted the dynast Owen, from whom it has got its name, (11) and to have spent some time with him at Ailech, the place of his residence. (12) He is then stated to have crossed the Foyle and to have remained seven weeks near the river Faughan (Derry). Be this as it may, we are not bound to believe that during this time he laid the foundation of seven churches in that neighbourhood. (13) Soon after we meet with a similar story as to his having, on his return to *Innish-owen* founded the church of *Domnach-mor-muighe-tochuir*, and placed over it a bishop Maccarthen brother of the Maccarthen afterwards bishop of Clogher. But there was no second bishop Maccarthen; (14) nor can we suppose that the one of Clogher had been first bishop of that church with the long name; so that its pretensions to such great antiquity fall to the ground. (15) The account given, on this occasion, of St. Patrick's having fixed on a place for the erection of the church of *Domnach-bile* in the same country is, if true, not to be referred, as by some writers, (16) to the then erection of said church, but

to his having marked out a spot as well situated for that purpose, on which the church was afterwards built. And it is still more incorrect to say, that St. Patrick placed over it Aengus, son of Olild; for, according to the Tripartite, this Aengus son of Olild, and grandson of the dynast Owen, is merely said to have been *initiated* in clerical orders by the saint, that is, to have received the tonsure. He was, when arrived at a mature age, probably the founder of that church (17) several years after St. Patrick's visit to Innish-owen.

(6) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 176.*) says, that this place was called so in his time, and that it was in the district of Tir-aodha (barony of Tyrhugh). Archdall has changed this church into an abbey of St. Patrick's foundation.

(7) This Conal was surnamed Gulbanus, and was different from the Conal mentioned above *Chap. V. §. vi.*

(8) Adamnan in his second Preface to the Life of Columba mentions a prophecy concerning him by Mauctaneus or Mavateus a holy Briton and a disciple of St. Patrick. Had Adamnan known that St. Patrick himself had delivered such a prophecy, he certainly would have recorded it.

(9) Near the river Fin in Donegal. *Tr. Th. p. 181.*

(10) Donaghmore in the barony of Raphoe, now a rectory. (Seward, *ad loc.*) I need scarcely inform the reader, that *Domnach-mor* (Donaghmore) means a *great church* (*Dominica magna*); and hence comes it that we have so many places of that name in Ireland.

(11) *Innish-owen* the Island or rather peninsula of Owen.

(12) Three miles to the North of Derry. (Colgan *Tr. Th. p. 181.*) I very much suspect the truth of what is said in the Tripartite concerning the early conversion of several of those princes or chieftains. St. Patrick speaks of them as, in general, adverse to him, although some of their sons and daughters became Christians, *flii Scottorum et filiae regulorum* (see *Chap. V. §. vi. not. 56.*); and several of the former accompanied him in his spiritual expeditions, (*ib. §. viii.*) while many of the latter embraced the state of Christian virginity, notwithstanding the persecutions

they suffered on that account from their parents. It is clear from his Confession, that at the time he wrote it the greatest part of the kings or chiefs were not as yet converted; for he makes mention of the sufferings of himself and his followers, and of the precautions he used to take against giving occasion to a *general* persecution, usiug, among other means, that of making presents to those kings, some of whom, however, while obstinate themselves, allowed their sons to follow him.

(13) The Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 119.*) goes so far as even to give the names of six of those churches; but Colgan could not find any account of them, one only excepted and that obscure enough, *viz.* Badoney, which Archdall might have passed over without swelling his Monasticon with it. If such churches had been really erected by St. Patrick, they would have been well known and held in high estimation.

(14) There is but one Maccarthen or Carthen in Tirechan's list. In the fragment of the Life of Maccarthen of Clogher (*ap. Colgan AA. SS. 24 Mart.*) there is no allusion to a brother Maccarthen; nor does Usher, who had a Life of him (*Pr. p. 856.*) mention any such brother. The good people of that church in Innish-owen wished, I dare say, to claim the honour of its having been governed by the celebrated prelate of Clogher; but the compilers of the Tripartite, finding that this could not accord with the circumstance of his life, and striving to patch up the business, introduced the second Maccarthen. And we may observe that the real Maccarthen was most probably too young, at the period we are treating of, to be a bishop; for he lived until A. D. 506.

(15) Archdall, following the Tripartite, makes mention of this church at *Domnach-glenne Tochuir.*

(16) Harris, *Bishops*, p. 18. Archdall, at *Movill* (Donegal).

(17) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 181.*) says that Domnagh-bile was afterwards called Magh-bile, and that a monastery was there, which, however, he neither ascribes to St. Patrick, nor exhibits as placed by him under Aengus. These circumstance we find in Archdall alone, who has also strangely confounded the account of Magh-bile or *Movill* of Donegal with that of *Movill* in Down, a well known monastery, which was governed by St. Finnian in the sixth century, and continued in a flourishing state to a very late period. As to *Movill* in Donegal I much doubt, whether it

was ever a monastery; for Colgan, although he thought so, yet could not make out any one abbot of it. Harris (*Monasteries*) has the two Movills or *Maghbiles*, and attributes the foundation of both of them to St. Finnian. Archdall goes further, and pretends to give the names of some of the abbots of Movill in *Donnegall*, such as Finnian, Siollan, Aengus, M'Loingsy, &c. Now these are the same identical persons, whom with many others he reckons at Movill in *Down*, where indeed and where alone they ought to be. He was led astray by the *Index topographicus* to Colgan's *AA. SS.* in which Finnian is mentioned as having been at both Maghbiles. The compiler of that Index, who probably was not Colgan himself, was deceived by the identity of the name *Maghbile*, which signifies the *plain of the tree or trees*. In our Calendars, Martyrologies, and Annals Maghbile is often mentioned, and in a general and absolute manner, without any allusion to a second monastery of that name. Ware was therefore right in marking but one *Maghbile* or *Movill*, viz. that of *Down*, and ought to have been adhered to by Harris.

§. III. Our Apostle now departs from Innishowen and, crossing the streights at the North end of Lough-Foyle, proceeds to Dun-Cruthen (18) where, we are told, he placed a bishop of the name of Beatus. (19) Not to dwell on some stuff about seven churches said to have been founded in that neighbourhood by St. Patrick in as many weeks, and of which Colgan could find no account, we next meet with him at the eastern side of the Bann, (20) and moving forward through Dalrieda, in which country he is said to have baptized a posthumous infant, to whom he gave the name of Olcan, (21) and who afterwards became bishop of Derkan. Several churches are here mentioned as erected by him in Dalrieda, as likewise the persons, partly bishops and partly priests, placed over them, all of whom, together with their churches, (22) we may pass over without the least injury to the true history of our saint. From Dalrieda he went to Dalradia, in which country he is said to have founded many churches, the origin of which is, however, so

uncertain, that it would not be worth while to mention any of them, had they not been introduced as monasteries by Archdall into the Monasticon. (23) In a part of the country near Lough-ethach (Loughneagh), and at the East of it, St. Patrick was opposed by a chieftain named Carthen, and forced to quit his territory. It is added that a younger brother, also called Carthen, who lived in another part of that district, became a convert. Having gone from Dalardria to the tract called *Gaura*, (24) he was badly received there and driven out by the people. Accordingly he turned off to the district of Imchclair, and having converted a considerable number of people placed over them a priest named Columb. (25) While he was still in those parts (the now county of Tyrone) Cinnia, (26) daughter of a dynast named Echodius, became a Christian and dedicated her virginity to the Son of God, notwithstanding the great opposition she met with at first from her father, who, however, although unwilling to become a Christian himself at that time, was induced by the saint to permit her to take the veil. St. Patrick then entrusted Cinnia to the care of the holy virgin Ceta-maria, (27) who lived in the nunnery of Drum-dubhain. Thence he went to a small territory, called *Hua-meith-tire*, in which he is said to have erected a church at Teaghtalian (now *Tehallan*) (28) and to have placed over it a bishop Killen. (29) The chief of the district, Owen son of Brian, together with his subjects embraced, we are told, the Christian faith on this occasion. From that district St. Patrick went to the *adjoining* territory of the Mugdorni (*Cre-mourne* (30) in Monaghan), and having arrived at a place called at a *later period* *Donnach-maigen* (Donaghmain) is said to have converted Victor proprietor of it, who, if we are to believe the Tripartite, made over his lands and property to the Church, and after some years became bishop in that place. (31) The saint's preaching is stated to have been attended

with great success throughout all the country of the Mogdurni.

(18) Colgan threw out a conjecture that Dun-cruthen was the same as the present Dunboe, and has been followed by Archdall. It is probable, that Duncruthen was situated elsewhere. (See the Rev. Mr. Sampson's excellent work, *Stat. Survey of the Co. of L. Derry*, p. 487.) It was not far from the district called *Kennacta* (Kenaght in L. Derry) which the Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 125.*) thus joins with it; "In *istis* partibus in regione Kennactae," &c.

(19) Among several persons of the name *Beoadh* or *Beoan* Colgan has endeavoured to discover which of them this *Beatus* was, but could not come to any decision. The Tripartite represents him as the intimate friend of a holy man, named *Eugenius*, who very probably was *Eugenius* bishop of Ardstrath (Tyrone) in the sixth century. If so, *Beatus* was not contemporary with St. Patrick.

(20) Harris says that St. Patrick crossed the Bann at Coleraine. Where he got this information I do not know; for it is not given either in the Tripartite or by Colgan.

(21) This is the *Olcan*, whom Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) makes return from Gaul A. D. 450 after having completed his studies. But, if he was born about the time we are now treating of, that is, about the year 443, how could he have finished his education in 450?

(22) Archdall has contrived to swell up his book with many of those pretended foundations of St. Patrick in the part of Antrim called *Dalrieda*. Thus he has *Rathmoane* (*Rathmodain*), which, whatever was its origin, is spoken of as merely a church under the care of a priest. He has also *Achadhnacill*, a place not mentioned in the Tripartite or in any of St. Patrick's Lives. The process, by which he made out this monastery, is rather curious. A priest *Cathbad* is mentioned (Tripart. *L. 2. c. 130.*) as placed over a church at *Fothrat*. Colgan suspected, that he might have been the same as St. *Cathub*, who was revered at *Achadcinn* or *Achadnacill*. Here Archdall comes in and tells us, that this church was built by St. Patrick, although Colgan does not say so; nor indeed could he; for *Cathub*, who governed that church, died, as Colgan himself informs us (*AA. SS. p. 192.*) from the 4 Masters, A. D.

554 (555) and consequently was not appointed to Achadnacill by St. Patrick. Then we have Tulach, notwithstanding its being called only a church, over which is said to have been placed a bishop Nehemias, concerning whom Colgan could make out nothing satisfactory. The person alluded to was, I dare say, no other than a St. Nehemias, who died in the year 654. Next we have from Archdall Domnachcoinre, a church, which by whomsoever built, probably by a person of the name of Conry, had nothing to do with a monastery. In like manner he has converted the plain church of Druimindeich into an abbey. The Enan, who is said to have presided over it, was probably, as Colgan thought, Enan son of Muadan, whose festival was held on the 25th of March. (see *AA. SS.*) Now this Enan was a disciple of Comgall of Bangor, and accordingly must have lived late in the sixth century. Another of those monasteries of Archdall is Kilitragh (*Cuill-ec-trann*) a mere church said to have been placed under a bishop Fiachrius.

(23) Archdall has covered over Dalaradia (part of which near Lough-neagh was called *Hy-tuirtre*) with monasteries founded by St. Patrick. 1. Domnachbruin, or rather *Domnachbrain*. 2. Domnach-combuir. 3. Domnachfothairbe. 4. Domnachlibeir. 5. Domnachmoelain. 6. Domnachmor in *Magh-damhorna* likewise in *Dalaradia*, not *Dalrieda* as Archdall has it. 7. Domnach-riascaigh. 8. Domnachrighduin. 9. Domnachsainre (*Domnachfainre*, Tripart.) 10. Gleann-indeachta. 11. Gluaire, also in *Dalaradia*. 12. Imleachcluann. 13. Kilglais. 14. Lanavach. 15. Rath-easpuic-innic. 16. Rathsithe. Colgan was not able to give any account of the greatest part of these churches, nor excepting Domnach-combuir, does he call them monasteries. The very names of many of them refer to founders different from St. Patrick. Thus Domnach-brain was a church founded by a person of the name of *Brain*; Domnach-libeir by one *Libeir*, a name that occurs more than once in our history; Domnach-moelain, by a Mullen or O'Mullen, &c. Amidst the little that is known concerning three or four of them there is nothing to prove, that they were erected by our saint. For instance, St. Molassius is said to rest at Gluaire. We find two or three eminent persons of that name in the sixth or seventh century, one of whom might have been the founder of that church. In like manner St. Coeman is said to be at the

church in Imleachcluann, and Colgan observes that there was a church called *Kill-coeman* in the diocese of Connor. More than one Coeman or Coman are celebrated among the Irish saints; but they all lived later than the period we are now treating of. Rath-espuic-innic, that is, the *fort of bishop Innic*, was so called, says the Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 133.*) from the bishop Vinnoc, whom St. Patrick placed over it. Jocelin (*cap. 149.*) and the third Life (*cap. 71.*) have a holy man Vinnoc contemporary with St. Patrick, but do not call him bishop. Most probably he was the same as Finnian or Finan who, although different from the great Finnian of Clonard, yet lived at the same time, that is, in the sixth century. *Finan* and *Vinan* are the same name in Irish; thus Adamnan writes *Vinnian* for *Finnian*. *Vinan* and *Vinnoc* are likewise the same, being diminutives of *Vin* or *Fin*; in the same manner as *Coeman* *Coemoc*, *Aedan* *Aedoc*, &c. Finan was, as appears from his having been under the direction of Coelan of Nendrum, (see Usher, *p. 954.*) a native of some part of the north of Ireland not far remote from the place where Rath-espuic-innic is stated to have been, *viz.* in the now barony of Antrim. On the whole, with regard to the greatest part of these establishments, there is no sufficient authority to show, that they owe their origin to St. Patrick.

(24) This district was, it seems, near Lough-neagh to the S. East and South.

(25) Tripart. *L. 2. c. 142.* No church is mentioned. Colgan remarks, that in *Imchclair*, alias, *Maghclair* (a tract in the neighbourhood of Dungannon) there was a church called *Domnachmor*, in which a priest *Columb* was revered. Archdall seized upon this observation, and thence made out that the abbey of *Donaghmore* in Tyrone was founded by St. Patrick, although the Tripartite, which alone could be appealed to, makes no mention even of a church there in St. Patrick's time.

(26) See above *Chap. III. §. XVIII.*

(27) Jocelin (*cap. 79.*) calls her *Cethuberis*, and says she was the first Irish virgin, that took the veil. This he repeats, *cap. 188.* where he gives her the name of *Ethembria*; but where he got his information I cannot discover.

(28) Tehallan is in the county of Monaghan and barony of Monaghan. Hence it appears, that Harris was mistaken (*Antiq.*

ch. 7.) in making *Hy-meith-tire* the same as the present barony of Orior in Armagh. The name *Teagh-talain*, the *house of Talan*, seems to indicate a church founded by one Talan; for several Irish churches were denominated in like manner; *ex. c. Teagh-Munnu*, Taghmon in Wexford. Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 184.*) observes, that there was a St. Tellan son of Colgan a chief of that very district, whose name is in the Irish Calendars at June 25. There can be little doubt that from him said church got its name; if so, it was not founded by St. Patrick.

(29) The festival of St. Killen was kept at Tehallan on the 27th of May; but we are not bound to believe, that he was placed there by St. Patrick. There were so many saints of the name of *Killen* (see *AA. SS. p. 331.*), that we cannot decide which of them he was.

(30) It is evident from the whole context, that the *regio Mugdornorum* (*Tripart. L. 3. c. 12.*) was no other than Cremourne, the name of which was derived from the Irish *Crioch-Mugdorn* (*Crioch* nation, country). Colgan was wrong in confounding it with the mountainous country of Mourne in Down; for surely this country does not join the barony of Monaghan. In his Topographical index to *Tr. Th.* he calls it *Mugdorna*, while the Tripartite has not that name but designates it as the territory of the *Mogdurni*. Harris, it seems, took his *Mogdurna* (*Antiq. ch. 7.*) from Colgan, and with him makes it the same as Mourne in Down. It is probable that Mourne also was called *Mugdorn*; but the *regio Mogdurnorum* mentioned in the Tripartite, was certainly in Monaghan. Nor was it confined to what is now called *Cremourne*; for Donaghmain, which has given its name to an adjoining barony in said county, was in it.

(31) Jocelin also has (*cap. 139*) *Domnach-maghin*, as he spells it, *Victor*, &c. but, as well as the Tripartite, says nothing about a monastery. Archdall, however, could not let it escape, and to mend the matter, has placed it in Mourne in Down, where no *Domnach-maghin* is to be found. It was no other than the village, now called *Donaghmain*, in the barony of said name and county of Monaghan. *Victor* would have been a strange name for an Irishman in St. Patrick's days; and as to donations of lands, &c. made to the saint we have already seen in what light they ought to be considered.

§. IV. Thence he proceeded to Meath, and, having instructed the inhabitants of the northern parts of that province, arrived at Bile-tortan near Ardbraccan, and there is said to have laid the foundation of a church afterwards called *Domnach-tortan* (32) and to have placed over it Justin a priest. (33) He visited also the country about Slane, probably for the purpose of inquiring into the state of the congregations, which had been formed in that neighbourhood since the year 433. I am very much inclined to think, that it was during the time passed on this occasion in Meath, and which might have been about the beginning of A. D. 443, (34) that he left in that country the bishop Secundinus, who although he chose for his ordinary residence *Domnach-Sachnall* (35) (Dunshaghtin), yet, as appears from various circumstances, was entrusted with the care of the new converts, not only in Meath but in the more northern parts of Ireland, (36) while St. Patrick was proceeding on his mission through Leinster and Munster. The suffraganship of Secundinus lasted about six years; (37) and, as he died A. D. 448, we may place the commencement of it early in 443, a date which agrees very well with the whole tenour of St. Patrick's proceedings.

(32) Archdall (at *Donaghmore*, Meath) has changed this church into a monastery called, he says, *Bile-tortan*. But this was the name of the place in Pagan times. He then tells us, that it is the same as Donaghmore near Navan; but Colgan, whom he refers to, does not say so.

(33) In Tirechan's list of St. Patrick's disciples there is a Justianus.

(34) Compare with *Chap. V. §. XIII.*

(35) The place got its name from Secundinus, whom the Irish called *Sechnall*. *Domnach-Sechnall*, the *Dominica* or church of Sechnall. The name has been gradually corrupted into *Dunshaghtin*, or *Dunshaghtin*. See Usher. *Pr. p. 826.* and Ware *Opusc. S. P. p. 150.*

(36) The Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 98.*) calls him St. Patrick's *Vicar* and *Suffragan*, although it states (*ib. c. 86.*) his usual residence to have been at Dunshaghlin. And in another (*ib. cap. 81.*) St. Patrick is said to have charged him with the care of the arch-see of Armagh and of the primacy during his own absence. This is a garbled account founded on the true one; I say, *garbled*, because Secundinus was dead before that see was established. The absence, indeed, alluded to in the Tripartite is said to have occurred on occasion of the saint's going to Rome; but it is certain that St. Patrick never went to that city after his arrival in Ireland as a preacher of the Gospel. The real absence was that caused by the saint's spiritual tour to the South of Ireland; and accordingly Secundinus was left in charge of the northern districts, and consequently among others of those, which afterwards belonged to the see of Armagh.

(37) Usher, (*p. 875.*) thinks, that *six years* is the true reading relative to Secundinus as spoken of in an old catalogue of bishops of Armagh. And although he supposed, that said see was founded in the year 445, yet he maintains that Secundinus was never bishop of it. The fact is, that the story of his having governed that see originated in his having been invested with a very extensive jurisdiction in the North during St. Patrick's absence.

§. v. Matters being thus settled in Meath, our Apostle moved into Leinster, and going straight forward to Naas, the residence of the kings of that province, is said to have baptized in a fountain near the North side of the town the princes Illand and Alild, (38) sons of king Dunlung, both of whom became afterwards sovereigns of Leinster. (39) An anecdote is related of one Foillen an officer of the court of Naas, who pretending to be asleep, lest he should comply with the saint's wish to see and instruct him, slept in earnest never to wake again in this world. (40) St. Patrick turning into Hy-Garrechon, that is, into some part of the present county of Wicklow (41) was very badly received by Driehir prince of that country, who knowing the enmity, that his father-in-law king Leogaire bore to the saint, became also

hostile to him. But he was most hospitably entertained by a man in an humble walk of life, named *Killin*, who even killed the only cow that he possessed for the purpose of treating the saint and his companions. (42) This good man was amply rewarded for his attention by the blessings, that came upon himself and his family in consequence of the saint's benediction. From that country St. Patrick went to *Maghliffe*, or the now county Kildare, through which the Liffey winds its course, and having laid the foundation of several churches, and arranged the boundaries of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, left some of his companions in those tracts, and, among others, bishop Auxilius at Killossy, and bishop Isserninus at Kilcullen. (43) How long he remained in that country we are not informed; but, considering the length of time requisite for the transactions now mentioned, it may be reasonably supposed, that he did not leave it until about the latter end of the year 443. (44) Thence he went to Leix (now part of the Queen's county) and when arrived at its borders got notice from a pious lady, called *Briga*, of a snare prepared for him and his followers by the people of a part of that district, by means of which it was intended to entrap them in the bogs and kill them. They, however, continued their course and providentially escaped without falling into the pits. The saint then proceeded to the house of his friend the arch-poet *Dubtach*, who lived in *Hy-Kinsellagh*, that is, as it seems, in the parts of that great territory (45) which is now comprized within the county Carlow. In one of their conversations on religious subjects St. Patrick asked him did he know any one in that country whom he would think fit to be promoted to holy orders. *Dubtach* answered that he had a disciple named *Fiech*, (46) then absent, whom he thought well disposed for that purpose. Before the conversation was ended *Fiech* returned from *Connaught*, whither *Dubtach* had sent him to present

some poems of his composition to the princes of that province. (47) Fiech was of an illustrious family, being son of Erc of the house of Hy-Bairrche in Leinster. (48) At the time of his meeting St. Patrick he was already a Christian, or, at least, a catechumen. (49) Some accounts add, that he was then a widower, his wife having died not long before and left an only son named Fiachre. (50) The saint, finding him properly qualified, gave him the clerical tonsure, and supplied him with the necessary means for cultivating the ecclesiastical studies, in which he made great progress as well as in piety. After some time he became a bishop, (51) being the first Leinster-man that was raised to the episcopacy, (52) and at length the chief bishop of the whole province. (53) His see was at Sletty; (54) and he is said to have governed also a monastery, which was called *Domnach-Fiech*. (55) He has been ever since held in a very high degree of respect and veneration, (56) and seems to have lived to a great age; for it is said, that sixty of his pious disciples departed this life before himself. St. Patrick is stated to have met with great encouragement from Crimthan son of Enda Kinsellagh and king of Hy-kinsellagh, who, although hostile to Fiech and his connexions, is represented as a pious prince that founded and endowed seventy churches, (57) two or three of which are mentioned by name. (58) The saint moving forward arrived in Ossory, and there, according to the Tripartite, converted numbers of people, and founded many churches, &c. none of which, nor their superiors, are particularly specified.

(38) According to the 4 Masters Illand died A. D. 506, and Alild in 526. As to the former having been baptized by St. Patrick the difficulty with the regard to time might be got over; but how can we account for the baptism of Alild at that time, particularly as the Tripartite adds, (*L. 3. c. 16.*) that two daughters of his Mugania and Fethlimia, were also baptized by the saint in the

same fountain? Supposing Alild to have been then only 24 years old, we should admit that he reached an age of above 100 years. Usher's Tripartite (*Pr. p.* 826.) is more cautious on this point; for it mentions in general terms, that the sons of Dunlung, who ruled in North Leinster, believed and were baptized. Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigns their baptism to A. D. 448 in pursuance of his calculations, according to which St. Patrick founded the see of Armagh, went to Great Britain, &c. before he set out for Leinster. But his system cannot be reconciled with the series of our saint's transactions as given in the Tripartite.

(39) Jocelin has cunningly omitted the whole of what is said about St. Patrick having been at Naas, and, instead of it, has given (*cap.* 69. *seqq.*) some fables concerning his having, after coming from Meath, crossed Finglas river, and from an eminence at about a mile from the village of Ath-cliaith, now Dublin (I suppose the high ground about the Royal Canal) blessed it and foretold its future greatness and prosperity. Then comes a heap of trash, which bears every mark of interpolation, unless we suppose that Jocelin could in one breath have contradicted himself, about a great city of Dublin as having been founded by the Norwegians, &c. and existing in St. Patrick's time, its king Alphin, and his daughter Dublinia, from whom the city took its name, &c. &c. Among other stories we read that the king and the citizens of Dublin, to show their gratitude to St. Patrick, became tributary to the see of Armagh. This nonsense was undoubtedly fabricated at Armagh, and either Jocelin was induced, in compliment to his patron the archbishop Thomas, to insert it in his book, or it was foisted by some other hand into his *MS.* Usher has given some of these stories (*p.* 861. *seqq.*) and affixed them to A. D. 448. See *Not. prec.*) Harris also touches on them (*Bishops, p.* 20). But they are not worth the trouble of refutation; as neither Ath-cliaith nor Dublin, nor king Alphin, are ever mentioned in the other Lives of St. Patrick; nor would the Tripartite, which was so very minute as to the places where the saint was, or might have been, and particularly if kings were in the way, omitted the circumstances, had there been any foundation for them.

(40) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 15. Hence the imprecation, which, adds the Tripartite, a person wishing bad rest to another used to pro-

nounce: *May he sleep as Foillen did in the castle of Naas.* Colgan says, (*Tr. Th. p. 112.*) that this imprecation was used in his time. It would not be worth mentioning, were it not to show how Jocelin has shifted the scene of this anecdote to serve his purpose of bringing St. Patrick to Ath-cliath or Dublin. For he says (*cap. 72.*) that it occurred at Castle-knock just after the saint had left Dublin, and, the better to hide his trick, calls that unfortunate man not *Foillen* but *Murin*.

(41) See *Chap. I. §. vi.*

(42) Tripart. (*L. 3. c. 17.*) Here is another proof furnished by the Tripartite itself, that St. Patrick did not always abstain from flesh-meat. (See above *Chap. IV. Not. 53.*)

(43) See above *Not. 5.* Killossy is placed by Rawson (*Stat. Survey of Kildare p. vi.*) within a mile of Nass. Archdall is wrong in saying that it was *not far* from Kildare, and also in making St. Patrick found an abbey there—wrong likewise in calling Auxilius a nephew of his. (See *Chap. III. §. xviii.*) The Kilcullen, where Isserninus was fixed is what we now call *Old Kilcullen*, formerly a respectable town. The new *Kilcullen* or *Kilcullen-bridge* was not known until the 14th century (Rawson *ib. p. vii.* and Seward at *Kilcullen*). The Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 18.*) joins Mactalius as left with Isserninus at Kilcullen; but, although he was certainly bishop of that place, he could not have been there, even as a disciple, at the time of Isserninus' appointment; for, as Colgan (*Not. ad loc.*) observes from the Annals of the 4 Masters, he lived until the year 548 (549). In O'Connor's map of Scotia Antiqua (*Dissertations &c.*) *Maghliffe*, or, as he calls it, *Moy-Liffe*, is erroneously made to be the same as the Co. Dublin. Killossy and Kilcullen, which the Tripartite places in *Maghliffe*, surely are not in this county.

(44) Usher, following his erroneous calculations of which above (*Not. 38.*) affixes the appointment of Auxilius, &c. and other transactions in North Leinster to A. D. 448.

(45) Hy-Kinsellagh was the Southern part of Leinster (*Tr. Th. p. 565.*) Harris says (*Irish Writers at Fiech*) that it comprehended part of the counties of Wexford, Carlow, and Queen's county. And yet, strange to tell, in his account of ancient territories (*Antiq. ch. 7.*) he confines it to a *great part of the county of Wexford*. Now instead of thus confining it, he should have added

to it the county of Kilkenny, as Seward has done, who however ought not to have added Wicklow.

(46) See *Chap. V. §. v.*

(47) Tripart. *L. 3. c. 21.* Here we have a proof that the art of writing was known and practised in Ireland before the arrival of St. Patrick. (See *Chap. V. Not. 31.*) It is very remarkable that although Fiech must, as a scholar of Dubtach, have known how to write, yet in the very same chapter of the Tripartite the saint is stated to have given him an alphabet written with his own hand for the purpose of his learning it; that is, the Roman alphabet to enable him to learn Latin.

(48) Fiech's Scholiast, *No. 1.*

(49) The Scholiast (*ib.*) represents him as a Christian and fit to receive immediately the clerical tonsure. According to the Tripartite he was then only a catechumen, and is said to have been baptized by St. Patrick. Dubtach might have been his instructor in the Christian religion as well as in the Bardic profession. I think it also very probable, that there were several Christians in said district about that time; otherwise, how could St. Patrick have consulted Dubtach concerning persons of his acquaintance fit to be admitted into the clerical order? They should have been believers in Christ before such a question could have been asked. As to the persons, by whom they had been instructed, baptized, &c. we may suppose that they were visited occasionally by some priests either of St. Patrick's or Palladius' appointment, or by some of those who were in Ireland before the arrival of Palladius. (See *Chap. I. §. xv.*)

(50) Tripart. *L. 3. c. 21.* The Scholiast does not mention these circumstances. But in several Callendars, &c. quoted by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 185.*) Fiachre is called the son of Fiech, and they are mentioned as jointly revered in certain churches.

(51) Scholiast, *No. 1.* Tripart. *L. 3. c. 21.* Jocelin, *cap. 115.* In the passages now referred to Fiech is not stated to have been consecrated bishop by St. Patrick on this first occasion of the saint's being in Hy-Kinsellagh, but after some time, as the Scholiast expresses it; "Et *postea* ab eodem (Patricio) consecratus est episcopus." Jocelin adds, that he was not consecrated until he regularly officiated in the subordinate orders. At any rate it is not to be imagined that Fiech, who received the first rudiments of

ecclesiastical learning from St. Patrick himself, would have been raised to the episcopacy until after some not inconsiderable lapse of time; and hence it appears that Usher was wrong in affixing (*Ind. Chron.*) Fiech's consecration to the same year that he supposed St. Patrick to have arrived in Hy-Kinsellagh, after the appointment of Auxilius, &c. *viz.* A. D. 448 (see *Not.* 44.); not that Fiech might not have been a bishop in that year, admitting, what seems very probable, that his first interview with St. Patrick was about the beginning of the year 444.

(52) Tripart. *loc. cit.*

(53) Tripart. *loc. cit.* Scholiast *No.* 1. This precedency of Fiech was, I dare say, originally meant as relative to only South Leinster; or, if it be understood of the entire province, must be explained as not having taken place until after the death of Auxilius and Isserninius. And in fact the Scholiast mentions it in terms, that indicate a time much later than when Fiech was first made a bishop. After *episcopus* (above *Not.* 51) he adds; “*et tandem Lageniæ archiepiscopus institutus.*” As to the meaning of the title, *archbishop*, when given to the other prelates besides the metropolitan of Armagh, we shall see elsewhere.

(54) In the Queen's county about a mile to the West of Carlow, and not far from the river Barrow.

(55) Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 23. Jocelin, *cap.* 117. This monastery is stated to have been at the East of the Barrow, and consequently in some part of the now county Carlow. Jocelin says it was at a place called *Forrach*, and tells us it was founded after Fiech had been fixed at Sletty; while the Tripartite mentions it as Fiech's first establishment, over which he presided for a considerable time until he removed to Sletty at the west side of the river. Archdall (at *Sletty*) has confounded those two churches together, notwithstanding the very precise manner, in which they are distinguished in the passages here referred to.

(56) Probus (*L.* 1. *c.* 41.) calls him an admirable bishop; “*Mirabilis episcopus factus est in Themoria.*” How *Themoria* (Tarah) got into Probus' text, I cannot discover. All the other writers, and they are not few, who speak of Fiech, represent him as bishop at Sletty. To his great reputation is owing the mistake of the celebrated hymn or metrical Life of St. Patrick having been attributed to him, in the same manner as many tracts, whose au-

thors were unknown, have been attributed to St. Augustin. Although that hymn is very ancient, yet it is evident that the author of it was not contemporary with St. Patrick.

(57) Tripartite, *L. 3. c. 25*. This is the most extravagant flourish I have met with as yet in honour of any of the Irish princes. It is not easy to reconcile Crimthan's piety, or even Christianity, with the hatred which he is said to have borne to the family to which Fiech belonged. If he was king of Hy-kinsellagh at the time St. Patrick was there, that is, about A. D. 444, he must have retained his bodily powers for a very long time; for we find him fighting battles in the year 483, (Usher, *Ind. Chron.*) or 471 (4 Masters *Tr. Th. p. 565*). Colgan, however, quotes the same 4 Masters (*Tr. Th. p. 185*) as stating, that Crimthan was killed in the year 465 (466), and O'Flaherty maintains, in opposition to Colgan, that this is the true account of Crimthan. (*MS. Notes to Tr. Th. p. 565 and 155.*) Be this as it may, we may safely reject at least the story of his 70 churches.

(58) One of these churches is said to have been at Inisfail and another at Inisbeg, both which were, according to Colgan, (*Tr. Th. p. 186.*) in the diocese of Ferns, but in what part of it he does not inform us, nor can I find elsewhere. The Tripartite makes St. Patrick place over the former St. Conoc and St. Cadoc; but Conoc, or Mochonoc, and Cadoc, who was his nephew, flourished elsewhere and not until the sixth century (*AA. SS. at Conoc, 11 February*). And at Inisbeg it mentions Erdicus and Augustin. By Erdicus was probably meant Benedict, who, together with Augustin, had been in Ireland with Palladius, and afterwards called upon St. Patrick at Eboria. (See above *Chap. IV. §. XVIII.*) It would require great credulity to believe, that those two companions of Palladius would have been left at an obscure church, of which no trace is to be found. To add to the confusion, Augustin of Innisbeg is said to have been a disciple of Fiech (*Tripart. L. 3. c. 22.*). If so, he was not placed there by St. Patrick. Archdall has, as usual, changed these two churches into monasteries, and in the county of Wexford, with the appendage of being founded by St. Patrick, &c.

§. VI. St. Patrick now proceeding to Munster goes straight forward to Cashel, the usual residence of the

kings of that province (59) On his approaching the city, which probably was about the beginning of A. D. 445, (60) it is related that the king went out to meet him, and having welcomed him with great respect conducted him to his court. (61) The king is generally said to have been the celebrated Aengus son of Natfraich, whose piety and zeal for religion has been most highly praised by many of our ancient writers. Although it cannot be doubted that he became a Christian, his accession to the throne seems to have been some years later than the time we are now treating of; (62) and in that case it will follow, that, if he was converted by St. Patrick, he was not then a king but one of those young princes, who, as the saint himself informs us, had embraced Christianity. (63) It will also follow that, if any king of Cashel paid such great attention to our Apostle, he was probably Natfraich himself. It is true, that this prince is never spoken of as a Christian; but he might have shown civility to the saint as a stranger of rank and respectability, and permitted him not only to preach the Gospel to his subjects but to instruct his own children. Young Aengus was, I dare say, one of those fortunate pupils, and, when placed on the throne, was highly instrumental in forwarding the cause of Christianity in Munster. The celebrated anecdote concerning the king's foot having been pierced by the point of St. Patrick's staff during the baptismal ceremony, and which he is said to have borne patiently, thinking it formed part of that ceremony, is more likely to have occurred in the case of a boy than in that of a man, and a king, who could scarcely be supposed to have fallen into such a mistake. This accident could not have happened in the very act of baptism, as the mode of baptizing then practised was by immersion, and in fact is stated to have occurred after it, when the king, as they call him, or rather young prince, while receiving the saint's benediction, stuck so close to him that one of

his feet got under the point of the staff. (64) St. Patrick is said to have converted several other persons of rank at Cashel, and after this prosperous commencement set out for other parts of Munster, and spent seven entire years in that province, preaching the Gospel, baptizing new converts, reviving the faith of those who were already Christians, (65) erecting churches, appointing clergymen, &c.

(59) Tripart. *L. 3. c. 29.*

(60) Usher has (*Ind. Chron.*) A. D. 449, in consequence of his former calculations (above *Not. 44.*) But this date cannot be made to agree with what we are told of St. Patrick having remained in Munster for seven years, nor with his subsequent proceedings prior to the foundation of the see of Armagh in the year 445. Harris says, that St. Patrick had deferred his tour to Munster on account of the progress made already in the South by his precursors, referring to Ailbe, Declan, &c. We have already seen (*Chap. I.*), that these persons are not entitled to that distinction. Yet it cannot be doubted, that St. Patrick had some precursors in the South and South east parts of Ireland, as there were Christians in Ireland before the mission of Palladius; and, considering the greater proximity of these parts to the continent, besides their lying convenient for an intercourse with G. Britain, it may reasonably be supposed that they had already received no small share of the light of the Gospel.

(61) Tripart. *L. 3. c. 29.* It adds that the court or palace was at the place where a stone, called *Patrick's stone*, afterwards lay. In the third Life (*cap. 61.*) it is said, that the stone was called *Leac Coithurgi*, *Leac*, stone, and *Coithurgi*, or *Cothrige*, one of the names of St. Patrick (above *Chap. IV. §. VI.*); and that the kings of Cashel used to be appointed on it; through veneration (adds Jocelin, *cap. 74.*) for the saint, who perhaps had celebrated the divine mysteries on it. This stone was to be seen on the ascent to the cathedral situated on the famous rock of Cashel. (See Seward at *Cashel.*) Usher's Tripartite (*Pr. p. 865.*) makes the king proceed to the plain of *Femyn* to meet the saint, and has been followed by Harris. If so, that plain must have been at the North side of Cashel, as it was from Ossory that St. Patrick went

straight to that city. But it appears from the Life of Declan, that the plain of Femyn was to the South of Cashel towards Clonmel; for in it we read, that St. Patrick, having left Cashel to proceed to the territory of the Desii, went to the plain of Femyn, where he was met by Declan, who had crossed the Suir from the county of Waterford side for the purpose of paying his respects to the saint. This anecdote of Declan's going to Femyn to meet St. Patrick has been confounded in Usher's Tripartite with the king's advancing to welcome him before he entered Cashel. Smith has given (Hist. of Waterford, p. 4.) too great an extent to *Maghfemyn*, or, the *plain of Femyn*. For he comprizes within it the whole barony of Middlethird, and consequently the city of Cashel, although in Declan's Life that city is spoken of as quite distinct from any part of the country of the *Desii*, in the northern district of which *Magh-femyn* lay; "*campi Femyn in aquilonari Desiorum plaga—S. Patricius—a regione Desiorum ad civitatem Cassel reversus est.*" (See *Tr. Th.* p. 201.) Harris is still more astray in making it (*Bishops*, p. 20.) the flat extensive country, that surrounds Cashel. The present boundary between the diocese of Cashel and that of Lismore is the best rule to go by for finding out the northern limits of the territory of the *Desii*, which, in the ecclesiastical division, has been placed under Declan of Ardmore. This see became united to that of Lismore, and is now comprized under its name. These united dioceses extend northwards to about midway between Cashel and Clonmel, and there also ended the country of the *Desii*, in which lay *Magh-femyn*.

(62) Keating says (*B.* 2.) that Aengus reigned 36 years and was killed in the battle of Killosnadh (Co. Carlow). He does not mark the precise date of that battle; but it is assigned by the 4 Masters (*Tr. Th.* p. 565.) to A. D. 489 (490). Accordingly Aengus did not begin to reign until the year 454, a period certainly later than that of St. Patrick's arrival in Munster, even in Usher's hypothesis of affixing it to the year 449. He must have been very young when the saint came to Cashel; for, to omit other arguments, St. Naol of Kilmanagh, who died A. D. 564, is stated to have been a son of his. (*AA. SS.* at *Naol* or *Natalis* 27 January.)

(63) See *Not.* 12.

(64) In the Life (*cap.* 60.) we read; "Credidit ei et bap-

tizatus est. Cumque Patricius caput regis benedixisset cuspis baculi affixa est pedi regis. Sed rex, benedictionem valde desiderans, dolorem pedis pro nihilo reputavit." Jocelin also says (*cap.* 74.) that it happened after the baptism at the time of the saint's giving his blessing and touching the prince's head. He introduces, as usual, a miracle, telling us that the prince felt no pain from the wound, which is contradicted both in the passage now quoted from the third Life, and in the Tripartite, (*L. 3. c. 30.*) where it is added that, when the prince was asked by St. Patrick why he had not given some indication of the hurt and pain he had felt, he answered that he thought the piercing of his foot to be a part of the holy ceremony, and accordingly submitted to it.

(65) "*Fidei propagandae et refovendae.*" Tripart. *L. 3. c. 31.* Hence it is clear, that there were Christians in Munster before St. Patrick's arrival there. (See *Not. 60.*)

§. VII. In none of our apostle's Lives is there a word to be found about any synod then held at Cashel, or a meeting there between St. Patrick, Ailbe, Declan, &c. and regulations made concerning the privileges of the sees of Cashel, Ardmore, Saigir, &c. This stuff occurs only in the Lives of Ailbe and others of those pretended precursors of St. Patrick, but having been given to the world by Usher, (66) has led astray several writers. It was patched up at a late period, and at a time when some bishops claimed a degree of preeminence and antiquity for their sees, to which they were not originally entitled. The whole story is thus related. Ailbe of Emly, Declan of Ardmore, Kieran of Saigir, and Ibar of Beg-erin were at first opposed to St. Patrick, and disinclined to acknowledge him as their superior, but in the end came to a good understanding with him. Kieran led the way in submitting to St. Patrick's jurisdiction. Next comes Ailbe, who on hearing that the saint was at Cashel went thither to pay his respects to him and the king. Being a very humble man, he received St. Patrick as his master, and it was decreed by the king and the saint, that the archbishopric of all Munster

should be attached to the city and chair of Ailbe. (67) Ibar was for a considerable time very stiff in refusing to submit to St. Patrick; but at length, being admonished by an Angel, entered into an agreement of peace and harmony with him. Declan did not wish to oppose the saint, but was unwilling to consider him as his superior. But he also was visited by an Angel and ordered to wait on St. Patrick and obey his commands. He immediately set out and, having met the saint at Hymneon in Magh-femyn, (68) humbled himself before him. St. Patrick received him with great kindness, and blessed his country and the whole nation of the Desii. On his returning to Cashel he was accompanied by Declan, and there it was decided that, in the same manner as Ailbe was placed over the people of Munster, Declan should rule the Desii, and, as Ailbe was to be a second Patrick and patron of Munster, so Declan likewise should be a second Patrick and patron of the Desii. (69) It is added that, while other parts of Ireland should be subject to St. Patrick, the Desii should be under Declan. (70) The three saints, Patrick, Ailbe, and Declan (71) having thus arranged the extent of their jurisdiction, and made many useful regulations, blessed the king, and taking leave of him set out for the respective districts, that were to be the scenes of their spiritual labours. But all this fine account of the opposition to our Apostle by those four prelates, of the synod of Cashel, &c. &c. falls to the ground; first, because, had such things occurred, they would not have been omitted in all the Lives of St. Patrick; and, secondly, because, as has been shown already, (72) not one of said persons was a bishop as early as has been pretended. Yet there may be some truth in what is said of an opposition to St. Patrick, not however as if any of those now spoken of, two of whom, Ailbe and Ibar, were even disciples of his, had been concerned in it, but because the saint himself seems to allude in his Confession

to a sort of murmuring against him, (73) originating, it would appear, in a spirit of rivalry and jealousy, which might have actuated some of the Christians who were in Ireland before his mission, but could not have got hold of any of his own converts or disciples.

(66) *Pr. p.* 801—866 *seqq.*

(67) “ Sanctus Albaeus accepit beatum Patricium magistrum suum, quia erat Albaeus valde humilis. Tunc rex Aengus et Patricius ordinauerunt, ut in civitate et cathedra sancti Albaei semper esset *archiepiscopus* omnium Mumoniensium.” *Life of Ailbe, cap.* 20. This city and chair of Ailbe has been constantly understood by our old writers as that of Emly; but it is doubted whether it ought to be honoured with the title of an archiepiscopal see. Keating (*Book. 2. p.* 6.) asserts, that Emly was never an archbishopric, and that no see in Munster ever enjoyed that rank except Cashel. He pretends, that the opinion of Emly having had archbishops is founded on a mistake, owing to the archbishop and clergy of Cashel having been obliged during the Danish persecution, in the time of Turgesius (ninth century), to quit the city and take shelter in the fastnesses of Emly, where they remained for some time. The prelates of Emly are indeed usually styled merely *bishops*, although Harris (*Bishops at Emly*) reckons among them Maelbrigid *archbishop* of Munster, who died A. D. 895; and, what is of much greater weight I find, in the ancient *Life of St. Pulcherius*, one of them, that lived in the 6th or 7th century called *archbishop* of Emly. There seems to have been some sort of preeminence annexed to that see in consequence of its having been the first established in Munster; but it did not consist in that extensive jurisdiction, which archbishoprics, properly so called, were possessed of. There was no truly archiepiscopal see in Ireland, except Armagh, until the beginning of the 12th century, when the primate Celsus raised Cashel to that rank, which, through the interference of his immediate successor St. Malachy, was confirmed by Pope Innocent II. St. Bernard’s testimony is decisive on this point; “ *Erat et altera metropolitana sedes, quam de novo constituerat Celsus, primae tamen sedi et illius archiepiscopo subdita tamquam primati*” (*Vit. S. Mal. cap.* 10.). And (*ib. cap.* 11.) “ *Petit*

Malachias confirmari *novae metropolis* constitutionem—et confirmationis quidem privilegium mox accepit.” This new metropolis was Cashel ; and however we find, that Miler O’Dunan, who assisted at the synod of Usneagh, or Fiadh-mac-Aengusa (Westmeath) in the year 1112, over which Celsus presided, is called *Archbishop of Cashel*. (See *Jus. Primat. Armac.* §. VII.) In this same work the author, Dr. Macmahon, says (§. 62.) that Celsus *transferred* the archbishopric from Emly to Cashel ; but this does not agree with the text of St. Bernard, who speaks of a quite *new* institution ; and it is certain that, whatever *honorary* rank Emly might have enjoyed, its jurisdiction was never of that really metropolitanical sort, which was conferred on Cashel. From what has been now observed it appears, that Keating was wrong in supposing, that there were *archbishops* of Cashel in the 9th century. It is very doubtful whether Cashel was even a *bishop’s* see at that period. But of this elsewhere.

(68) See *Not.* 61.

(69) The people of Munster and the Desii seem to be spoken of as distinct from each other, although the country of the Desii is now comprised in Munster. In Declan’s *Life*, where all these stories are to be found, an Irish distich, relative to the privileges of Ailbe and Declan, is given and said to be pronounced by St. Patrick on that occasion. It may be seen, together with some paraphrases of it, in Usher’s *Pr. p.* 866. and Harris’ *Bishops at Emly*.

(70) Et ut Hibernienses in *alii locis*. S. Patricius servirent, ita et Nandesi gens suo patrono. S. Declano omne exhiberent sub Deo obsequium. (*Life of Declan*, c. 30.) The drift of this passage was to insinuate, that Declan’s see, that is, Ardmore, was exempt from the jurisdiction of Armagh.

(71) Harris adds Kieran and Ibar as having been at Cashel on that occasion, and says that the former was then placed at Saigir, and the latter at Beg-erin. Now in the first place they are never mentioned either in Declan’s *Life*, the fountain-head of this fable, nor in the garbled accounts given of their acts, as having been members of that pretended synod. Kieran is said indeed in both his *Lives* (*AA. SS. 5 Mart.*) to have visited, on a certain occasion, Aengus at Cashel ; but no allusion is made to a synod. We are also told that St. Patrick, Aengus, and many others paid a

visit to Kieran at Saigir. Harris confounded the narrative of his and Ibar's proceedings relatively to St. Patrick with what was said to have occurred at Cashel between him and Ailbe and Declan. And as to the appointments to Saigir and Beg-erin, Harris ought to have known, that in the stories concerning this matter Kieran and Ibar are exhibited as having been bishops in those places before St. Patrick's mission began in Ireland.

(72) *Chap. I. §. x. seqq.*

(73) In one place he writes (*Conf. p. 17.*) ; " Rideat autem et insultet qui voluerit, ego non silebo," &c. He dwells much on his having had no interested views in coming to Ireland, and that, far from looking to temporal advantages, he refused to accept of presents that used to be offered to him, and laid out his own property in procuring means for facilitating the progress of the Gospel, and protecting his converts. I allow that these and some other expressions of his may be understood relatively to calumnies of the Pagans ; but certain passages occur, in which he seems to allude to the carpings of some Christians and probably members of the clerical order, as *ex. c.* where he says, that in the course of his mission he had, with great risk visited even the remotest parts of Ireland, where no missionary had ever been before. (*ib. p. 19.*)

§. VIII. The first district mentioned as visited by St. Patrick after his departure from Cashel was *Muscrighe Breogain*, (74) seemingly a part of the extensive flat country lying between Cashel and Limerick. The saint is said to have founded several churches in that district, and to have left some of his disciples at one of them, which is specified by the name *Kill-fheacla*. (75) Thence he went to the territory called *Ara-chliach* (in the now counties of Tipperary and Limerick), in a part of which, *Hy-Cuanach* (barony of Coonagh) he was at first violently opposed by the dynast Olild. But in consequence of a miracle, to obtain which St. Patrick had ordered Ailbe and Ibar (76) to offer up their prayers to God, Olild, his family, and his subjects are said to have been converted and baptized. While St. Patrick re-

mained in Ara-chliach, he foretold, if we are to believe the Tripartite, divers circumstances relative to future occurrences in that country, and among others, the foundation of a monastery at Kill-ratha and of a church at Kill-teidhill. (77) Next we find the saint in that tract, which lies to the East of Limerick, and we are told that he was there hospitably entertained by a chieftain named Lonan, (78) and that he met with young Nesson, whom after some time he placed over the monastery of Mungret, which he had founded. (79) Some inhabitants of Thomond or North Munster (Clare), having heard of St. Patrick being in those parts, crossed the Shannon for the purpose of seeing him and, when instructed in the Christian religion, were baptized in the field of *Tir-glais*. (80) He was also waited upon by prince Carthen son of Blod. (81) This prince likewise is said to have been converted and baptized at Saingéal near Limerick. (82) St. Patrick did not cross the Shannon on this occasion, but, according to the Tripartite, having ascended mount Fintine near Donaghmore, and looking over the country of Thomond blessed it and foretold the birth, after some years, of Senan of Inniscatty. (83) Afterwards the saint went to Luachra, beyond which he did not continue his course in any other part of West Munster. (84) While in that district, he is said to have prophesied, that the *great patriarch of monks and star of the western world would be born in West Munster, viz. St. Brendan of the race of Hua-Alta, and that his birth would be several years after his own death.* (85) Turning back from Luachra, he directs his course towards South Munster or Desmond; (86) but his transactions in that country are passed over in a loose general manner, and nothing occurs, that might help us to form even a rational conjecture concerning his proceedings. He is said to have visited also the southern part of the country of the Desii (Waterford) and with the

assistance of the chieftain Fergar and the nobles, &c. to have, after great toils, arranged the ecclesiastical affairs of that territory. (87) When near the banks of the Suir, he was kindly received by the inhabitants, and, thence continuing his progress through the now county of Tipperary, proceeded to Muscrith-Thire (Lower Ormond), where, among many others, he converted, says the Tripartite, (88) two brothers, of a powerful family, Munech and Meachair, while their eldest brother Furech remained obstinate in his infidelity. Having now spent seven years in Munster he set out on his return to Leinster, and was followed by the chieftains and multitudes of people from all parts of that province, who wished to take their leave of him and receive his blessing, which from an eminence he cheerfully bestowed on them and on all Munster. (89)

(74) There were several tracts in Munster named *Muscrighe*, so called, says Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 186.) from a prince Musc, son of king Conor the great. O'Brien with much greater appearance of truth derives that name from *Mus*, pleasant, and *Crioch*, country. (*Ir. Dict. at Muiscrith.*) One of them was surnamed *Mitine*, and is the present Muskerry in the county of Cork. Another was denominated *Thire*, and was the same as Lower Ormond in Tipperary. *Muscrighe Breogain* was, I am sure, that which O'Brien calls *Muscrith Jarthar Feimion*, the country about Emly and Tipperary. It was certainly different from *Muscrighe Thire*. Jocelin seems to have confounded them together; for he makes (*cap.* 75.) St. Patrick proceed from Cashel to Ormond. But the circumstances, which he mentions as having occurred there, did not take place, according to the Tripartite, until after the saint had traversed various other parts of Munster. Yet we must observe, that the ancient Ormond or *Urmuman* (*third Life, cap.* 61.) that is *East Munster*, was more extensive than the district, to which that name still adheres.

(75) Tripart. *L. 3. c.* 32. I do not find any place, to which this name corresponds, except Kilfeacle, not far from the town of

Tipperary. Archdall has a *Kilfeacle* in Cork, and indeed, an abbey, which, however, he says is unknown. His reason for placing it there is, that it was in Muscragia or *Muscrighe*, as if there had been no other district so called than the present Muskerry. But *Muscrighe Breogain*, in which *Kill-fiachla*, or Killfeacle, was situated, must not be confounded with *Muscrighe Mitine*. (See *Not. prec.*) Archdall was led astray by Harris, (*Antiq. cap. 7.*) who makes these two Muscrighes adjacent to each other, and both comprized in what is now called Muskerry.

(76) Tripart. *L. 3. c. 33.* Here they are called *bishops*; but that must be understood of their having been so, not at that time, which was probably A. D. 446, but at a later period. They were then in a state of scholarship, and belonged to that class of young gentlemen, whom the saint was wont to have in his suite as pupils. See *Not. 12.*) Ibar was, in all likelihood, older than Ailbe, having died long before him, *viz.* in the year 503. (*Chap. I. §. XIII.*) He was of an illustrious family of Ulster (Usher *p. 1061.*) (and probably had accompanied St. Patrick since his departure from that province for Meath and Leinster. He might have been old enough about the year 446 to be a bishop; but, had he been then one, we would rather imagine that St. Patrick would have assigned to him a district, in which he might exercise his functions, than keep him along with himself. As to Ailbe, he could not have been a bishop so early, whereas he lived until A. D. 527. (*Chap. I. §. XI.*) At the time that the saint took him under his care, which cannot be supposed to have been prior to his arrival in Munster, of which province Ailbe was a native, he must have been very young. I have already observed (*Chap. I. Not. 84.*) that, if it be true that Ailbe studied under a bishop Hilarius on the continent, the most probable conjecture is that he was Hilarius of Arles. Besides other circumstances there touched upon, the time answers very well; for Ailbe might have been sent about 446 to Hilarius, who lived until the year 449. Whoever that Hilarius was, he is expressly distinguished from the Pope of that time, both in Ailbe's and Declan's Lives, and consequently must not be confounded, as has been done by the Bollandists, with Pope Hilarius. The whole matter is involved in such obscurity, that it is useless to attempt an elucidation of it. Nor can it be ascertained, by whom Ailbe was consecrated; although

there can be scarcely a doubt of his having been a bishop before the year 492, in which king Aengus was killed.

(77) Archdall has these places in the county of Limerick. Killteidhill was, I dare say, the same as Kilteel in the barony of Coonagh; although he has made them two distinct places. As to Killrath, it would be difficult to find it out at present. Archdall has no right to call Coeman, its founder, a disciple of St. Patrick. The Tripartite does not mention him as such.

(78) Jocelin (*cap.* 75.) and the third Life (*cap.* 61.) place these transactions in Ormond; the Tripartite in Hyfigente, a tract of country extending along the Shannon towards Kerry. Hence we see that the ancient Ormond was more extensive than the modern. (See *Not.* 74.) Concerning the entertainment prepared by Lonan see *Chap.* iv. *Not.* 53.

(79) Here we have another of the Tripartite's anachronisms. Nessian, who is well known in our ecclesiastical history, and has been often called Deacon Nessian, belonged to the second order of Irish saints, which flourished after St. Patrick's time. (Usher *Pr.* p. 914.) He died A. D. 552. (*Tr. Th.* p. 186.) How then could he have been placed over Mungret by St. Patrick, or how could St. Patrick have founded that monastery for him, unless we were to suppose that he lived about 140 years? Archdall ought not to have said (at *Mungret*) that the fact is *indubitable*. O'Halloran's nonsense about the monastery of Mungret having existed in the fourth century, and referred to by Archdall, is not worth consideration. Almost equally ridiculous is the assertion of Ferrar, (*History of Limerick*, p. 4.) that it was founded by St. Patrick in the year 433.

(80) *Tir-glais*, the *land of greenness*, the same, perhaps, as Tirdaglass in Lower Ormond; *da*, of. If so, St. Patrick had moved some miles up the left bank of the Shannon.

(81) This Carthen was the chieftain of N. Munster. Colgan in a note to Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 44. has, as if from the *MS.* text; "Carthennus Blodii filius *Theodoricianae familiae progenitor.*" The three last words have been omitted through mistake in the printed copy of the Tripartite. This family was, as Colgan remarks, that of the O'Briens of Thomond. In Keating's pedigrees he is placed, under the name of *Carthan Fionn*, at the head of that illustrious line. He was called also *Carthan more* or the *great*. (See Vallancey's *Collectanea, Law of Tanistry, &c.* Vol. 1. p. 439.)

(82) See Vallancey, *loc. cit.*

(83) Tripart. *L. 3. c. 46.* This alone is sufficient to show the falsehood of certain stories about the high antiquity of Senan, some of which Archdall has at *Inniscattery*. Of Senan more elsewhere. What mountain Fintine was I cannot determine. There is a Donaghmore very near Limerick.

(84) Tripart. *L. 3. c. 47.* More than one district was named or surnamed *Luachra*, which means *rushes*. O'Brien (*Ir. Dict. at Muscrith*) has Muscrith Luachra, the land, he says, lying between Kilmallock, Kilfinan, and Ardpatrick. But from what follows in the Tripartite it is plain, that the *Luachra*, to which it alludes, lay more to the West. It was not far from the borders of Kerry, and, I think, in the now barony of Connillo, (Co. Limerick) in which is a mountain anciently called the mountain of Luachra, near which was St. Ita's monastery (*Ita's Life, Jan. 15.*). This *Luachra* might have been a continuation of the tract mentioned by O'Brien, and which, on account of its being a pleasant country, was distinguished by the epithet *Muscrith*.

(85) This passage is well worth consideration. 1. It shows that the celebrated Brendan of Clonfert, the Brendan here spoken of, was a native not of that place, nor of any part of Connaught, as some have thought, but of Kerry, as Ware states (*Bishops at Ardfert*) after many old writers. 2. That the Luachra, where this prophecy is said to have been delivered, was in the neighbourhood of Kerry, whereas said prophecy was here introduced in consequence of the mention made of Luachra. 3. That St. Patrick did not live until A. D. 484, this being the year in which Brendan was born. (Usher *Ind. Chron.* and Colgan *Tr. Th. p. 187.*) As to the number of years, that were to intervene between the death of St. Patrick and the birth of Brendan, there is a palpable error both in the Tripartite, (*L. 3. c. 47.*) and in the parallel passages of the 4th Life (*cap. 79.*) where it is said, that Brendan would be born in the 120th year after St. Patrick would leave this world. The true reading was, I believe, the 20th year. By prefixing C to XX. the change was easy from 20 to 120. Now St. Patrick died, as will be seen, A. D. 465. Brendan's birth in 484 was consequently in the 20th year after that date.

(86) Harris has committed a huge blunder, (*Antiq. cap. 7.*) where he says that Desmond is *West Munster*, and now Kerry.

But the very name, *Desmond*, means *South Munster*. Kerry, or, at least, the greatest part of it, was not included in the ancient Desmond, as it belonged to *Iar-Muin* or West Munster. Some parts of the East of modern Kerry might have been comprized in Desmond, as adjoining the county of Cork, which was the real Desmond. How could it be said, that St. Patrick had turned back from Luachra, adjoining Kerry, to go to Desmond, if Kerry, generally speaking, was the same territory?

(87) Tripart. *L. 3. c. 49.* Not a word about Declan.

(88) *L. 3. c. 51.* (89) *Ib. c. 54.*

§. IX. Following the dates hitherto laid down, we may suppose that St. Patrick's departure from Munster took place in the year 452. Secundinus, whom he had left to superintend the churches of Meath and the northern parts, (90) was already dead, having departed this life in the year 448, and 75th of his age. (91) He was a very wise and holy prelate, and the first bishop that died in Ireland. (92) An anecdote is related of him, which shows what little reliance is to be placed on the stories relative to grants of lands made to St. Patrick. It is said, that he expressed a disapprobation of the saint's excessive disinterestedness in refusing presents from the wealthy and donations of lands, which, did he accept of them, would enable him to support a multitude of holy persons. But on St. Patrick's explaining to him the reasons of his conduct, he became sorry for what he had said, and begged for forgiveness. (93) It was, according to some accounts, (94) on the occasion of his having been pardoned by the saint, that he set about composing his poem or alphabetical hymn in honour of St. Patrick, in which the saint is spoken of as still alive, and which I find no reason for not considering as a genuine work of Secundinus. (95)

It is very probable that the horrid transaction, which compelled St. Patrick to write his letter against Coroticus, occurred before his departure from Munster, and in some maritime and South-east part of

that province, as that tract lay very convenient for an expedition against the Irish coast from either South Wales or Cornwall, in one or other of which Coroticus' principality was in all likelihood situated. (96) Colgan assigns the martyrdom of Fingar, and his companions, (97) the history of which was perhaps built on the affair of Coroticus, to about the year 450; (98) and, if he be right, it must have taken place while St. Patrick was in Munster. We may therefore be allowed to touch on those transactions in this place, particularly as, excepting the Munster coast, we do not meet with St. Patrick, during the latter years of his mission, preaching in any maritime part of Ireland southward of Louth.

(90) See §. iv.

(91) Usher *Pr. p.* 825 and *Ind. Chron.* The Bollandists, *proprio motu* place his death A. D. 459. But the authority of the Ulster and Innisfallen annals, joined with that of the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 19.) and the concurrent testimonies of Colgan himself (*ib.*) Usher (*loc. cit.*) and Ware (*Op. S. P. p.* 151.) is much better on this point than that of the Bollandists. The fable about Secundinus having been a nephew of St. Patrick is, without resorting to other arguments, sufficiently refuted by the circumstance that, when Secundinus was in his 75th year, the saint had not passed his 61st year. (See *Chap. iv. §. iv.*)

(92) Life of Declan (See Usher *p.* 826. Tripartite *L. 3. c.* 89. and Jocelin, *cap.* 177.) What then has become of Ledwich's *abundance* of bishops, that were in Ireland before the time of Palladius? (See above *Chap. 1. Not.* 129.)

(93) Jocelin, *cap.* 176. Tripart. *L. 3. c.* 88. Compare with *Chap. v. §. II.*

(94) This is the occasion or cause assigned for the composition of the hymn by the anonymous author of the preface to it. (*ap. Colgan Tr. Th. p.* 211.) The Tripartite (*L. 3. c.* 89.) mentions its composition without referring it to that occasion.

(95) This poem or hymn has been published by Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 211, and republished by Ware, (*Opuscul. S. Patric. &c. p.* 146, *seqq.*) who calls it an Alphabetical hymn, inasmuch as the

strophes, consisting each of four lines, begin with the letters of the alphabet, following the order of them, A, B, C, &c. This order is plain in Ware's edition, which at strophe 10 has *Kastam*, where Colgan writes *Castam*, and at strophe 21 *XPS* for *Christus* as *ap.* Colgan. There are several various readings between these two editions. But they are of little or no consequence. The first Strophe is,

*“ Audite omnes amantes Deum sancta merita
Viri in Christo beati, Patricii episcopi;
Quomodo bonum ob actum simulatur Angelis,
Perfectamque propter vitam aequatur Apostolis.”*

And the last, *“ Zona Domini praecinctus diebus ac noctibus
Sine intermissione Deum orat Dominum;
Cujus ingentis laboris percepturus praemium (prae-
mia, Colgan)*

Cum Apostolis regenabit sanctis super Israel.”

In the last line, instead of *sanctis*, Colgan's edition has *sanctus*. It has also an addition composed later than the hymn, and apparently after St. Patrick's death, concluding with these words; *“ Patricius sanctus episcopus oret pro nobis omnibus, ut deleantur protinus peccata, quae commisimus. Amen.”* This hymn is also in the very ancient Antiphonarium Benchorensis, which has been published by Muratori. (See *Chap. II. §. VI.*) In this edition there are some readings different from those both of Colgan's and Ware's editions; but in general it agrees somewhat more with the latter than with the former. It has, like Colgan's, an addition in the following words; *“ Patricius episcopus oret pro nobis omnibus — Ut deleantur protinus peccata, quae commisimus — Patricii laudes semper dicamus — Ut nos cum illo semper vivamus.”* On the whole, the hymn is well worthy of illustration, as it contains excellent allusions to the most sound doctrine and discipline; and it would be desirable, that we had a completely correct copy of it.

(96) Coroticus is constantly spoken of as a king of the Britons. Jocelin, who calls him *Cereticus*, says (*cap.* 150) that he reigned in a part of Wales. The Bollandists threw out a conjecture, that the name signified *king of Ceretica* (Cardiganshire). But there is nothing to show, that it was not really a proper name, and in fact a very common one among the Britons. It was originally the same as that of the great *Caractacus* or *Caratacus*. A wicked British king, *Careticus*, is mentioned as living in the sixth century, *Ranulph.*

Polychron. ap. Gale, Scriptorum xv. p. 225. *Cereticus*, another British king, about *A. D.* 620, is spoken of by Camden. (*Britannia, col. 862.*) We find in Bede (*L. 4. cap. 23.*) a *Cerdic*, likewise a British prince, towards the latter end of the seventh century. The name is undoubtedly the same, being no other than *Caraduc* as it is written in the Welsh, or, the *Caradeuc* of the Bretons. As therefore the name *Corotic*, *Caretic*, *Ceretic*, *Cerdic*, was so usual among the Britons not only in *Ceretica*, but wherever there were Britons, the conjecture of the Bollandists cannot lead to any decision as to the country of the tyrant alluded to by St. Patrick. If the martyrdom of Fingar, &c. formed part of the persecution by *Coroticus*, there would be reason to think, as will be seen below, that he reigned in Cornwall.

(97) See above *Chap. v. §. v.*

(98) *AA. SS. Ind. Chron.* and at *St. Hia, 25 Jan.*

§. x. This prince *Coroticus*, though apparently a Christian, (99) was a tyrant, a pirate, and a persecutor. He landed with a party of his armed followers (100) many of whom were Christians, at a season of solemn baptism, (101) and set about plundering a district (undoubtedly maritime), in which St. Patrick had just baptized and confirmed a great number of converts, and on the very day after the holy chrism was seen shining in the foreheads of the white-robed neophytes. (102) Having murdered several persons, these marauders carried off a considerable number of people, whom they went about selling or giving up as slaves to the Scots and the apostate Picts. (103) St. Patrick wrote a letter, not extant, which he sent by a holy priest whom he had instructed from his younger days, (104) to those pirates, requesting of them to restore the baptized captives and some part of the booty. The priest and the other ecclesiastics, that accompanied him, being received by them with scorn and mockery, and the letter not attended to, the saint found himself under the necessity of issuing a circular epistle or declaration against them and their chief *Coroticus*, in which

announcing himself a bishop and established in Ireland, he proclaims to all those, who fear God, that said murderers and robbers are excommunicated and estranged from Christ, and that it is not lawful to show them civility, nor to eat or drink with them, nor to receive their offerings, until sincerely repenting they make atonement to God and liberate his servants and the handmaids of Christ. He begs of the faithful, into whose hands the epistle may come, to get it read before the people every where, and before Coroticus himself, and to communicate it to his soldiers, in the hope that they and their master may return to God, &c. Among other very affecting exhortations he observes, that the Roman and Gallic Christians are wont to send proper persons with great sums of money to the Franks and other Pagans for the purpose of redeeming Christian captives, (105) while, on the contrary that monster Coroticus made a trade of selling the members of Christ to nations ignorant of God. What was the fruit of St. Patrick's exertions on this occasion is not known. The account of the martyrdom of Fingar and his companions was probably built upon a traditionary and exaggerated statement of the persecution of Coroticus. (106) It is thus given. Fingar, *alias* Guigner, the son of an Irish king, having embraced the Christian faith, (107) fled, to avoid the consequences of his father's wrath, together with several young nobles, to Britany, where he was kindly received by the chief of the province, and having got ample possessions from him erected an oratory. Afterwards he returned to Ireland, and there collected nearly 800 faithful, among whom were seven bishops and his sister Piala. Leaving Ireland they arrived at a port called *Heul* in *Cornubia*, where they met Hia, an Irish virgin, who had set out after them. While preparing to continue their tour towards Fingar's retreat they were attacked by Theodoric king of the country, who put them all to death. That country,

or, as it is denominated *Cornubia*, was in all likelihood Cornwall. (108) What affinity there may be between this garbled story and the affair of Coroticus, I leave to the reader to decide for himself. (109)

(99) Tillemont (*Mem. Tom. xvi. p. 462.*) calls him a Christian; and, I think, with reason, because the sentence of excommunication pronounced by St. Patrick in the Epistle seems to include Coroticus together with his associates. On that account he gave directions that the Epistle should be read in the presence not only of his subjects but also of Coroticus himself. Had he not been a Christian, he could not have been excommunicated. What the saint expresses concerning his wish that those robbers and murderers, of whom Coroticus was the chief, may return to God, plainly alludes to the profession of Christianity; “*Quod si Deus inspirat illos, ut quandoque Deo resipiscant, et vel sero poenitent,*” &c. It is true that in some of St. Patrick’s Lives he is spoken of as not a Christian. We read in the third Life (*cap. 72*): “*Nunciata sunt S. Patricio mala opera cujusdam regis Britonum Coritic crudelis et immitis tyranni, ut converteret eum ad viam veritatis. Hic Coritic namque erat persecutor et interfector Christianorum, misitque Patricius ad eum epistolam; sed rex ille deridebat doctrinam Patricii.*” Probus, who calls him *Chairtic*, agrees (*L. 2. c. 27.*) with what is here quoted except that, instead of *doctrinam Patricii*, he has *salutaria ejus monita*. Jocelin speaks of him (*cap. 150.*) in terms of the greatest horror, although he does not represent him as an infidel. In these Lives, as likewise in the Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 100.*) where he is called *Corthec*, there is a ridiculous fable of his having been, in punishment of his crimes, changed into a fox and having suddenly disappeared so as never to be seen again. But the Epistle itself is the best, and indeed the only good authority with regard to what concerns Coroticus.

(100) Tillemont (*loc. cit.*) makes Coroticus in person one of the party. It is, however, difficult to determine, from the Epistle, whether he was so, or had only ordered his soldiers on that wicked expedition. The text is so obscure and in many parts so corrupt, that minor questions of this kind cannot be easily de-

cided. At any rate whatever occurred was perpetrated in consequence of his orders, “ a latrunculis *jubente* Corotico;” and accordingly, whether present or not, he was equally guilty.

(101) I find nothing, that may lead to ascertain which of these solemn times it was, whether Easter, Whitsuntide, or the Epiphany; for, on this last festival also baptism used to be administered solemnly in Ireland.

(102) “ De sanguine innocentium Christianorum, quos ego innumeros Deo *genui*, atque in Christo *confirmari*, postera die qua *chrisma* neophyti in *veste candida* flagrabat in fronte ipsorum.” Here we have in a few words an exact description of the ancient discipline, according to which the sacrament of confirmation or chrism used to be administered immediately after baptism by the bishop, in case he were the baptizer or present on the occasion. We see also the white garment of the newly baptized. Without quoting longer passages of authors on this subject, one very like St. Patrick’s words occurs in Amphilochius’ Life of St. Basil, *cap.* 5. “ Baptizavit Maximinus episcopus Basilium et Eubulum, et vestivit *albis*, atque ungens eos *sancto chrismate*,” &c. This practice continued some hundreds of years, even with regard to infants. Alcuin treating of infant baptism writes (*De Offic. cap. de Sabbato Paschae*); “ Postea vestiatur infans—Sivero episcopus adest *statim confirmari* eum oportet *chrismate*.”

(103) By Scots he meant those of that nation who still remained pagans, and of whom, generally speaking, a smaller number in proportion was converted than of the other inhabitants (See *Not.* 12.). He gives the epithet of *apostates* to the Picts, meaning the Southern Picts, who had embraced the Christian faith on the preaching of Ninian, (see *Not.* 149 to *Chap.* I.) and many of whom, it seems, afterwards apostatized. The Northern Picts could not have been called *apostates* in St. Patrick’s time, as they were first converted by Columb-kill in the sixth century. To the epithet, *apostates*, the saint adds, *indignissimorum, pessimorum—Pictorum*. But how could Coroticus and his pirates have sold their Irish captives to the Southern Picts, whose country was in the North-east of Scotland? It is hard to suppose, that they would have marched them thither by land; and as to conveying them by sea it would have been necessary to sail round about England or about the north of Scotland. The fact is, that the Picts so condemned by St. Pa-

trick were those who, together with the roving Scots, had, about that very time, (A. D. 450) advanced into the heart of Great Britain, and to oppose whom Vortigern invited the Anglo-Saxons. (See Usher, *Ind. Chron. ad A. 450*). And hence it appears that the Scots, who bought the Irish captives, were then in Great Britain on a plundering expedition. Coroticus and his followers carried on a trade of making slaves, and bringing them to Great Britain there to dispose of them, perhaps in lieu of their own countrymen, to the Scots and Picts. What we have now observed will throw light upon the period, at which Coroticus' persecution took place; for after about the year 450, and the defeat of the Scots and Picts by the Saxons (Bede, *L. 1. c. 15.*) near Stamford, those invaders were soon obliged to relinquish their conquests and return to their own country; (Warrington, *History of Wales, p. 45.*) nor do we find the Scots and Picts again united against the Britons, whereas not long after the Picts became allied to the Saxons. (Bede *ib.*) It proves also the genuineness and antiquity of the Epistle; for no other than a contemporary could have written with an exactness so conformable to the state of those times.

(104) “ Et misi epistolam cum sancto presbytero, quem ego ex *infantia* docui, cum clericis,” &c. The word *infantia* must not be understood of what we usually call *infancy*, as it has been by Tillemont (*Mem. Tom. xvi. p. 462 and 784*), who accordingly found himself perplexed in some chronological points relative to St. Patrick, but of that age at which boys used to be dedicated to the clerical state. Thus we find the *infantes paraphonistae*, choir boys, *infantes monasterii*, the novices in monastic houses. In the statutes of the Benedictine order we read, that the *infantes* were bound to hear the rule expounded every day; which shows that they were supposed to have arrived at a certain age of discretion. (See Ducange at *Infantes*.) We are not therefore to conclude from the expression made use of by St. Patrick, that the affair of Coroticus occurred about 30 years, as Tillemont seemed to think, after his arrival in Ireland. The priest spoken of might have been 14, nay 16 years old, when the saint began to instruct him, and yet be called an *infans*. Supposing that he joined St. Patrick in the year 433, he might be entitled, about 450, to the appellation of a *holy priest*. It is not improbable that Benignus was the

person. Were it necessary, we could recur to another explanation by supposing, that said priest was one of those persons, who had accompanied our apostle to Ireland, and that he had been under his care when in the continent. The *clerici*, however, or younger ecclesiastics, whom St. Patrick sent along with the priest, were undoubtedly natives of Ireland.

(105) See above *Chap. II. §. 2.*

(106) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 34.*) was inclined to be of this opinion, and has been followed by the Bollandists.

(107) See *Chap. v. §. 5.*

(108) Albert le Grande maintains (*De Sanctis Britan. Armor.*) that the Cornubia spoken of in Fingar's Acts was Cornouaille in Britany, and informs us, that Fingar's festival is celebrated at Vannes on the 13th of December. I find in Lobineau (*Hist. de Bretagne, Tom. I. p. 13.*) a Theodoric son of Budic and Count of Cornouaille. But he lived late in the sixth century; and there appears no reason for considering him as a persecutor and tyrant, unless it should be said that his having put to death Macliau the usurper of his principality was an act of cruelty. Colgan holds that *Cornubia* was Cornwall, and adduces a very strong argument from the mention made of St. Hia and the port *Heul*. For, as Camden states (*Britan. col. 22.*) the town of St. Iies in Cornwall has got its name from Iia an Irish woman of great piety, who lived there. The river, that flows into the harbour of St. Iies, is called *Haile*, seemingly the same name as *Heul*, and by which not only the river but the harbour also was probably called, before Iia or Hia settled there. Camden does not indeed call Iia a martyr; but we are not bound to vouch for the accuracy of the acts of Fingar and his companions.

(109) The chief difficulty, that Colgan finds (*Tr. Th. p. 34*) against supposing that the account of Fingar, &c. was built on the history of Coroticus is, that the tyrant is called *Theodoric*. He says that this might have been owing to a mistake of a copyist. The name, *Theodoric*, was not unknown among the Britons. A Teudric, or Theodoric, was king of Glamorgan about the latter end of the sixth century, (*Usher, p. 562.*) But there are more serious difficulties in the way of that hypothesis, and which Colgan was not aware of, as he had not read the Epistle against Coroticus, and knew nothing about that tyrant except of his cruelty in general.

It would, however, be a useless task to endeavour to unravel that heap of fables called the *Acts of Fingar*. Who knows but they originated in some transactions, that occurred during the civil wars of Wales, Cornwall, or Britany? (*See Not. prec.*)

§. XI. To return to our apostle's progress through Ireland, it is related that, having left Munster, he arrived at Brosna (110) (King's county), and was there entertained by bishop Trian a foreigner, who lived at a place called *Craibhech*. (111) Thence he went to Hy-failge, (112) where a chieftain of the name of Failge, an obstinate pagan, formed a plan for killing St. Patrick. His determination coming to the knowledge of Odran the saint's charioteer, this faithful servant, without communicating the matter to the saint, requested permission to sit for a while in the easy part of the curricule, feigning himself greatly fatigued. The saint complying with his wish condescended to act in the mean time as driver. As they were going along, Failge advanced and, mistaking Odran for St. Patrick, transfixed him with a lance. It is added, that Failge was soon after struck dead by the Almighty. (113) Although we are not bound to receive as authentic some of the circumstances mentioned relatively to Odran's martyrdom, yet there is no reason for denying that he really lost his life for the faith of Christ. (114) Subsequent to this event we find no regular account of St. Patrick's proceedings until we meet with him again in Ulster, and in that part of it, which was the scene of his earliest exertions in Ireland, *viz.* Magh-inish, or, as now called, Lecale. (115) In this country was his favourite retreat, Sabhall, and it is very natural to think, that after his great labours in the southern parts of Ireland he had need of some repose. While in that district he met with Maccaldus, (116) a man of a most profligate life and captain of a band of robbers, who annoyed the whole country with their continual plunderings and murders. This desperado, on seeing St. Patrick walking along a road, entertained a design of

killing him, and said to his comrades; "Behold that impostor, who leads the people astray; let us try whether his god be powerful or not." Then one of them, whose name was Garvan, pretending to be sick, lay down under a cloak, and, when the saint came near them, the others said to him; "One of our party has been taken ill, pray sing over him some of your incantations, that so he may be restored to health." The saint answered, that it would not be surprising were he sick; when, on looking at him, his companions found him dead. They were so struck by this prodigy, that they cried out; "this is truly a man of God." Maccaldus was converted, and afterwards baptized. (117) Wishing to know what penance he should undergo for his crimes, St. Patrick ordered him to quit Ireland without taking any thing with him except a coarse garment, and, entrusting himself to a leathern boat, to land in the first place the wind would bring him to, and there serve God. He obeyed, and was wafted by the wind to the Isle of Man, where he was most kindly received by two holy bishops, Conindrus and Romulus, (118), who directed him in his penitential works, and with so much spiritual advantage that he succeeded them as bishop of the island and became renowned for his sanctity. (119)

(110) Jocelin (*cap.* 77.) and the third Life (*cap.* 63) have the river *Brosnach*. There is a river of that name which, flowing through the King's county, falls into the Shannon near Banagher. This river is many miles distant from the town *Brosna*, which Seward places in the barony of Clonlisk. The Tripartite does not mention a river, but seems to allude to a town or small district of that name, "*loca quae Brosnachca appellantur*". (Tripart. *L.* 3. *c.* 54.) Whether it were the town or the river, that St. Patrick arrived at, is of little consequence.

(111) Colgan in both his Topographical indexes places Craibhech in Munster, that is, in East Munster, as he observes at Trian's Acts (*AA. SS.* p 725) The reader must recollect that a part of the King's county was formerly comprized in Munster,

Colgan followed the old division of the provinces. Archdall has most unaccountably placed Croibhech or *Croebheach* in Kerry, and he adds, near the river *Brosnach*, as if said river were in Kerry. Then he mentions Trian as having been there. And, what is truly strange, he quotes Colgan for his purpose, notwithstanding his repeated statement that said place was in E. Munster or Ormond. He has also made out a monastery there, and why? Because a Daluan of Croebheach is spoken of as a disciple of St. Patrick (Tripart. L. 2. c. 12.) Hence Colgan, who wished to multiply the churches founded by St. Patrick, made (*Tr. Th. p. 271.*) him erect one for Daluan, although the Tripartite is silent on that subject; and Archdall, who was equally anxious to swell up his Monasticon, transformed that church into an abbey of St. Patrick's foundation. As to Trian, I find no mention of him except in the passages of St. Patrick's Lives already referred to, and which alone constitute what Colgan calls his Acts (*23 Mart.*). Perhaps he was the same as St. Trena of Killelga (Meath) who flourished early in the sixth century, and whom Colgan has at *22 Mart.*

(112) This district comprized, besides other tracts, a great part of the King's county.

(113) The history of Odran's martyrdom is thus given, with more or less circumstances, in the Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 56.*), the fourth Life (*cap. 57.*), and Jocelin (*cap. 73.*). The third Life (*cap. 59.*) makes no mention of the pious contrivance of Odran, but merely represents him as having been killed by Failge, or, as it calls him, *Foilge*, in the presence of St. Patrick. Only one Failge is spoken of in all those Lives, except the Tripartite which introduces two chieftans of that name in Hy-failge, one surnamed *Berraide*, whom it makes the murderer, and the other *Ros*, who is exhibited as a worthy good man, and deserving of the benediction conferred by the saint on himself and his posterity. It is plain that this second Failge was brought on the stage in compliment to some illustrious families of the Hy-falgian line, and to wipe off the shame of their being descended from a bigoted tyrant. The third Life makes the wicked Foilge the progenitor of the other Foilgi; it has (*loc. cit.*) "Invenit autem (Patricius) virum pessimum nomine *Foilge*, a quo orti sunt alii *Foilgi*; qui aurigam Patricii jugulavit coram eo in curru suo,"

(114) The name of Odran, as a martyr, occurs in some martyrologies. Colgan has his Acts (19 *February*) which are merely extracts from the Lives of St. Patrick referred to in the preceding note. He observes, that Odran is the only martyr on record, that suffered in Ireland by the hands of an Irishman. In his Chronological Index (*ad AA. SS.*) he affixes his martyrdom to A. D. 451, which comes near to the date above assigned for St. Patrick's departure from Munster, *viz*, A. D. 452. Colgan did not follow Usher as to the time, at which the saint entered Munster, and which he supposed to be the year 449. In Usher's hypothesis St. Patrick would not have left that province until A. D. 456; nor could Odran's death be placed earlier. From Odran the place called *Desert-Odran* in Hy-falgia got its name (*Tripart. L. 3. c. 98*). Colgan could give no account of its situation; but Archdall has boldly placed it in the Queen's county, as if all Hy-falgia were comprized in that district. Some writers have marked the festival or commemoration of Odran at the 27th of October; but this was the day fixed for another Odran, who died in Hy, many years later. (See *AA. SS. p. 372.*)

(115) See Chap. v. §. III.

(116) Probus (*L. 2. c. 9.*) calls him Mac-fail. In the third Life (*cap. 63.*) he is called *Maguil*. Jocelin (*cap. 151.*) has "*Magiul, qui et Machaldus.*" In the fourth Life (*cap. 81.*) he appears under the nickname of *Cyclops*.

(117) The Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 60.*) and Jocelin (*loc. cit.*) add, that all these robbers were converted. They tell us also, in which they are joined by the other Lives, that St. Patrick at their request restored Garvan to life.

(118) Probus says (*L. 2. c. 11.*) that Coindrus and Romulus were the first preachers of the Gospel in Evania, or Man; "*Qui primi docuerunt verbum Dei et baptismum in Evania, et pereos conversi sunt homines insulae ad Catholicam fidem.*" They are named in like manner in the fourth Life, (*cap. 81.*) but are not expressly stated to have been the first apostles of the island. In the Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 61.*) they are called *Conderius et Romai-lus*. Were we to believe Jocelin, (*cap. 92.*) St. Patrick himself was the apostle of Man; for he pretends that the saint on returning from an excursion to G. Britain undertook the conversion of the inhabitants of the smaller islands, particularly *Eubonia*, id est,

Mannia. But we have already seen (*Chap. iv. §. xiv.*) that St. Patrick did not make any such excursions. The Chronicle of Man, quoted by Usher (*p. 642.*), mentions as an opinion, that St. Patrick was the first that preached there the Catholic faith; “*primus fidem catholicam praedicasse fertur Mannensibus.*” (See *Chronicon Manniae*, in Johnstone’s *Atiquit. Celta Norman. p. 43.*) This opinion was perhaps founded on Jocelin’s book. The other Lives are quite silent on the subject, and give us no hint as to the propagation of Christianity in Man except on the occasion of Maccaldus, where they mention Conindrus and Romulus. The authority of Probus is certainly far superior to Jocelin’s and to the *fertur* of the Chronicle. The Tripartite, indeed, throws out a hint, that the mission of St. Patrick had some influence on the progress of the Gospel in that island; for it exhibits (*loc. cit.*) Man as having become famous, *after the arrival of St. Patrick*, by serving as a retreat for monks, &c. “*Venit autem (Maccaldus) in Manniam sive Euboniam, olim Druidum et gentilium vatum, postea, ab adventu sancti Patricii, Christi mystarum et monachorum secessu et sede nobilem claramque insulam.*” As Man was an Irish island, or, at least, inhabited by Irish people (Usher *loc. cit.* see also Nennius, *Hist. Brit. cap. 8.*) and not, as Jocelin pretends (*loc. cit.*) *then subject to Britain*, we can easily understand how pious persons fond of a sequestered life used to resort thither from Ireland. The same Tripartite immediately adds, that the bishops Conderius and Romulus were the persons who *disseminated and propagated* the faith and doctrine of Christ in that island. Had St. Patrick preached there himself, the Tripartite would not have omitted to mention it. Would it be allowable to conclude from a collation of these passages, that those two bishops had been appointed by St. Patrick? Jocelin says (*cap. 152.*) that they were, and that the saint placed them over the island after the death of its first bishop Germanus. This Germanus is not spoken of in any of St. Patrick’s Lives except Jocelin’s; nor is he mentioned in the Chronicle of Man. He was a fictitious person, introduced in consequence of the Cathedral of Man (see Camden, *col. 1447*, and Wood’s Account of the Isle of Man, *chap. 7.*) having been dedicated to a St. German, who was no other than the great German of Auxerre, and who was highly revered by the ancient Irish. Usher had seen into the mistake of sending one

Germanus from Rome along with St. Patrick, (see above *chap. iv. not. 142.*) but was so led astray by Jocelin that he admitted a Germanus disciple of St. Patrick and placed by him as bishop in Man. (*Pr. p. 643—842.*) And then, still following Jocelin, he makes St. Patrick give him as successors Conindrus and Romulus, whose accession he affixes to A. D. 474. (*Ind. Chron.*) Now not only St. Patrick was dead at that time, but according to the Tripartite, &c. those two bishops were in Man before the foundation of the see of Armagh, and therefore prior to A. D. 455. On the whole we may conclude, that there is no sufficient foundation for St. Patrick's having preached in Man; that its first bishop was not the pretended Germanus; and that, although it is not improbable that Conindrus and Romulus had received their appointment from our saint, we have no decisive testimony on that subject.

(119) Probus (*L. 2. c. 11.*) thus concludes his account of Mac-caldus, or, as he calls him, *Macfail*; "Igitur Macfail, ubi susceptus est ab eis, ad regulam eorum corpus et animum suum exercitavit, et totum vitæ tempus apud istos duos sanctos episcopos exegit, usquedum successor eorum in eodem episcopatu, Deo cooperante, fieri, promeruit. *Hic est Macfail episcopus clarus et sanctus postmodum effectus in Evonicasium civitate, cujus nos adjuvent sancta suffragia.*" Usher, having quoted (*p. 1031.*) the former part of this passage, omitted the latter here marked in Italics. He did not relish the invocation of saints. The Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 61.*) has, as a quotation from an older work; "Hic enim Maccaldus est episcopus et antistes clarus *Ard-ebnanensis, cujus nos suffragia adjuvent sancta.*" *Ard-ebnanensis* from *Ard-ebnana* the hill of *Evania* or Man. The Irish called the island *Eumhonia*, *i. e.* Eubonia, as Gildas and others have it. They called it also, *Eumhania*, or Euvania, whence came *Evania*. (*Colgan Tr. Th. p. 187.*) Prefixing the letter M, indicating fondness, the name became *Mevania*, as we find it in Orosius (See *Colgan AA. SS. p. 60.*) Camden had no right to change *Mevania* into *Menania* (*Britan. col. 1439.*) From *Mevania* came *Mannia*, now *Man*. According to the Ulster Annals Maccaldus died A. D. 488. (489.)

§. XII. Passing over some stories and anachronisms relative to St. Patrick's further proceedings in the Northern parts, I shall merely remark that he is said to have intended to erect a church in some part of the tract, now called the county of Louth, and, it seems, in or near the spot where the town of Louth is situated. (120) It would appear, that his object was to fix there a permanent see; for it is added, that he was warned by an Angel, that his peculiar church was to be more to the North at Macha, afterwards called Armagh, the place he had conceived a predilection for being intended for a holy Briton. The saint then withdrew from that spot, and retired to a hill not far distant, since called, from his name, *Ardpatrick*. There he erected a church and spent some time, but how long we are not informed. Meanwhile Mocteus, the holy Briton already announced to him, arrived in that neighbourhood and established a monastery at Louth. (121) It is thus the matter is related in the Tripartite (122) and by Jocelin; but we know from better authority, that Mocteus was a disciple of St. Patrick, (123) and, although it is very probable that he was along with the saint in Louth, he was too young at that time to be the superior of a monastery. (124) There can be, however, no doubt of his having afterwards founded and governed the church and monastery of Louth as bishop or prior, or only priest (125) and abbot, until A. D. 535, the year of his death. (126) To this period, prior to the foundation of Armagh, and consequently to 455, we should assign, according to some accounts, the appointment of St. Carthen or Mac-carthen to the see of Clogher, which, they tell us, St. Patrick had governed himself for some time. (127) If a circumstance connected with this subject be true, he could scarcely have been placed there so early; for he is represented as old and feeble at the time of his nomination to Clogher. Now it is difficult to suppose that, if he was old about A. D. 454,

he could have protracted his life until 506, the year in which he died. (128) He was undoubtedly a disciple of St. Patrick, (129) and became bishop of Clogher; but the precise time of his accession cannot be ascertained. As to the story of his having been with St. Patrick in Italy, (130) it is not worth attending to; but we may safely admit, that he accompanied the saint through various parts of Ireland; and he was probably one of those noble pupils whom St. Patrick had taken under his care, being of the illustrious house of the Arads of Dalaradia. (131) Some writers have said, that he governed the monastery of Darinis before he was placed at Clogher. That they were mistaken is evident from what is recorded of him in the Lives of St. Patrick and in the fragment of his Acts published by Colgan; whereas in these documents he is exhibited as having constantly attended St. Patrick, until, wishing for repose and a resting place, the saint appointed him to Clogher. (132) That he was worthy of his appointment appears from the great veneration, in which his memory has been held ever since. (133)

(120) Tripart. *L. 3. c. 65. seqq.* Usher relates his having heard from the inhabitants of Louth, that St. Patrick had lived there for some time (Pr. p. 854.) Not only Jocelyn, whom he refers to, but also the Tripartite is favourable to this traditionary assertion.

(121) Archdall in direct opposition not only to the Tripartite but to Jocelin (*cap. 134.*) makes St. Patrick himself the founder of the monastery of Louth. He mistook what they say of the saint having, on quitting that country, given up the church, &c. of Ardpatrick to Mocteus for a grant to him of that of Louth itself. This account of the addition of the premises of Ardpatrick to the house of Louth smells too much of the times, when new possessions were bestowed on monasteries.

(122) *L. 3. c. 67.*

(123) Adamnan in his second preface to the Life of St. Columba says of him; "Proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, sancti Patricii episcopi *discipulus* Moctheus nomine." In some editions

of Adamnan for *Mochtheus* we find *Maveteus*; Colgan's edition has *Mauctaneus*; but Usher's MS. had *Mochtheus*. The annals of Ulster likewise call him a disciple of St. Patrick. (See more *ap.* Usher, *p.* 855.)

(124) Colgan has Mochtheus at 24 *Mart.* (*AA. SS.*) He lived to a great age, and is therefore usually styled *longævus*. Some story tellers, and among others Jocelin (*cap.* 135.) thence inferred that he lived 300 years. Colgan (*Notes to Acts*) rejects this nonsense and quotes an Irish distich, whence we may conclude that his age did not exceed one hundred. This was certainly an age sufficient to entitle him to the epithet of *longævus*, but not to make us admit that he had erected the monastery of Louth before the foundation of Armagh, that is, at the latest, A. D. 454, at which time he could not have been more than 19 years old, as his death occurred in 535.

(125) An Epistle attributed to him was headed with these words; Mauchteus peccator *presbyter*, sancti Patricii discipulus, in Domino salutem." The Tripartite (*L. 3. c.* 98.) calls him *St. Patrick's arch-priest*, *archi-presbyter*, and in the book of Sligo, quoted by Usher he is styled simply *sacerdos*. Yet the Calendar of Cashel and the Donegal Martyrology speak of him as a bishop, and are followed by the Four Masters and Colgan (*Acts at 24 Mart.*). Ware also (*Writers*) mentions him by that title. If he ever were a bishop, it must have been after his Epistle was written. Would not Adamnan have given him that title, if it had belonged to him? His successors at Louth are called *abbots*, in the Irish Annals, until the 9th century, at which period bishops appear among them. (See Archdall at *Louth*). As to certain works attributed to him, and his having been confounded with Bachiarius. See Ware and Harris (*Writers*) and Colgan *lococit.*

(126) Annals of Ulster, Usher *p.* 855.

(127) Jocelin *cap.* 143. The Tripartite makes mention of this appointment *L. 3. c.* 3. while it does not treat of the foundation of Armagh until many chapters lower down. But there seems to be an anachronism in the order of the narrative; for it gives some hints that the see of Armagh then existed. It has nothing about Clogher having been specially governed by St. Patrick.

(128) Usher, *p.* 856 and *Ind. Chron.*

(129) Tirechan's hist. in which he is called Carthen. See not. 14. and Tr. Th. p. 268.

(130) See Usher, p. 856.

(131) Usher, *ib.* Colgan says (*AA. SS. 24. Mart. p. 737.*) that he was of the very ancient family of Eochad son of Mured, which seems to have been a branch of the sept of the Arads.

(132) The story about Maccarthen having governed Darinis originated, I believe, with the Scholiast of Marian Gorman, who had, through mistake, given him, in his Calender, the surname of *Ferdachrioch*, that is, *the man of two countries or places*, a title which, as will be seen elsewhere, belonged not to Maccarthen, but to his successor Tigernach. The Scholiast, wishing to show how that surname was applicable to Maccarthen, introduced Darinis. In one or other of the places so called there might have been a Maccarthen, but not the one of Clogher. The other Irish martyrologies and calendars, when treating of Maccarthen, do not mention Darinis. Instead of its being certain, as Harris pretends (*Bishops, p. 176.*) that he had been abbot there, it is certain that he had not. The founder of the abbey of Darinis, now Molana (Co. Waterford) was St. Molanfide. Archdall has jumbled the matter most egregiously; after stating (at *Molana*) that it was founded by St. Molanfide in the sixth century, he adds, that "the abbot Ferdachrioch, who had *taken the name of Macarten*, and was consecrated bishop of Clogher, died A. D. 506." How could Maccarthen have been abbot of a monastery founded and already governed by another person in the sixth century, and having afterwards governed the see of Clogher, die so early in that very century as 506? Another pretty mistake is his making *Ferdachrioch* the original name, and *Macartin* or *Maccarthen* the surname. There was also a Darinis near Wexford, of which we find a St. Neman abbot in the seventh century (*AA. SS. at 8 Mart.*). To return to the Scholiast, what could have induced him, when looking for a second place for Maccarthen, to go so far from Clogher down to Munster, or to the South of Leinster? I scarcely entertain a doubt that he wrote not *Darinis* but *Damhinis*, now Devonish in Lougherne and in the diocese of Clogher. Yet this celebrated monastery could not have been governed by St. Maccarthen, not having been founded

until several years after his death by St. Laisre, *alias* Molaisse. (See Usher *p.* 962.)

(133) Only a part of his Acts fell into Colgan's hands, although Harris in his usual loose manner says (*Bishops*, *p.* 177.) that he published Maccarthen's *Life at large*. Usher seems to have had an entire *Life*, (see *p.* 856) which Colgan thinks was different from that whence his fragment was taken.

§. XIII. The time being now come for erecting a metropolitcal see, St. Patrick departed from the district of Louth, after having probably spent about two years in that country and in some adjoining parts of Ulster. (134) He then went to the district of Macha, (135) where he was well received by Daire, a wealthy and much respected man, who made him a grant of a pleasant spot of ground on an eminence, called *Druim-sailech* or *Ardsailech*, that is, *hill of sallows*, (136) to build a church, &c. upon it. This high ground is that, on which the city of *Ardmacha*, or Armagh, rose by degrees, and where the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland was established. (137) St. Patrick erected a church there, together with, as we may safely conclude, an adjoining cloister for his clerical companions, which, considering the discipline and practices he had been accustomed to, might be called a monastery; (138) and it is very probable, that a habitation was provided in the neighbourhood for the pious women and virgins, who had placed themselves under his direction. (139) These were, at that period of the Irish church, as much as could be expected with regard to ecclesiastical establishments at Armagh, without recurring to certain stories concerning a number of churches, monasteries, and other buildings raised there by St. Patrick. (140) The time of this foundation has been very much contested, and of the various opinions concerning it there is not one, that is not liable to some objections. Usher and his followers, who affix it to A. D. 445, (141) are forced to lay down, that St. Patrick founded

Armagh before he had preached to at least one half of the people of Ireland, and prior to his mission to Leinster and afterwards to Munster. (142) Now, besides its being natural to suppose, that he would not have set about establishing a metropolitical see for all Ireland, until he had visited its various provinces and, observing the progress of the Gospel in each of them, arranged their ecclesiastical concerns, the whole series of his proceedings, as given in the Tripartite, and in which the chain of events is on the whole tolerably consistent, leads us to agree with it in placing the foundation of Armagh at least two or three years after St. Patrick's return from Munster, (143) and consequently about A. D. 455. The Bollandists have assigned it (144) to the year 454 ; but, if we are to follow the clue given us by Tirechan, (145) Colgan and Ware, may be equally correct in placing it in 455. Following a similar clue offered by others, whose authority, however, is not equal to that of Tirechan, we may affix it to A. D. 457 or 458. (146) Between these jarring computations I do not pretend to decide which is the most accurate. I think, indeed, that Usher's hypothesis is totally inadmissible; and as to the other computations, not only the testimony of Tirechan, but other circumstances, which will be soon touched upon, incline me to assign the foundation of that see to either an early part of the year 455 or a late one of 454.

(134) Usher, following his system of placing the foundation of Armagh A. D. 445, brings St. Patrick to Louth in 443, (Ind. Chron.) Upon a similar principle I think 453 preferable. The saint departed from Munster in the year 452. For his progress towards Ulster and his delay in Maghlinis, &c. (sec. §. 11.) we may allow at least a year. This computation will answer for the supposition that his visit to some other parts of that province and to Louth commenced some time in 453.

(135) Macha seems to have been but a small territory. In it, however, was the royal city of Emania, the residence of the kings

of Ulster, which we find called by Irish writers *Emhain-Macha*. (See O'Donnel's *Life of St. Columba*, L. 1. c. 84). It was near where Armagh now stands, and according to O'Donnel (*loc. cit.*) still existed it St. Columba's time. It is mentioned in Fiech's hymn (*stroph.* 22.) but not as a royal residence; for it is said that "in Armagh is the seat of royalty;" and there is added, according to Lynch's translation; "Long has been the prerogative of Emania." The growth of Armagh contributed to its downfall. Colgan writes of its noble ruins (*Tr. Th.* p. 6.); "Emania prope Ardmacham, nunc fossis latis, vestigiis murorum eminentibus, et ruderibus pristinum redolens splendorem."

(136) Usher (*Pr.* p. 857, and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 445) and Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 289.) call it *Salicetum*. For, besides Jocelin, who has (*cap.* 163) *Druimsaileach*, Probus (*L.* 2. c. 3.) called it the high ground "quae nominatur *Sailech*," and in the third Life (*cap.* 82.) we find *Drumsaileth*. In these Lives as also in the Tripartite (*L.* 3. c. 68.) we are told that Daire at first refused the hill to St. Patrick, and gave him, instead of it, a place in the low ground, called, in some of them, *Fearta* (see Usher, p. 851); but that, being strongly affected by certain circumstances that occurred, he afterwards granted it to him.

(137) Probus (*L.* 3. c. 7.) writes; "Accepit ergo ab eo (Daire) S. Patricius praedium optatum et placitum sibi, et aedificavit in eo monasteria et habitationes religiosorum virorum; in quo loco jam civitas est *Ardmach* nominata est *sedes ut episcopatus et regiminis est Hiberniae*." *Ardmacha* signifies the hill of Macha, that is of the district so called, and not *high field*, as Ware and Harris have explained it. This is a more pardonable mistake than that of Seward, who (at *Armagh*) says, that its cathedral was called *Druim-sailec*. He ought to have known, that this was the name of the place, before a church was ever erected there.

(138) See *Chap.* iv. §. 9.

(139) In Usher's Tripartite (*Pr.* p. 858) it is said, that St. Lupita (see *Chap.* III. §. 18) was buried at *Fearta* (Not. 136.) while others place her remains at Armagh. But, as that place is very near the town, this difference can be easily reconciled. There was a church there, called *Temple na fearta*, and, according to Harris (*Monasteries*) a nunnery founded by St. Patrick. (See also Archdall at *Temple-fartagh*.)

(140) Jocelin (*cap.* 165.) represents St. Patrick as having built there a noble city, &c. &c. Strange that Usher has copied this stuff (*p.* 358). As to Harris, who has it also, he put into English whatever he could pick out of Usher's Latin. Probus mentions only religious houses as erected by St. Patrick (See *Not.* 137.) The Tripartite is still more moderate (*L. 3. c.* 78.) as it gives no account of any edifices at Armagh except of the church and the necessary habitations and out-offices for the clergy.

(141) The Annals of Ulster quoted by Usher, (*p.* 854.) are his authority on this subject. They have; "Anno Domini 444 (445) Ardmacha fundata est." He also observed that in the same annals the death of Iarlath, the third Archbishop of Armagh, is assigned to the year 482. Then he compares (*p.* 875.) this date with a catalogue of the prelates of that see, which was said to have been taken from the Psalter of Cashel, and which Colgan has published more at large (*Tr. Th. p.* 292.). In that catalogue eighteen years are reckoned for the administration of Iarlath, which Usher ingeniously stretches to the year 483, so as to place Iarlath's accession in 465. To Benignus the immediate predecessor of Iarlath are given 10 years, and thus Usher goes back to A. D. 455. Benignus is placed after Sen-Patrick, who also, according to said catalogue, governed for ten years, and thus we are brought to A. D. 445, the alleged year of the foundation of Armagh. All this might do very well, did not the catalogue mention Secundinus as predecessor of Sen-Patrick and holding the see for 15 years, or, as one of Usher's copies had it, six years (Colgan's edition has 16), and again prior to Secundinus St. Patrick himself. Now, if we should stand by this catalogue, it would follow that the see of Armagh existed more than 15 or 16 years before A. D. 445, and therefore prior to St. Patrick's mission, or, at least, more than six years before that time. Usher, to get rid of these difficulties, maintains that neither Secundinus nor Sen-Patrick (a personage, whose existence he otherwise admitted) were ever bishops of Armagh, and that the immediate predecessor of Benignus was the great St. Patrick himself. I agree with him as to Secundinus (see §. 4-9.); and also as to Sen-Patrick, not for the purpose of propping any hypothesis, but because there was no such person distinct from our apostle, although some writers have imagined there was. But of this more

below. What then becomes of the authority of that catalogue? If, as Usher is forced to acknowledge, it is wrong from its very beginning, how can we depend on its computation of the years of Benignus, &c.? And it must be recollected, that in said catalogue there is no reference to the years of the Christian era. Now we may be allowed to suppose, that the compilers of the Annals, called of *Ulster*, Charles Maguire and Roderick Cassidy (see Colgan *AA. SS.* p. 5. Nicholson *Ir. Hist. Libr.* and Harris's *Writers*) were induced by some such inaccurate catalogues, or perhaps corrupt copies of them, to affix, when connecting old computations with the years of our Lord, the foundation of Armagh to the year 445. Colgan says, (*Tr. Th.* p. 291.) that this is the most probable date, and adduces in favour of it a most extraordinary argument, *viz.* that it is the only one, which will leave room for the incumbencies at Armagh of Secundinus and Sen-Patrick. He proposes this argument just after having quoted Usher, who, as we have seen, rejects those two persons out of the list of Armagh, because, in the hypothesis of that being the true date, there was no room for them; and yet Colgan thought, that, to provide a place for them it ought to be received. The good man might have easily discovered, that, were we to admit, with the above catalogue, those persons as bishops of Armagh, the see should have been founded several years before *A. D.* 445.

(142) Usher, *Ind. Chron. ad A. D.* 448-449. Harris, having copied from Usher what he has about the foundation of Armagh in 445, chanced to see into this difficulty, and accordingly represents (*Bishops* p. 19.) Armagh, although founded, not as yet endowed with the metropolitical rights; for, he says, "it was not yet in St. Patrick's power to accomplish this; because the greatest part of Leinster and Munster had not been at this time reclaimed from paganism." This is a silly evasion, and in direct opposition to the statement generally given in the Lives; *viz.* that St. Patrick went to Macha for the express purpose of establishing his see there, and that, as soon as the church, &c. was erected, Armagh became immediately the metropolitan see of all Ireland. Giraldus Cambrensis has expressed it very perspicuously in a few words; "*Baptizatis catervatim populis, et tota jam insula ad fidem Christi conversa, apud Ardmacham sibi sedem elegit; quam etiam quasi metropolim constituit, et proprium totius Hiberniae primatiae*

locum." (See more *ap.* Usher, *p.* 859.) Harris would not have been reduced to the necessity of resorting to that quibble, if he had put off this foundation until after St. Patrick's return from Munster.

(143) It may be worth observing, that even in Jocelin, and the 3d and 4th Lives, St. Patrick's preaching in Munster is treated of many chapters before mention is made of the foundation of Armagh, which is not spoken of until towards the end of each of those works.

(144) *Comment. Praev. ad Vit. S. P. &c. §. 5.*

(145) Tirechan, quoted by Usher (*p.* 854) says, that the church of Trim was built the *twenty-second* year before the foundation of that of Armagh. The year in which he supposed that Trim church was erected, was 433 (see *chap. v. not. 35*); and consequently, according to him, Armagh was founded either in 454 or 455. Now, although we are not bound to believe all that Tirechan and others have concerning Trim, we may safely believe that he knew something as to the time that Armagh was founded, and that his reason for specifying the 22d year, prior to it, was that this date corresponded with A. D. 433. Hence Colgan has (*Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.*); "A. 455, Ardmacha extracta, et in sedem totius regni metropolitanam erecta per S. Patricium secundum S. Tirechanum." This computation is also that of Ware (*Bishops at St. Patrick*); nor is the number, 455, mentioned by him, a typographical error, as Harris pretends; for, were it so, it would have been marked in the *Errata*, it being an error too important to be overlooked. I allow that on the point now under discussion Ware is rather obscure; he states that Armagh was founded A. D. 455, and governed for ten years by St. Patrick, until Benignus became bishop, who in 465, that is, in the very year of his appointment, as the English translator has it, resigned the see to Iarlath. Although I do not agree with Ware as to the latter assertion, yet there is no necessity for recurring to any typographical error. Harris might with more plausibility have appealed to Ware himself in other parts of his works. For in the *Antiquities (cap. 29.)* and *Annotat. ad S. P. Opusc. (p. 141.)* he has A. 445, following the Ulster Annals and Usher. But these tracts were published some years before the general work on *Bishops*, which did not appear until the year 1665, whereas the *Antiquities* came out in 1654 and the *Annotations* in

1656. Ware, on more diligent inquiry, changed his opinion between that year and 1665.

(146) The Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 2.*) places the church of Trim 25 years before that of Armagh; Jocelin (*cap. 52.*) has the 25th year. The former would bring the foundation of Armagh down to *A. D.* 458 (See *not. prec.*); the latter to either 457 or 458. The Annals called *Cluanenses* (see Colgan *AA. SS. p. 5.*) place it about *A. D.* 457 (*ib. p. 503.*); and the 4 Masters, (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 290*) have the year 457, (458). O'Flaherty, in a manuscript addition to *Tr. Th. p. 318*, gives an extract from an unpublished work of his, entitled *Ogygia Christiana*, in which, treating of the foundation of Armagh and of the succession in that see, he writes; "Ardmacha metropolis *A.* 458, a S. Patricio fundata est; et S. Benignus ab eo sibi substitutus immediatus successor" With regard to the latter statement we shall see lower down; but as to the year 458, I dare say O'Flaherty's chief authority was that of the 4 Masters.

CHAPTER VII.

St. Patrick spends the remainder of his life in Ulster—Not different from Patrick senior or Sen-Patrick—Of the synods attributed to him—Of the bishops stationed in Ireland during the latter days of St. Patrick—Of the tract called his Confession—Place and time of his death—Celebration of his obsequies—Some observations on Patrick's Purgatory—Of certain treatises, which have been ascribed to St. Patrick.

SECT. I.

ST. PATRICK having thus established the see of Armagh, spent the remainder of his life between it and his favourite retreat of Sabhul or Saul. He may indeed have made excursions to some of the districts adjacent to both places; but we do not find

any account, at least that can be depended upon, of his having thenceforth visited again the other provinces of Ireland, or undertaken any long journey. For we are not to listen to Jocelin, who, alluding to the practice of his own times, tells us that our Apostle having fixed the metropolitical chair in Armagh, and brought over the *whole island* (1) to Christ, set out for Rome with the intention of getting the privileges of the new metropolis confirmed by the Holy See, and of procuring relics; and that, when arrived there, the Pope granted him every thing he wished for, decorated him with the pallium, and appointed him his Legate in Ireland. (2) This pretended tour to Rome, and the concomitant circumstances, are all set aside by the testimony of St. Patrick himself, who, as has been already observed, (3) gives us most clearly to understand that from the commencement of his mission he constantly remained in Ireland until he published his Confession, which was not written until after the foundation of Armagh; and that he did not leave it afterwards is equally plain from his telling us, that he was afraid to be out of Ireland even for as much time as would serve for paying a visit to his relatives, because in that case he would be guilty in the sight of God, and would disobey the orders of Christ our Lord, who had commanded him to come among the Irish and to stay with them for the *remainder of his life*. (4) In like manner fall to the ground some other fables, which Jocelin adds on this occasion, such as St. Patrick having, when returning from Rome, founded many monasteries in Britain, and filled them with monks, and his having brought thirty foreign bishops with him to Ireland. (5) A singular fact is related as having occurred about the time of building the church of Armagh, which shows how strictly the fasting rules were observed by the ancient Irish. One of St. Patrick's disciples, named Colman, having been one day greatly fatigued by getting in the harvest, became exceedingly thirsty,

but, for fear of breaking through the regulation of fasting until vesper time, would not taste even a drop of water. (6) The consequence was that, before the regular hour for taking nourishment came on, he died. Had the saint been apprized of the danger Colman was in, he would certainly have dispensed with his not observing the rules on that occasion. Colman was buried near the cross fronting the new church of Armagh, and was the first, whose remains were deposited in that burying ground.

(1) From these words it is plain that Jocelin supposed, that St. Patrick had, as stated in the preceding chapter, preached throughout all Ireland before he founded Armagh. (Compare with *ib. Not.* 142.)

(2) *Jocel. cap.* 166. There is not a word of all this in the other Lives of St. Patrick except in the Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 81 seqq.*) which, however, makes no mention of his applying for a confirmation of his metropolis, his obtaining the pallium, &c. and merely exhibits the saint as proceeding to Rome in a miraculous manner, and there getting for his church of Armagh a great quantity of relics, concerning which it has some ridiculous fables not worth animadversion. This story was patched up to give a degree of lustre and dignity to the relics, which in later times used to be shown publicly at Armagh. Jocelin, having got hold of it, took care to add a good deal of his own invention to it. But owing to his ignorance of the ancient discipline of the Church, his additions are of a very clumsy sort. St. Patrick having been already invested with full powers, such as those that Palladius had enjoyed for propagating the Gospel and establishing the means necessary for preserving the Christian faith in Ireland, was not under any necessity of applying to Rome for a confirmation of the privileges annexed to the see, which he had chosen for himself. His right of appointing a metropolis flowed from the extensive nature of his mission, as he had been sent not to a part of Ireland but to the whole island, and there being no other bishop in the country when he arrived there, was, in fact, originally no bishop of *all Ireland*. And to this he alludes in his Epistle against Coroticus, where he says, “*Hiberione constitutum epis-*

copum me esse fateor." The bishops whom in process of time he appointed to various sees, having derived their authority from him, became, *ipso facto*, his suffragans; and according to the usual practice of all countries, these new bishops, and others afterwards appointed in whatsoever part of Ireland, continued suffragans and subject to St. Patrick's successors in Armagh, in the same manner as the primacy of St. Peter has descended to his successors in the see of Rome. St. Bernard's testimony concerning the extent of the jurisdiction of Armagh over all Ireland leaves not a shadow of doubt on this subject. In Jocelin's days a *special* confirmation by the Holy see was requisite for the establishing a metropolis, but this was not always the case in more ancient times. (See *Fleury Instit. in Dr. Eccl. part. 1. ch. 15.*) Nor is there in the other Lives of St. Patrick the least allusion to an application as made by him for the confirmation of Armagh. On the contrary the Tripartite (*loc. cit.*) tells us that, *before* he set out for Rome in search of relics, he entrusted Secundinus with the care of the *archbishopric of Armagh and the primacy of Ireland*; thus supposing it to have been already fully established. There have been many opinions concerning the origin of metropolitical sees, which the reader will find some account of in Bingham's *Origines, &c.* (*Book II. ch. 16.*); but in the case of Armagh we have an argument directly opposite to those, who have pretended that the metropolitical rights of cities in the ecclesiastical system were founded on similar rights as to their civic or temporal dignity. The truth is, that according to the most ancient usages the primatial and metropolitical privileges were derived from the founders of sees, whether the places were great or small. The patriarchal rights of Alexandria descended from St. Mark; the primatial of Rome from St. Peter, the metropolitical of Armagh, where there was not even a house before, from St. Patrick. As to what Jocelin says of the Pallium, it is sufficient to observe, that no such ornament, as granted to archbishops or bishops, was used in the Western church until the sixth century. (*Fleury, ib. ch. 14.*) And as to the legatine authority, such as understood by Jocelin, St. Patrick had no occasion for it. (See *Chap. II. §. 13.*) But on these subjects more elsewhere.

(3) *Chap. iv. §. 14.*

(4) *Confess. p. 17.* It is strange that the Bollandists, who had

examined the Confession with some care so as to comment on and publish it, have admitted this pretended journey of St. Patrick to Rome. They might have observed that, had it taken place, it would have been mentioned in some of the Roman or other documents of the day. Their assigning it to A. D. 455 or 456, consistently with their placing the foundation of Armagh in 454, would bring it within the pontificate of Leo the great. Now it is scarcely credible, that the appearance at Rome of such a great saint as St. Patrick, announcing the conversion of a whole nation, could have been overlooked in the splendid and enlightened times of that Pope, whose transactions, as well as those of the persons with whom he had intercourse, have been so minutely recorded. Usher affixes that journey to A. D. 462, thus widely departing from his former computations; for, having assigned the foundation of Armagh to A. D. 445, he should, consonantly with Jocelin, his chief authority, have placed that journey very soon after, and accordingly not later than 446 or 447. But another story of this same Jocelin, who has done so much injury to our church history, led Usher astray on this point. Jocelin says (*cap.* 167) that St. David was in his mother's womb, when St. Patrick was in Great Britain on his return from Rome. Now Usher imagined that St. David was born in 462, and therefore he assigned (*Pr. p.* 870) the Roman tour to that year. What others have said about it, I will not inquire; for why dispute about non-entities?

(5) Jocelin *cap.* 167. 168. Usher has copied (*p.* 870. 872) this stuff; and Harris, as usual, follows in his train. Those would have been strange times for St. Patrick to travel through Britain and to found monasteries there, while the inhabitants were struggling for existence against the Saxons. Jocelin has already brought (*cap.* 92) thirty British bishops to Ireland. Thus between British and other foreign prelates we got sixty, a good round number for such a small country, exclusive of natives.

(6) It is well known that very many Christians in former times abstained, on fast days, until the time allowed for refection, not only from every nutritive substance but even from the lightest and simplest sort of drink. In the Life of the abbot Silvanus of Mount Sinai it is related that, as he and his disciple Zachary were travelling one day, the latter wished to drink of some water, which

he found on the way, when the abbot stopped him saying, "My child, this a fast day." (*Tillemont. Mem. &c. Tom. x. p. 451.*)

(7) *Tripart. L. 3. c. 77. Jocelin cap. 165. Colgan, AA. SS. ad 4 Mast.*

§. II. It has been said, that St. Patrick soon after the foundation of Armagh resigned the see to Benignus; (8) but neither do I find any sufficient authority for this assertion, nor does it agree with what we read in the more consistent accounts of those times, viz. that Benignus did not become bishop of Armagh until after St. Patrick's death. I should rather call it a conjecture than an assertion; whereas I dare say it stands on no better basis than a supposition, that the accession of Benignus took place in the year 458, which was thought to be that, in which the see was established. (9) It is impossible to reconcile the jarring dates and opinions that occur with regard to these subjects, and the only safe method we can pursue is to follow the thread of the history without altering it in compliment to chronological hypotheses. Nor can it be doubted that St. Patrick governed Armagh in person for some years. (10) Could it be proved that Benignus became archbishop in the year 458, it would follow, either that St. Patrick, having governed the see since 454 or 455, then appointed him administrator of it, or that he died in said year and was immediately succeeded by Benignus. As to the former supposition, we have no authority for it, nor is Benignus ever mentioned as a coadjutor or suffragan in that see. (11) For the latter there is certainly some foundation; whereas, besides Giraldus Cambrensis, who expressly states that St. Patrick died A. D. 458, Nennius, according as some writers have understood him, gives the same date by telling us, that sixty years elapsed from St. Patrick's death until that of St. Brigid. We must, however, observe that Nennius' computations will bring us rather to the year 465. (12) Yet, what

may appear of more weight than the authority of Cambrensis, some of our own Annals give a hint at the same date by laying down, that Sen-Patrick died in 458. (13) For, although their authors or, at least some of them, distinguished that person from the great St. Patrick, but as contemporary with him, yet in reality they were one and the same. Under the name of *Sen-Patrick* they understood an elder Patrick, *Patricius senior*, whom they supposed to be different from the Apostle. Now there is not mentioned in any of the Lives of St. Patrick (14) any such person as distinct from him; but we find the title of *senex* given to the saint himself at the part of his history relative to his latter days. (15) This epithet being applied to him, when he was really old, contributed in part to lead astray some of the writers of our Calendars, and compilers of Annals, as if there had been a Patrick older than the saint, and hence arose the confusion in that catalogue of the archbishops of Armagh, which has, besides St. Patrick, a namesake of his surnamed *senior*. (16) But this subject has been principally obscured by the fables concerning Glastonbury, as it was pretended not only that our Apostle was buried in that place, but that he had been abbot of that monastery, and even a deed was forged in his name relative to its supposed antiquities and privileges. (17) The Irish writers finding themselves puzzled by those Glastonbury stories, and unwilling to allow the Glastonians the honour of having among them the remains of St. Patrick, endeavoured to compromise the matter by giving them, instead of our Apostle, Sen-Patrick or Patrick senior. (18) This, however, was not what those monks wished for. They insisted on having a right to the great St. Patrick, and him alone they understood by the name of Patrick *senior*. (19) Nor is it improbable that this addition of *senior* was owing chiefly to those pretensions of the Glastonians; for, as there were in the course of ages several distinguish-

ed persons called *Patrick*, one of whom is particularly mentioned as having retired to Glastonbury in the ninth century, (20) the monks were not content with the honour of having had in their house a Patrick of a late period, but maintained that their Patrick was the most ancient one, the *Patrick senior*, the apostle of Ireland. Our writers thus pressed admitted a *Patrick senior* at Glastonbury, but took care to distinguish him from the apostle, while their condescension went so far as to allow that he was contemporary with him.

I should not have dwelt upon this subject of *Patrick senior*, had not even Usher, and, after him, Ware, Colgan, and many others (21) admitted the existence of such a person as distinct from St. Patrick. Usher complains more than once that he has been confounded with the apostle, and indeed some of his hypotheses, particularly that of assigning the saint's death to A. D. 493, required that they should be considered as distinct persons. The truth, however, is that they ought not to be distinguished; and accordingly when we find the year 458 mentioned as that of *Patrick senior's* death, we have a right to conclude that in some of our documents said year was laid down as the last of our apostle, just as it was understood by *Cam-brensis*. But, as will be seen lower down, there are very good reasons for believing, that he died seven years later.

(8) See *Not.* 146 to *Chap.* vi.

(9) The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 293) place the foundation of Armagh in the year 457 (458); then they assign the death of Benignus to 467 (468). Now as Benignus had been supposed to have governed that see for ten years (*Not.* 141 to *Chap.* vi.) it would follow in that case that his accession took place A. D. 458. Hence it was concluded that St. Patrick gave up the see, when established, to Benignus. What then will become of the ten years, which the catalogue referred to (*ib.*) allows for *Sen-Patrick*, or rather for the real St. Patrick?

(10) The words of St. Bernard (*Vita S. Mal. cap. 7*), “in qua (Ardmacha) et vivus *praefuit*,” cannot be understood of his having merely founded the see. What we read in the Lives about his having proceeded to Macha for the purpose of there forming a permanent residence for himself (see *chap. vi. §. 12.*) proves the general belief that he had governed Armagh for no very inconsiderable time. Add to this, that Benignus is constantly called his successor, and not merely in the see, but, as will be seen lower down, in the primacy over Ireland; and in such a manner as plainly to indicate that he succeeded St. Patrick after his death. The Tripartite, (*L. 3. c. 72*) mentions Benignus as rather a young man and still a disciple at a time when St. Patrick presided at Armagh.

(11) The only person spoken of as administrator of Armagh during St. Patrick’s life time is Secundinus, who is represented as such in the Tripartite (*L. 3. cap. 81.*) during St. Patrick’s pretended absence at Rome. This is a mistake; first, because there was no such absence; and, secondly, because Secundinus was dead since A. D. 448. (see *Chap. vi. §. 9*) and therefore, some years (ten according to the Tripartite itself) before that see was founded. Upon this mistake, was built the introduction of Secundinus into the catalogue of the prelates of Armagh (*Not. 141 to Chap. vi.*) and the calculation of the Bollandists, who assign the death of Secundinus to A. D. 459. He had acted however as vicar and suffragan of St. Patrick elsewhere, and during a real absence of his from certain parts of Ireland. (See *Chap. vi. §. 4.*) But Benignus is never mentioned in our old documents as an administrator of Armagh but as *successor* there of St. Patrick.

(12) Nennius writes (*Hist. Briton. cap. xi.*) “A morte Patricii usque ad obitum Sanctae Brigidae 60 anni sunt.” Usher observes (*p. 883.*) that, following the chronology of Sigebert, who places the death of St. Brigid in the year 518, this computation would bring back the death of St. Patrick to 458. Was Usher certain, that Nennius supposed the death of St. Brigid to have been in that year? I believe Nennius thought it was later, as it surely was. For he adds: “A nativitate Columkillae usque ad obitum Sanctae Brigidae 4 sunt anni.” Now Columkill was not born before the year 520, as will be proved elsewhere; and St. Brigid’s death is in the Ulster Annals assigned to 524, while in some other documents it is placed in 525. (See Usher *p. 884.*) The year, that has

the best claim to the birth of Columba, seems to be 521 ; if we admit that this was known to Nennius, which he might have collected from Adamnan and Bede, it will follow that he placed St. Brigid's death in 525, from which deducting the sixty years back to St. Patrick, we have, according to him, our Apostle's exit in the year 465.

(13) The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 293*) place the death of Sen-Patrick at A. D. 457, that is, 458. They followed the Annals of Ulster, which have these remarkable words at said year, "Quies Senis Patricii, ut *alii libri* dicunt. What can the *alii libri* refer to except the time of St. Patrick's death being marked in some books differently from the vulgar opinion that prevailed in the days of the compilers, *viz.* that he died in the year 493 ? It may be, however, that an allusion is here made to the date laid down, (A. D. 454) in the Annals of Connaught for the death of the old Patrick, *Sen-Patrick, senis Patricii episcopi Glosoniensis (Glastonbury) ecclesiae.*" See Usher *p. 895*.

(14) It is true that Fiech's Scholiast has Patrick *senex* or *senior* as distinct from the apostle. But his blundering scholia cannot be called a Life of the saint. He introduces him on occasion of striving to explain a very obscure passage of Fiech's hymn (*Stroph. 33.*), in which it is said that when St. Patrick died, he proceeded to another Patrick, and that their souls went together to heaven. What this means will be inquired into hereafter. The Scholiast says, that the *other* Patrick was Patrick *senior*, whose remains are at Glastonbury of the Irish (*Glastenberiae Hibernorum*) and that the soul of St. Patrick waited for him from the 17th of March until the latter end of August, at which time the latter died, that they might go to heaven together. This nonsense, which Colgan rejects with indignation, while it shows what little dependence is to be placed on the Scholiast, proves that he supposed his two Patricks to have died in the same year.

(15) The Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 86.*) mentioning a circumstance that occurred after the foundation of Armagh, of a pair of horses bestowed by St. Patrick to Fiech of Sletty, calls him the holy *old Patrick* : "duos equos curriles, qui sancti *Senis Patricii* currum," &c. From the whole context it is evident, that the Patrick here spoken of was St. Patrick himself. (Compare with Jocelin, *cap. 116.*)

(16) See *Chap. vi. Not. 141.*

(17) This deed is in Wm. of Malmesbury's tract, *De Antiquitate Eccl. Glaston.* in Gale's xv. *Scriptores*, and has been published among the *Opusc. S. Patricii* by Ware, and in the *Monasticon Anglic. Tom. 1. p. 11.* It is entitled *Charta S. Patricii*, or *Epistola de antiquitate Avalonica*, from the old name of the island *Avalonia* (Somersetshire) in which that monastery was situated. Ware has ably exposed (*Annotat. p. 131. seqq.*) the absurdities of that spurious document; and Usher, who has written most learnedly on the Antiquities of Glastonbury (*Pr. p. 104 to 125*), observes (*p. 116*) that it was never heard of until after the arrival of the Normans. Yet the other stories as to St. Patrick having been at that place had been circulated earlier, and their origin can be easily accounted for. The first establishment of Glastonbury was founded, if not entirely, at least chiefly by religious men from Ireland, who, as Cambden states (*col. 79 Gibson's ed.*) held schools there of religion and learning and were maintained at the royal expense. Hence it was called *Glastonbury of the Irish* (See *Not. 14.*) The memory of St. Patrick could not but be greatly revered by the Irish settled there; and we find that the old church, that existed before the reign of king Ina, was called the *church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of St. Patrick* (see *Chap. II. Not. 53*). From these circumstances it was no difficult matter to deduce, in the ninth or tenth century, that St. Patrick had been there in person, and thence flowed all the other stories. That first establishment, however, could not have been formed as early as the time of St. Patrick, whereas it could not have been prior to the conversion of the Irish nation, and considering all circumstances, was subsequent to, at least, the partial conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, which did not take place until about the beginning of the seventh century. The princes, who encouraged the religious teachers at Glastonbury, were of that nation, and in that century numbers of holy and learned men went from Ireland to Britain for the purpose of converting and instructing the new settlers in that country. But although the commencement of the house and school of Glastonbury cannot, with any probability, be placed before the seventh century, yet there can be little doubt that it existed in an early part of it, as appears from a grant made in favour of it in the year 670 by Kenelwach a king of the West Saxons. (Usher *Pr. p. 112.*)

It is now clear, that all that has been said about St. Patrick having been abbot of Glastonbury, of his or any other Patrick contemporary with him, having been buried there, is quite fabulous. And although Wm. of Malmesbury represents its church as the most ancient in England, it will be found on close inquiry, that its real antiquity does not ascend higher than the period now mentioned.

(18) The Calendar of Cashel, a work of the 11th century (Colgan *AA. SS.* p. 5.) and consequently written after the promulgation of the Glastonbury fables, has (*ap. Tr. Th.* p. 10.) these words at 24 August; “Senior Patricius Ros-delac in regione de Mag-lacha jacet; sed secundum aliquos, et verius quod Glastenberiae apud Galla Hibernos (*Walla Hibernos*) quae est civitas in regione Saxonum, et Scoti eam inhabitant.”

(19) Usher (*p.* 892. *seqq.*) quotes a heap of passages to this purpose. One writer has; “Hibernensium peregrini praedictum locum Glestoniae, sicut et caeterae fidelium turbae, magno colebant affectu; et maxime ob beati PATRICII SENIORIS honorem, qui faustus ibidem in Domino quievisse narratur.” A Glastonian poetaster, having mentioned three Patricks, adds; “Archiepiscopus primus Hiberniae—Is primus postea abbas Glastoniae.” He was angry with those, that did not allow St. Patrick’s remains to be at Glastonbury; “De hoc Patricio, Columba, Brigida—Delirat plurimum Chester in chronica—Scribens in Duno quod horum corpora—Sunt uno tumulo.” And it is the great St. Patrick, who is so often spoken of in the rhapsody of William of Malmesbury.

(20) Ranulph of Chester in his *Polychronicon* L. 5. c. 4. as quoted by Usher *Pr.* p. 896 (for by the bye I do not find the words there in Gale’s edition *ap. xv. Scriptores*) relates that an abbot Patrick retired from Ireland about A. D. 850, to Glastonbury, and that he died there on the 25th of August. But on account of that being St. Bartholomew’s day, his festival was put off to the following day, and pretended to be the same as the festival of St. Patrick the apostle, whom the monks claimed. Usher was mistaken (*Ind. Chron. ad a.* 850) in placing the abbot’s death on 25th August, every where else the 17th of March was considered as the great St. Patrick’s day. Why transfer it to August 25th? The fact is that their real Patrick was the one mentioned by Ranulph, or some other Patrick, perhaps of the 7th or 8th

century, that died on the 24th August; and then comes this most striking circumstance, that the Calendar of Cashel (see *Not.* 18.) and that of Marian Gorman or his Scholiast (*AA. SS.* p. 366.) affix to that day the death of Patrick senior, who, says Marian, was of Ros-dela in the country of Mag-lacha, where he is placed also by the Calendar of Cashel and Fiech's Scholiast in the passage alluded to above (*Not.* 14.) while they add that he was not buried there but at Glastonbury. Colgan (*Ind. Topogr. to Tr. Th.*) says that Ros-dela was in Ossory, where (*ib.*) he places also Mag-lacha. Yet he has (*Ind. Top. to AA. SS.*) a Mag-lacha in Thomond, in which country we find Mag-lacha the birth place of St. Senan of Inniscatthy. (See below *Chap.* ix. §. 4.) It is most probable, that the Patrick of Ros-dela was the real Patrick of Glastonbury. Colgan, treating of divers persons called *Patrick* (*AA. SS.* p. 366) found himself greatly perplexed. Wishing to maintain the existence of a Patrick senior in the apostle's time, he says that he was first at Ros-dela, then bishop of Armagh, and afterwards at Glastonbury, &c. Then he strives to find out another Patrick, who also went to Glastonbury, but in the ninth century.

(21) The Bollandists, to avoid the many difficulties that occurred on this subject, gave a new turn to the name *Sen-Patrick*. According to them it does not mean Patrick *senior* or the *elder*, but the son of Sannan, called *Deacon Sannan*, who is said to have been a brother of the apostle (Usher p. 824); so that *Sen-Patrick* is the same as *San-Patrick*, or Patrick son of Sannan. This Patrick has been called Patrick *junior*, and is distinguished by Usher both from the apostle and from Patrick *senior* (p. 894.) He is the Patrick who, according to Jocelin, (*cap.* 166.) was buried at Glastonbury. In this point Jocelin is followed by the Bollandists; but they add a circumstance directly opposite to what he has; for they make this Patrick succeed his uncle in the see of Armagh and govern it for ten years, while Jocelin states that after the uncle's death he went straight to Britain, and remained there for the rest of his life. These fine conjectures of the Bollandists will not answer any purpose. In the first place there were no nephews of St. Patrick in Ireland; secondly all the Glastonbury stories and the passages of our writers concerning *Sen-Patrick* are relative to a Patrick the *elder*; and nothing is

more evident than that the name was a mere abbreviation of *Senior Patrick* or *Patrick senior*.

§. III. To return to St. Patrick's proceedings at Armagh, it is related that, when the see was fully established, he held synods, (22) in which canons were decreed and ecclesiastical matters regulated. It is indeed very natural to suppose that he did, and two of them are particularly mentioned; but the accounts of their acts are very imperfect. One of those synods is called simply the *Synod of St. Patrick*, and the other bears the title of the *Synod of bishops, i. e. Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus*. Under the head of the former are some canons, which seem to have been enacted at a later period, or perhaps in some other country; but among the canons of the latter, with one or two exceptions, we meet with nothing to make us doubt that it was really held in Ireland and by those bishops. (23) This synod is generally supposed to have been held about A. D. 456, (24) and, I believe, justly; for it is plain from the whole tenour of the canons that they were intended for every part of Ireland, and consequently after the whole system of the Irish church had been consolidated by the establishment of Armagh, which, as has been seen, (25) most probably took place in 454 or 455. Next we find in them every mark of a church well provided with ministers not only of the higher order, bishops, priests, and deacons, but also of the inferior rank, such as the *lectores* and *ostiarii*. Abbots, monks, and nuns are also spoken of. These institutions, without referring to other proofs, are sufficient to show, that a fully formed church existed in Ireland when the synod was held. Now it would be very difficult to understand how the Irish church could have grown to such maturity before about the year 456. Nor can it be placed much later than that year, whereas Auxilius, who was present at it, died in 460. (26) Besides the canons belonging to the two

synods, there are extant many others attributed to St. Patrick, which will be treated of in another place. (27).

(22) Jocelin, *cap.* 168.

(23) Even Tillemont, notwithstanding his critical scrupulosity, admits that, excepting two or three of the canons, he could find no reason for denying their genuineness. (*Mem. &c. Tom.* xvi. p. 786.)

(24) Spelman, (*Concil. &c. Tom.* 1. p. 52) has, *circa* A. 456. Wilkins (*Concil. M. B. &c. Tom.* 1. p. 2.) simply A. 456. Harris having, in obedience to Usher, assigned the foundation of Armagh to the year 445, places (*Bishops* p. 20.) the synod in 448. He was right, however, in supposing it subsequent to that foundation.

(25) *Chap.* vi. §. 13.

(26) *Annals of Ulster*, (*ap.* Usher p. 827.) The 4 Masters, quoted by Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 19.) place the death of Auxilius in 454, that is 455. If this were the true date, we might calculate that the synod was held immediately after the foundation of Armagh in 454 or 455, and that Auxilius died very soon after. But the 4 Masters, in assigning that date, do not agree with themselves when they affix the foundation of Armagh to 458, so that the synod would have been, in this hypothesis, held before Armagh was established; which cannot be admitted.

(27) See below, *Chap.* xxxii. §. 11.

§. iv. It may be asked why the names of Auxilius and Isserninus alone appear joined to that of St. Patrick in the title of the synod now mentioned. Could the reason be that they were the only bishops then in Ireland? I can scarcely believe such to have been the case. Benignus indeed could not at that time have had the care of the see of Armagh; for, if he had, he must have assisted at the synod, and the omission of his name would be quite unaccountable. But in several of the canons bishops are spoken of in such a manner as plainly to indicate, that there were some in every part of Ireland, and

that their number was proportional to that of the clergy in general. (28) Unless then we should suppose that these canons were added after St. Patrick's time, for which I do not find sufficient grounds, it must be admitted that bishops were then stationed in various parts of the country. As to their not having attended at the synod, we may be allowed to believe that their presence in the districts assigned to them could not have been well dispensed with at that period ; and we may add that it might not have been prudent to hold a large assembly of persons from divers quarters, lest the king Leogaire, who was still alive, and other pagan chieftains, should take umbrage at such proceedings. The whole matter seems to have been conducted in the following manner. St. Patrick having established his see, and wishing to make regulations for the right government of the whole Irish church, called to his assistance Auxilius and Isserminus as being, next to himself, the most experienced and, since the death of Secundinus, the oldest prelates, as to the time of ordination, then in Ireland. (29) Nor will it be any discredit to the newly promoted bishops, chosen out of the Irish converts, to admit that they were not yet as well versed in matters of ecclesiastical discipline as those venerable prelates, who had been always Christians and had, from their earliest years, studied in the schools of the Continent. Assisted by them our apostle drew up those decrees, which, although written in a very brief manner, contain a great deal of excellent matter, and show that the authors were well acquainted with the more ancient canons of the church. They are, in fact, rather in the form of instructions and injunctions delivered by St. Patrick to the clergy of Ireland, than the result of the proceedings of a synod properly so called.

(28) The 23d canon runs thus ; “ Si quis presbyterorum Ecclesiam aedificaverit, non offerat antequam adducat *suum pontificem*

ut eam consecret." The 24th requires that no strange clergyman be allowed to officiate in any manner, unless he be permitted by the bishop; and there is added, "Nam qui a Gentibus sperat permissionem alienus sit." The mention here made of Pagans proves the great antiquity of this canon. In the 30th a bishop, who may go into the diocese of another, is ordered not to attempt to ordain any one unless he get permission for so doing from the ordinary. Such regulations as these could not have been made for Ireland, were there but three bishops throughout the whole extent of it.

(29) See *Chap. vi. §. 1.*

§. v. It would be satisfactory to know who were the other bishops in Ireland during the latter days of St. Patrick, and which were their sees. Were we to believe certain story-tellers the country was then crowded with bishops. They tell us, that St. Patrick had consecrated between three and four hundred of them. (30) This extravagant assumption so contrary to the established discipline of the church, (31) and concerning which the more correct accounts of our apostle are totally silent, (32) does not merit the trouble of refutation. Tirechan's list of particular disciples of St. Patrick (33) may help, in some degree, to guide us as to this matter. It is, however, an imperfect guide. In the first place we do not know whether all those persons were ever bishops, and it is almost certain that several of them were not; (34) secondly, as to those who became bishops, it is clear that some of them were not raised to that rank until after St. Patrick's death; (35) while, with regard to others, it is doubtful at what time they were appointed. Next it is to be observed that of several of those disciples scarcely any accounts remain. (36) With the aid, however, of other data or hints that list will enable us at least to guess at some of our bishops, that were contemporary with St. Patrick. And first as to Ibar, there called *Iborus*, of Beg-erin, although he was not a bishop as early as has been vulgarly imagined, (37) yet I think there can be no

doubt of his having been one before our saint's death, as in all probability he was old enough to be raised to that dignity prior to A. D. 465. Next comes Fiech of Sletty, or Feccus, who, considering the time that he first became a member of the clerical body, (38) was assuredly, long before said year, well qualified for the episcopacy. Mel or Melus ought, I believe to be placed in the same class. He was a Briton, and is said to have been a bishop when he arrived in Ireland. (39) Whether or not, he is stated to have been a bishop about A. D. 453; (40) nor do I find any reason to doubt of it; and it seems that his appointment to Ardagh took place when St. Patrick was on his way from Munster to Ulster. He died in the year 488. (41) Maceleus comes next, the same in all probability as Maccaleus, (42) whose name has become memorable in consequence of his having been the bishop, from whom St. Brigid received the veil, about, as some writers have calculated, A. D. 467. (43) We may reasonably suppose that he had been consecrated before the year 465. His church, that is, as now usually expressed, his see, was at Cruachan Brigh-eile in Hyfalgia, a place somewhere in the King's county; but his jurisdiction seems to have extended over a considerable tract of country. (44) To these we may add Cethecus or Cethiacus, who, although it cannot be admitted that he was a bishop prior to the year 440, (45) yet, according to the concurrent testimony of our ancient writers, must have been consecrated before St. Patrick's death. (46) Having been employed by the saint as bishop in various parts of Ireland, we cannot point out any fixed see for him, unless we should so call the place where he was buried, viz. Kilgaradh or Oran in Roscommon. (47)

(30) The Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 97.*) has 370 bishops consecrated by St. Patrick himself. Nennius, and others after him, (see Usher *p. 950.*) have 365, a favourite number, as Lloyd has observed (*On*

Church Government, Ch. iv. §. 3.), in the style of exaggeration, being equal to that of the days of the year. Jocelin (*cap.* 185.) reduced them to 350, which number he probably took from the old catalogue of Irish saints (see Usher *p.* 913.), to the first order of which, beginning with St. Patrick, 350 holy bishops are assigned. But it does not make them all consecrated by St. Patrick as Jocelin does; and besides it gives that number not only for St. Patrick's time but for the whole period, that extended to near the end of the reign of Tuathail, that is, to near A. D. 544. There can be no doubt, that after St. Patrick's death the number of bishops encreased rapidly, and still more so that of the *chorepiscopi*, who, however, in the old Irish documents are usually included under the general denomination of *bishops*. Accordingly there might have been in the course of above a hundred years, reckoning from about the year 440 to 544, between bishops properly so called and *chorepiscopi*, about 350 in all.

(31) The general rule was that bishops were not to be appointed, unless there was a necessity for them. I will not, in the case of Ireland, lay any stress upon the canon of the Council of Sardica, which had been enacted before St. Patrick's time, and required that bishops should not be placed except in respectable cities; for that canon could not be applied to this country, in which very few cities were then to be found. And not only the creation of a see at Armagh, until then only a field, but numberless other instances prove that it was never observed in Ireland. Nor was it strictly adhered to in other countries (see Bingham, *Book* 11, *ch.* 12.); yet no example is to be met with in any country, entirely Catholic, of such a great number of bishops at one time, as that of 350 would have been for Ireland. I say *entirely Catholic*; lest any one might alledge the case of the numberless bishops in Africa during the schism of the Donatists.

(32) Probus says (*L.* 2. *c.* 35.) that St. Patrick had ordained bishops, priests, &c.; “post episcopos et presbyteros in ecclesia ordinatos, post *totum* ecclesiasticum ordinem bene ac perfecte compositum.” This agrees with what we read in the third *Life* (*cap.* 94.) and the fourth (*cap.* 95.); “post episcopos, presbyteros, diaconos, reliquosque ecclesiasticos ordines constitutos.” Neither these *Lives* nor Probus mention the number of those bishops nor

of the other members of the clerical body appointed by St. Patrick.

(33) It has been published by Usher, (*p.* 950) as follows ; “ Benignus, Bronus, Sachellus, Cethiacus, Carthacus, Cartenus, Connanus, Firtnanus, Sigeus, Cetennus, Seneaticus, Olcanus, Iborus, Ordus, Naziarius, *Miserneus*, Senachus, Secundinus, Gosachus, Camulacus, Auxilius, Victoricus, Bressialus, Feccus, Menathus, Cennanus, Nazarus, Melus, Maceleus, Mactaleus, Culeneus, Asacus, Bitheus, Falertus, Seseneus. Muirethchiser, Temoreris (qui fundavit ecclesiam sanctam Cairce, quam tenuit familia Clonoaviss) Daigreus, Justianus mac Hy, Daimene, Oltcanus, Domnallus, et alii quamplurimi.” By *alii quamplurimi* I dare say Tirechan (alluding not to the whole nation but merely to St. Patrick’s particular disciples) meant to insinuate that there were, at least, as many more as those, whose names he has given. Thence would result a number of above 80 persons. *Miserneus* is, I believe, only another name for Isserninus or Esserenus, made up by prefixing the endearing letter *m*. It would be odd that, having particularly mentioned Secundinus and Auxilius, he would have omitted their venerable colleague Isserninus. Instead of *Justianus mac Hy, Daimene*, read *Justinus, Mac-lua Daimene*, that is a person of the family of Daimene, who, according to Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 286.) was Endeus of Arran.

(34) Usher (*loc. cit.*) seems to speak of them as if they were all bishops and in St. Patrick’s time. But it cannot be admitted that there were then about 80 bishops in Ireland. Tirechan must, I think, be understood not of bishops but of disciples, some of whom became bishops either before the saint died, or after, while others did not. Colgan, when quoting his catalogue, calls them simply disciples, and mentions the festival days of several of them without giving them the title of *bishop*. (See *Tr. Th. p.* 268.)

(35) For instance Mactaleus, who was bishop of Kilcullen, must have been very young when St. Patrick died ; for he lived until A. D. 549. (*Tr. Th. p.* 19.) And even supposing that he had not lived so long, he could not have been bishop there until after the death of Isserninus in the year 469. (Usher, *Ind. Chron.*) Even Benignus was not raised to the episcopacy during the lifetime of our Apostle. (See above, *sect.* II.)

(36) Little or nothing is known of Firtnanus, Sigeus, Cetennus,

Seneaticus, Ordius, Naziarius, Camalacus, Bressialus, Menathus, Nazarus, Culeneus, and Muirethchiser. Seseneus was probably the Sezinus or Sezni of Guic-Sezni in Britany. (See *Not. 5 to Chap. vi.*) Who Carthacus was I cannot well discover; for it is hard to believe that he was the celebrated Carthach, grandson of king Aengus of Cashel, and who, having flourished in the sixth century, was master of the still more celebrated Carthach or Carthagh of Lismore. Unless we should admit that there is an error in the list, it may be concluded that he was a still older Carthach, and probably of the same illustrious family. Might Culeneus have been the same as St. Mac-Culindus, who is said to have been bishop of Lusk, where his memory was celebrated on the 6th of September, and to have died in 497? (See Butler's *Lives of Saints* of 6th Sept. and Archdall at *Lusk*.)

(37) See *Chap. i. sect. XIII.* and *Chap. vi. sect. VII.*

(38) See *Chap. vi. §. v.*

(39) In his Acts (6th *Febr.*) Colgan quotes a passage to this purpose from a Life of St. Brigid, which, erroneously I think, he attributes to Ultan of Ardraccan. According to other accounts which are more consistent, Mel was raised to the episcopacy by St. Patrick himself; and even Jocelin, however partial to British bishops, joins (*cap. 102*) in this statement. As to what is said of his having been a nephew of St. Patrick by his sister Darerca, we have already seen what opinion ought to be formed of such stories. Add that in said Life of St. Brigid, whence the whole account of Mel is chiefly taken, this or any other relationship to our apostle is never mentioned.

(40) In the Life of St. Brigid just referred to he is said to have been a bishop, when that saint was in her mother's womb. Now she was born about A. D. 454.

(41) Annals of Ulster, Usher (*Ind. Chron.*), Ware (*Bishops at Armagh*). The day of his death was the sixth of February. Harris, to shew his learning and appear as correcting Ware, says that an old Calendar "placeth his death on the 8th of the Ides of February, that is the 5th of February 487, with which the Annals of Ulster agree." The poor man did not know that the 8th of the Ides corresponded not to the 5th but the 6th of that month, as Ware has it; although he might have found it in all the common tables of the Roman Calendar. And as to A. D. 487 it was ac-

ording to the computation of some of our old annalists, the same as 488. Ware understood these subjects vastly better than his dull corrector. Two or three of our ancient writers have distinguished Mel from Melchus, and have been followed by Ware and Colgan. Melchus, according to one account, was brother to Mel; and, what must appear very singular, they are both placed together as joint bishops at Ardagh (*Tripart. L. 2. c. 26*). Ware, to guard against this absurdity, places Melchus after Mel. Then we have Melchus's festival also on the sixth of February. Two brothers, co-bishops of one see, and dying on the same day of the year! The fact is that they were one and the same person, and the real name was probably *Melchu*, which having been latinized and contracted into *Melus*, to bring it nearer to *mel*, honey (for, as the Tripartite has, *L. 2. c. 29*. *Melus was homo vere melleus*), gave occasion to this distinction. Would not Tirechan, having particularized Mel, have mentioned also Melchu, had such a person been his brother and along with him at Ardagh? Or would his name have been omitted in all the Irish martyrologies and annals, while they make particular mention of Mel or Melus? Even Jocelin has Mel alone. And in the old enumerations of St. Patrick's pretended nephews, with the exception of an interpolated one (*Tr. Th. p. 227.*) we find only Melus. He is said to have written some Memoirs concerning St. Patrick. If so, they are not now extant.

(42) Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p. 268.*) that Maceleus was perhaps one Macetus or Maccetus, a person mentioned in the Tripartite. Strange that he should look out for that obscure person, while he had at his hand Macalleus, whose name, considering the Irish and ancient manner of pronouncing the letter *c*, was the very same as *Maceleus* or *Makeleus*. But having found Maccalleus elsewhere, and wishing to swell the number of St. Patrick's disciples, he thought it better to distinguish him from the Maceleus of Tirechan.

(43) Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) That St. Brigid received the veil from Maccalleus will be proved in its proper place.

(44) In a passage from Tirechan quoted by Usher (*p. 1031*) it is said, that St. Brigid got the veil from the son of Cuille or Caille, *i. e.* Maccaille in *Uisniuch Midi* (Usneagh in Westmeath). Yet he might have happened to be in that place, although it was

not his usual residence ; and it was probably comprized within the district, or, as we now call it, the diocese assigned to him. Cru-achan-brigh-eile in Hy-falgia is expressly mentioned in the Calendar of Cashel and other documents (*Tr. Th. p. 525.*) as the place where his church was. Colgan says (in *p. 231.*) that it was on the confines of Leinster and Munster, by which he meant, I suppose, Munster according to its former extent before a part of it was added to the King's county. The *Eile*, with which the name of that place terminates, was perhaps the district commonly called Ely O'Carroll. Maccaeus has been thrust in among the pretended nephews of St. Patrick in the interpolated enumeration alluded to above, *Not. 41.*

(45) Compare with *Chap. vi. Sect. 1.*

(46) See *Not. 87 to Chap. v.* (47) *Not. 88 to Chap. v.*

§. VI. There are some other persons mentioned in Tirechan's list, who certainly were bishops, but whether before or after the death of St. Patrick, let us briefly inquire. Bronus of Caissel-ira (West Cashel in Sligo) was a bishop in St. Brigid's time, (48) and I should have no difficulty to admit that he was one before St. Patrick's demise, except that his having lived until A. D. 512 renders it rather improbable that he had been raised to that rank before the year 465, unless we should suppose that he lived to a very great age. On a similar principle there is reason to doubt also of Cartenus or Maccartin of Clogher having been a bishop before that period ; for, although he died earlier than Bronus, *viz.* in 506, yet his being represented as old, when appointed to that see, excites a suspicion that he was not consecrated prior to the death of our apostle. (49) Asacus, or as others call him, Asicus, is one of those, whom a very old tradition acknowledges as a bishop in that early period of the Irish church. He was placed at Elphin, and, according to some accounts, as *bishop*, (50) by St. Patrick. It is, however, doubtful whether he was one during the saint's life time. It is related of him

that, through a penitential spirit, he withdrew from his diocese and retired to the mountain Sliebhliag (Slieve-league in Donegal), where, after a considerable time, he was discovered by his disciples. He could not be prevailed on to return to his see, but went with them to a solitary place, and, when dead, was buried at Rath-cunga (51) (barony of Tyrhugh in said county). Next to Asacus is mentioned Bitheus, concerning whose episcopacy some doubts might be entertained were he not mentioned in quotations from old documents as a bishop and contemporary with Bronus and Asacus, who was his uncle. (52) This last circumstance is sufficient to show, that he did not become a bishop until after St. Patrick's death; for, if it is doubtful whether the uncle was one at so early a period, we may conclude that the nephew was not. Where his see or church was I cannot rightly discover. (53) He is said to have been buried at Rath-cunga, (54) where his uncle's remains had been deposited. Olcanus was undoubtedly a bishop, and, if Usher's calculation could be supported, might have been one before A. D. 465. But, as has been already observed, (55) this cannot be reconciled with the testimony of the Tripartite, according to which he was not born until about the year 443. It is said that he went to Gaul for the sake of study, and, having after a considerable lapse of time returned to Ireland, presided over a great school, and was raised to the episcopal rank. (56) His see was in that part of the now county of Antrim anciently named *Dabrieda*, (57) and is called by some *Derkan* or *Derkon*, by others Rathmuighe or Airthir-muighe. (58) He has been sometimes called *Bolcan*, and his festival was held on the 20th of February. (59) Cennanus or Kennanus was, I believe, the celebrated St. Kienan of Daimhliag (60) or Duleek, whose death our Annalists affix to A. D. 489. (61) Did other circumstances agree, it might be admitted, that he was a bishop before the death of St. Patrick; but we are told that he was

born nearly about the same time with Olcan, and consequently about the year 442. (62) In this case his promotion to the episcopacy could not have been prior to about 472. His native place was, I dare say, not in Ulster, as the Tripartite seems to state, but in Meath. (63) He was of an illustrious family, and is said to have been baptized, when an infant, by St. Patrick. The Kenan mentioned by Usher, and who, he says, went to Gaul and became a monk in St. Martin's monastery of Tours, was, as far as I can judge, a different person. (64) That Kenan was a native of Connaught, and is said to have erected a church in the territory of the Eugenan sept, (65) while our Kienan was either a Meath or an Ulster man, and his peculiar church was at Duleek, of which he was the founder. (66) He wrote a life of St. Patrick, and his festival was kept on the 24th of November. (67) I am strongly inclined to reckon among those distinguished men of Tirechan's list, who became bishops either in or not long after St. Patrick's time, also Falertus, or Felartus, or, as sometimes called, *Fulartus* of Domnach-mor in Magh-Seola, now Donaghpatrick in the county of Galway; (68) not because he is mentioned as such in the Tripartite, which, unless corroborated by other authorities, cannot be safely depended upon with regard to the times of our bishops; but because I find him also in the Life of Benignus as having been placed there by St. Patrick. (69) If this statement be true, which I find no reason for contradicting, we must admit that his promotion took place before the death of our Apostle, although, for reasons already more than once assigned, it could not have been prior to the year 440.

(48) See *Chap. v. sect. ix. Not. 86.*

(49) See *Chap. vi. sect. xii.*

(50) Jocelin, *cap. 107.* The Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 39.*) quotes from an ancient author a passage, in which it is said that St.

Patrick placed Asicus at Elphin. But it does not state whether he was then a bishop or not. According to the chronology of the Tripartite Asicus would have been fixed at that place about A. D. 437 (see *Chap. v. sect. ix.*) at which time he could not have been a bishop. After some words we read in said passage; "Assicus sanctus episcopus fuit faber acris Patricii." Here he is called bishop; but the addition of his having worked in brass for St. Patrick would seem to indicate that his promotion did not take place until after, at least, the foundation of Armagh, when the saint, having a permanent residence, had occasion to employ him. Next we may suppose, that he was not made bishop of Elphin until after he had ceased to work at Armagh, as he must have resided in his diocese. The passage above referred to may, I think, be explained in the following manner. Asicus was placed at Elphin when a priest by St. Patrick not many years after the commencement of his mission; when Armagh was founded he was summoned thither to assist in making utensils for the use of the church; afterwards, but whether before or after the death of the saint cannot be ascertained, he became bishop of Elphin.

(51) Tripart. *L. 2. c. 40.* Archdall makes Rathcunga an abbey founded by St. Patrick, and refers to Colgan. But neither he nor the Tripartite mentions St. Patrick founder of an abbey there. At most they attribute to him the erection of a church at Rathcunga. (See *Chap. vi. §. II.*) But whatever was the religious house in that place, it owed its origin, at the earliest, to the followers of Asicus.

(52) Tripart. *L. 2. c. III.* Compare with *ib. c. 39* and *43.*

(53) The Tripartite has (*L. 2. c. 52.*) "St. Bronius, S. Biteus de Caissel-ira." Bronius was certainly bishop of that place; but do these words mean that Biteus was also bishop thereof? If so he was not appointed to it until, at the earliest, A. D. 512, the year in which Bronius died, and accordingly must have been very young when a disciple of St. Patrick. Or is there a transposition in the text, so as that it should be read, "St. Bronius de Caissel-ira, S. Biteus," &c.

(54) Tripart. *L. 2. c. III.* (55) *Chap. vi. sect. III.*

(56) Jocelin, *cap. 86.* It is strange that Usher, who (*p. 951.*) took his account of Olcan from Jocelin, has affixed his return from

Gaul to A. D. 450 (*Ind. Chron.*) Jocelin exhibits Olcan as having been baptized, when an infant, by St. Patrick; and, without recurring to the Tripartite, it is plain that this baptism took place some years after the commencement of the saint's mission. Then Olcan is represented as a grown up person (*grandiusculus*) when he set out for Gaul. Now, adding the time that he spent there, how could he have returned to Ireland as early as the year 450? The Tripartite does not mention Olcan's studies in Gaul.

(57) See *Not.* 24 to *Chap.* v.

(58) Usher, following Jocelin, calls it Derkan, and says that the name still remains in a part of the Routs (Dalrieda) called *Clon-Derkan*. The Tripartite (*L. 2. c.* 128.) calls the see *Rathmagia* or *Airthirmugia*, the chief town of Dalrieda, not far from Dunluce (see Seward at *Rathmuighe*). Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 114.) conjectures that Derkan was the name of the district, in which the town Rathmuighe was situated.

(59) Colgan, *AA. SS.* ad 20 *Feb.* There was another Olcan (Tripart. *L. 2. c.* 92) also called *Bolcan* or, as Jocelin writes it (*cap.* 141.), *Volcan*. He was, as Colgan observes, (*ib.* p. 377.) only a priest, and his festival was on the 4th of July. He is known by the name of Olcan of Kilmormoyle: (See *Not.* 120 to *ch.* v.) and was probably the *Oltcanus* of Tirechan.

(60) *Daimhliag* signifies a house of stone. If the church built of stone at Duleek was, as is generally said, erected by Kienan, it will follow that stone buildings, although rare in Ireland before the eleventh century, yet were not quite unknown. If, however, it should be contended that the original church founded by Kienan was not of stone, and that the place, where it was situated, did not get the name of *Daimhliag* until a later period, I shall not enter into a controversy about it.

(61) Ulster Annals, followed by Ware, (*Antiq. ch.* 26.) Annals of Innisfallen—4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th.* p. 217. Colgan (*ib.*) doubts of this antiquity, and refers to a Life of a St. Mochua, whence it would appear that Kienan did not erect *Daimhliag* until about or after A. D. 540. But in this case how could he have been a disciple of St. Patrick, which, however, Colgan maintains? Had he given us the passage he alludes to, we could be better judges of the matter. Meanwhile we may adhere to the date marked in the Annals.

(62) See Tripart. *L. 2. c. 126.*

(63) Kienan was born in Kennacta. There were two territories known by this name, one in Meath, and the other in the now county of Londonderry, the name of which is still retained in the barony called Kenaght. The Kennacta of Meath was the very district, in which Duleek is situated (see Tripart *L. 2. c. 48.*) It is then more probable that this was the Kennacta, in which Kienan was born, although the Tripartite elsewhere (*ib. cap. 126.*) seems to make the other Kennacta his country, owing, I should think, to its having been recorded in general terms, that he had been born in Kennacta, without its being specified whether it was that of Ulster or Meath.

(64) Usher (*p. 1070*) refers to a Life of the Kenan, whom he makes mention of, but says nothing of Duleek, although he names various places, in which that Kenan is said to have been. Colgan, however, applies (*AA. SS. p. 443.*) to Kienan of Duleek what Usher has of his Kenan, and so does Harris (*Bishops. p. 137.*) and Archdall (at *Duleek*). Usher sends his Kenan to Gaul in the year 450 (*Ind. Chron.*). Archdall, in his blundering manner, makes that the year, in which St. Patrick baptized Kienan.

(65) Usher explains this by *Tyrone*; but it might be as well understood of Innish-owen; and I strongly suspect that this was the district alluded to. For it is added, that Kenan placed over that church his beloved disciple Congellus. Now we find a Congel or Coemgal abbot of Both-chonais in Innish-owen (*AA. SS. p. 454.*). It is true that he lived about the latter end of the 7th century while Kienan is spoken of as having been a boy in the time of king Lagerius (Leogaire says Usher). But such anachronisms are far from being uncommon in those Lives. I am confirmed in my suspicion by the circumstance that Kenan is said to have been instructed by the *most religious* Nathan. Who could this person be except the celebrated Nathy of Achonry, who lived in the sixth century, and had taught several eminent persons, among others the great St. Fechin, who died A. D. 665? If, instead of *Lagerius*, we should read the name of some other Irish king of a later period, there will be nothing inconsistent in the account of Usher's Kenan, who was probably one of the two Kenans (*ap Colgan AA. SS. p. 443*) different from Kienan of Duleek.

(66) In all the documents I have met with relative to Kienan the foundation of that church is attributed to himself. Archdall, however, foists in St. Patrick as its founder.

(67) The Calendar of Cashel (*Tr. Th. p. 217.*) has at Nov. 24. “Sanctus Kienanus de Damliag, filius Sadnae—Hujus S. Kienani remanet incorruptum et illaesum corpus: scripsit vitam S. Patricii.”

(68) See *Chap. v. sect. x.*

(69) The passage is rather curious and deserves to be quoted. “Quidam tempore perrexit S. Patricius in occidentalem plagam Connachtensium, id est, in campum Sinil; et adivit domum Echini filii Briani, filii Ethac, regis Connachtensium. Et Patricius quaesivit hospitium ab illo. Et Echinus negavit, et noluit ipsum salutare, vel ad fidem converti. Et tum S. Patricius reversus est ad illum locum, in quo hodie est Domnach-mor-muige Sinil, sive *Domnach-Patruic*; et fundavit ecclesiam, in qua reliquit Felartum *episcopum*.” See more *AA. SS. ad 29 Mart.*

§. VII. A few others of those named in the list have been called bishops; (70) but we have not authority sufficient for deciding whether justly or not. Besides the persons, whose names are there given, there were some other bishops in Ireland at or about the period we are now treating of. One of them was Tassach of Rath-colptha near Down, from whom St. Patrick received the holy viaticum, and who is spoken of, in some of the Lives, as a bishop at the time that he administered it to him. (71) Another was Hercus or Ercus bishop of Slane, who might have been consecrated before the year 465. For, although he lived according to some accounts until A. D. 513, or, as others have it, 514, yet, as he was in his ninetieth year when he died, there is no anachronism in supposing that he was a bishop prior to St. Patrick's decease. (72) We may add, I believe, Mochoe or Mochay of Antrim, who, although sometimes mentioned by the name of *abbot*, yet is also styled *bishop*. (73) As he died in the year 497, it may be reasonably admitted that he was one as far back as A. D. 465. (74) If

Moctheus of Louth became a bishop, as indeed his Acts published by Colgan, and several respectable authorities would make us believe, I should have no difficulty to admit that he was consecrated about the year 470. It is true that his death is assigned to *A. D. 535*. But as he lived to the age of, at least, 100 years, these dates can be very easily reconciled. Having treated of him elsewhere, it would be superfluous to add more at present. (75) To this same period I would willingly assign the promotion of the great Ailbe of Emly, if we be allowed to suppose, that he lived to a very great age, as it is said that he did. (76) He certainly was not a bishop when he joined St. Patrick in Munster, (77) nor much less at any time before that period. (78) Considering, however, that he was under our Apostle's tuition as early as perhaps the year 445, (79) and granting that he was only ten years old, it will not be denied that he could have been raised to the episcopacy about 465. The Bollandists have assigned the year 464 to his consecration ; but the principle, on which they formed this date, is quite too doubtful to be depended upon. (80) Yet, as he was a man of extraordinary merit, it may be fairly conjectured that he was promoted as soon as his age would permit ; and the only remaining difficulty will be, that, in case he was 30 years old about *A. D. 464*, he must have reached the age of about 93 years, whereas he died in 527. This hypothesis implies nothing extraordinary, particularly when there is question of persons of religious and abstemious habits, who, generally, live much longer than people of other descriptions. The circumstance of Emly having been considered as the most respectable see in Munster before the rise of Cashel, (81) seems to show that it was founded in St. Patrick's life time and no other person than Ailbe has ever been spoken of as its first bishop. We know that he was actively employed, as will be seen hereafter, in forwarding, as bishop, the

interests of religion in Munster during the reign of Aengus, who was killed A. D. 490. To this list of these early prelates I cannot add Declan for reasons already enlarged upon. (82) I should be much more disposed to add Trian, who is said to have had his residence in a northern part of Munster. (83) His being described as a Roman, that is, a continental bishop, brings us back to an early period of the Irish church, and to those times when many holy men took shelter in Ireland before the Franks embraced the Christian religion.

(70) *Ex. c. Sachellus, Tripart. L. 2. c. 52. Seneachus, ib. cap. 62.* (See above *Chap. v. §. x.*) Victoricus or Victor, *Tripart. L. 3. c. 12.* (See *Chap. VII. §. III.*) But, were we to receive as bishops all those, who are so called in the Tripartite, there would be no end to them. Jocelin, however, an authority poor enough, has Victor, *cap. 139.* Archdall has an abbey Kilcholpa in Down for Tassach. Rathcolp is placed by him in Mayo, also for Tassach. What stuff to swell up his book!

(71) See Probus, *L. 2. c. 35.* *Tripart. L. 1. c. 71.* Third Life, *cap. 89, &c.*

(72) See *Chap. v. §. v.*

(73) *Tripart. L. 1 c. 53. Jocelin, cap. 37. Colgan Tr. Th. p. 265.*

(74) See *Chap. v. §. III.* A Durdracht of Antrim is mentioned in some Irish Calendars. But nothing certain is known as to the time, in which he lived. For we are not bound to give credit to a *Menologium genealogicum* quoted by Colgan, (*Tr. Th. p. 110.*) which makes him one of the pretended brothers of Dicho, St. Patrick's first convert. (See *Not. 17 to Chap. v.* Archdall swallowed this story and (at *Antrim*) has Durtract before Mochay. Another mistake is his affixing Mochay's death to A. D. 493 or 496. As to 493, I do not know where he found it; but the real year was 497, called indeed by the Annalists, to whom he refers, 496. He ought to have known, that, in their mode of computation, 496 was the same as what we call 497. It has been conjectured that Mochay's see was not Antrim but Dundrum in the county of Down. This cannot be reconciled with his being constantly known by the name of Mochay *Aendrium*, that is, as I find it generally explained, Antrim. Aengus Kelideus,

quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 95.*), calls him “*Mochay Aen-dromensis de Loch-Cuan.*” This was the Lake of Strangford, in the neighbourhood of which Mochay was born. (See *Chap. v. §. III.*) I am sure, that Archdall (at *Timahoe*) is also mistaken in assigning the monastery of Teach-Mochoe (*Timahoe* in the Queen’s county) to this St. Mochoe. For it is he, whom Archdall alluded to, as is clear from his placing the death of the founder of Teach-Mochoe in 497. There is no reason to think, that St. Mochoe of Antrim had any establishment out of Ulster, nor that Teach-Mochoe was founded at that early period. The first abbot of it mentioned by Archdall, after Machoe, died in the year 925. The founder of it was undoubtedly some other Mochoe or Mochua, by which name many Irish saints were called. I may here observe, that Ware and Harris have omitted the monastery of *Timahoe*. Yet there certainly was one in that place.

(75) See *Chap. VII. §, XII.* I will merely observe that the rhapsody, called his *Acts.* (at March 24) although short, is crammed with fables, and seems to have been patched up by a foreigner.

(76) Ware, *Ant. 9. ch. 29.* at *Emly.*

(77) See *Not. 76 to Chap. VI.*

(78) *Chap. I. §. XI.*

(79) See *Chap. VI. §. VI.*

(80) See *Not. 84 to Chap. I.* and *Not. 76 to Chap. VI.*

(81) *Not. 67 to Chap. VI.*

(82) *Chap. I. §. XII.*

(83) See *Chap. VI. §. XI.*

§. VIII. Atlength we are come to the last days of St. Patrick. Passing over some unauthenticated circumstances, which, if true, would seem to have occurred not long before his death, (84) this was the period, at which he wrote his Confession. He was old, when he set about it, (85) and it seems he felt his dissolution approaching. (86) He had been already throughout every province of Ireland; (87) and he speaks of the bulk of the nation as then Christian, (88) and of his having ordained clergymen every where. (89) His object in writing it was to return thanks to the Almighty for his singular mercies to himself and to the Irish people, and to confirm them in their faith by proving that God had assisted him in a most ex-

traordinary manner for the purpose of effecting their conversion. (90) He also wished that all the world, and particularly his relatives in the Continent, who had so urgently opposed his going to Ireland, should know (91) what the Almighty had been pleased to operate through his ministry, and that his mission had been undertaken not rashly but in obedience to the will of God. For this latter reason he composed it in Latin, apologizing, however, with great humility for the coarseness of the style. But, as he had been obliged to adopt another language, the Irish, instead of his own, the Latin, it was not to be expected that his style should be as terse as that of persons, who were constantly practising and improving themselves in the latter tongue. (92)

(84) The Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 94, 95.*) has a prophecy of St. Patrick concerning a certain Dichul, whom it calls *abbas Ernatiensis*, and who was afterwards abbot of Louth. Who he was otherwise, or at what time he lived is not known; at any rate he was long after our saint's days, *emenso multo tempore*, as Jocelin says, (*cap. 140*). Colgan, conjectures (*Tr. Th. p. 115.*) that he was the Dichul revered in the church of Cluainbraoin near Louth, and that this might have been what the Tripartite calls *Ernatiensis*. But he says nothing as to the time of that church's erection, or by whom founded, or whether an abbey or not. Archdall, however, from these premises deduces this notable statement; "We are told that St. Patrick founded an abbey at Cluainbraoin near the town of Louth." One half of his Monasticon has been patched up in this ridiculous manner.

(85) "Quatenus modo ipse appeto in *senectute mea.*" *p. 4.*

(86) He concluded it with these words; "Et haec est Confessio mea *antequam moriar.*" Ware (*Annotat. p. 108.*) says; "Verba haec innuere videntur illum, non diu ante obitum suum, eam literis mandasse." The saint writes as bequeathing to his Gallic and Irish cooperators in the work of the Gospel the many thousands of Christians then in Ireland; "Ut etiam post *obitum meum* Gallicis relinquerem fratribus, et filiis meis quos ego in Domino baptizavi, tot millia hominum." *p. 6.*

(87) “ Inter vos et *ubique* pergebam causa vestra—etiam usque ad *exteras* (extremas)—partes.” p. 19.

(88) “ Unde autem *Hiberione*, qui nunquam notitiam Dei habuerunt, nisi idola et immunda usque nunc semper coluerunt, quomodo nuper facta est plebs Domini et filii Dei nuncupantur.” p. 16. By *Hiberione* he means in this place the Irish nation according to the well known idiom of using the name of a country for the people, such as *France* for the French nation, &c.

(89) “ Ut clerici *ubique* illis ordinarentur.” p. 14.

(90) “ Ego non silebo neque abscondam *signa et mirabilia*, quae mihi a Domino ministrata sunt.” p. 17.

(91) Etsi in multis imperfectus sum, opto fratres et *cognatos* meos scire qualitatem meam, ut possint, perspicere votum animae meae.” p. 3.

(92) “ Sicut caeteri—qui sermonem illorum ex infantia nunquam mutaverunt, sed magis ad perfectum semper addiderunt; nam sermo et loquela nostra *translata est in linguam alienam*.” p. 4.

§. IX. St. Patrick was at Saul, when he was attacked with his last illness. (93) That place was, as has been already observed, (94) a favourite retreat of his. But we are not to give credit to the story of his having there spent the last 30 years of his life in retirement, a story made up merely for the purpose of dividing into even numbers the pretended 120 years of age vulgarly assigned to him. (95) In the greatest part of his Lives there is not a word about any number of years thus spent in a contemplative manner, and whatever time they allow for his abode in Ireland is made commensurate with that of his preaching and pastoral exertions. (96) But, as has been already remarked, (97) no reliance can be placed on those fanciful divisions of St. Patrick's years, and it is strange that some writers of real learning allowed themselves to be led astray by them. The saint, perceiving that his departure from this world was near at hand, wished to go to Armagh for the purpose of breathing his last and leaving his mortal remains in the place, that had been chosen for his peculiar see

and the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland. When on his way thither, he was, it is said, stopped by an Angel, who ordered him to return to Saul, as that was the place, in which it was decreed that he should make his exit from this world. (98) Be this as it may, he went back to Saul, and died seven days after on the 17th March, (99) having been attended by the bishop Tassach and received from him the holy viaticum. (100) In Fiech's hymn we read that, when our Apostle died, his soul joined that of another Patrick, and that they proceeded together to heaven. (101) In this singular passage the author alludes to a second Patrick, who, as he supposed, died just about the same time with ours. He could not have meant a Patrick of Nola, a person whom he had never heard of, as his name was not in any public calendar or martyrology. (102) Nor could he have alluded to, the so called, Patrick *senior*, whereas that person's death was affixed to the 24th August. (103) For the same reason that second Patrick was not Patrick of Nevers. (104) Nor was he the pretended Patrick *junior*, who, according to whatever has been said about him, survived our Apostle some years. (105) We may therefore conclude that the said second Patrick was, in the opinion of the author of the hymn, the Patrick of Auvergne, whose depositio, or death, is assigned in some old martyrologies to the 16th of March. Now, supposing that there was such a person, it can be easily understood how, as his exit took place on the eve of the 17th of March, that author might have joined the two Patricks together, particularly if he imagined that one died late at night and the other early in the morning. It is, however, more than probable that Patrick of Auvergne was in reality the same as our St. Patrick, and that in consequence of a mistake in writing *Avernia* for *Hibernia* or *Hivernia*, his name got into the martyrologies as distinct from that of the apostle of Ireland. Through another mistake the 16th of

March, the vigil of St. Patrick's day, might have been taken for that of his festival. That some such mistakes occurred is the opinion of very learned men, who could not discover any trace whatsoever of a Patrick bishop of Auvergne. (106)

(93) Tripart. *L. 3. c. 101.* Fiech's Scholiast *ad Stroph. 23.* Third Life, *cap. 88, &c. &c.*

(94) *Chap. v. §. II.*

(95) An Irish poem, called St. Patrick's *Testament*, is quoted on this occasion. That it is not merely *fidei incertae*, as Ware says (*Annot. ad SA. Op. p. 109.*) but really spurious, it would be easy to show, if necessary. Even Colgan mentions it as having been composed in the name of St. Patrick (*Tr. Th. p. 234*) and, when expressly treating of the writings ascribed to him (*ib. p. 214*) says nothing about it. In it is a fictitious dialogue between our apostle and St. Brigid, of a stamp similar to that of the dialogues with Ossian and the champion Caoilte. According to a Latin translation of part of it by one Kelly, St. Patrick is made to say, that of the 120 years of his life he spent 30 in preaching throughout Ireland, and 30 more at Saul. (See above *Chap. iv. §. I.*) This story got into Usher's Tripartite, but with a slight variation; for it does not make our saint pass the whole of the last 30 years at Saul but in various monasteries, leading in them a contemplative life. (See *ib. Not. 8.*) Jocelin having struck out (*cap. 191*) a new division of St. Patrick's life, allowed 33 years for the time spent by him in that manner chiefly at Saul and Armagh.

(96) Besides Usher's Tripartite, Jocelin's is the only Life, in which those years spent in contemplation are spoken of. In Fiech's hymn (*strophe. 20.*) St. Patrick is said to have preached for sixty years. The second Life (*cap. 22.*) and the fourth (*cap. 26.*) have the same, after premising that he was 30 years of age when he went to study under St. German, and that he spent the 30 following years with him. Concerning this notable sort of chronology enough has been seen already. All this to make up the favourite number, 120.

(97) *Chap. iv. §. I. 11.*

(98) Probus, *L. 2. c. 32.* Tripart. *L. 3. c. 101.* Jocelin, *cap. 187.* See also Fiech's Scholiast *ad Stroph. 23. 24.*

(99) Probus writes (*L. 2. c. 33*); “Haec Angeli dicta post septem dies, in die scilicet xvi. Calend. Aprilis expleta sunt circa B. Patricium.”

(100) Probus, *ib. c. 35*. Fiech’s hymn, *stroph. 27*. Tripart. *L. 3. c. 103*. The third Life has (*cap. 89*); “Appropinquante autem hora exitus ejus, dedit ei *sacrificium* episcopus Tassach.

(101) “Quando decessit Patricius, venit ad Patricium alterum, et simul ascenderunt ad Jesum filium Marie.” *Stroph. 33*.

(102) See *Chap. II. §. xv*.

(103) See above, *§. II. Not. 20*. The stupid Scholiast indeed understood it so; but has been well chastized by Colgan (See above, *Not. 14.*).

(104) A Patricius *Nivernensis* is in Usuard’s and the Roman martyrologies under the name of *Abbot Patrick*, at the 24th August. (Usher *p. 897.*) This is the very day, at which the Glastonians had their Patrick. In the martyrologies the Patrick of that date is placed at Nevers (*Nivernis*) without any mention of Glastonbury. Colgan has strangely misunderstood Usher on this subject. He applies (*Tr. Th. p. 7.*) to Patrick of Nevers what Usher has about another Patrick called *Arvernensis* (Auvergne). Usher had expressly stated, that the day marked in the martyrologies for Patricius *Nivernensis* is August 24, while the day assigned to Patricius *Arvernensis* is the 16th of March. Colgan, confounding *Nivernensis* with *Arvernensis*, says that Patricius *Nivernensis* is revered on March 16.

(105) Above *Not. 21*.

(106) The Bollandists, having examined this subject very closely, conclude thus (*Ad 16 Mart. Sancti Prætermis*); “S. Patricii Episcopi et Confessoris depositio Avernis, sive Avernis, memoratur apud Usuardum, Bellinum, Galesinium, et in hodierno martyrologio Romano, in cujus *Notis* haeret dubius Baronius, *cum inter episcopos Arvernenses non recenseatur*, et tandem putat errore prætermisum, *nisi alterius fortassis civitatis episcopus fuerit*. Joannes Savaro, vir eruditus, in *Originibus Arvernensibus*, *cusis et recusis*, late hoc dubium deducit, asseritque *nullum vestigium esse apud Arvernos nominis, reliquiarum, aut alicujus cultus* St. Patricii episcopi, sed hunc in prædictis martyrologiis allegatum alium non esse quam *S. Patricium episcopum Hiberniae, sive Hiverniae*, pro quæ voce alibi substitutam fuisse *Arverniae sive Averniae*,

maxime cum primo loco apud Usuardum sequenti die legatur, *Natalis S. Patricii Episcopi et Confessoris in Scotia*; a quo die ob ejus *Vigiliam ad ultimum* hujus dici locum potuit in nonnullis fastis translatus fuisse, ac tandem loco *Vigiliae* intrusum fuisse nomen *depositionis*, quod absque ulteriore examine potuit descriptum deinceps fuisse." In the *Gallia Christiana*, under the head of the *Bishops of Clermont* (in Auvergne) *Tom. 2.* no Patrick appears. From these mistakes proceeded the mention made of Patrick of *Avernia* in the Glastonbury stories (See Usher, *p.* 895.). Maurice, one of Ledwich's champions (*Antiquities &c. p.* 364.) says; "Who can tell but *Patricius Avernensis* may have sunk a day lower in the Calendar, and made the Irish a *Patricius Hibernensis*?" Such quibbles are too contemptible to be answered. So then a Patrick, of whom nothing is known, would be the real one; and he, whose fame has resounded through the Christian world, must be converted into a phantom. Shame! Shame!

§. x. It would be well, were we as certain of the year as we are of the day of St. Patrick's death. The various dates assigned for it have been already mentioned, (107) and it would be a waste of time to examine them in detail. But before endeavouring to discover the true year, it becomes necessary to show, that he did not live until A. D. 493, the year laid down in the *Annals of Ulster* and of the 4 *Masters*, which have been followed respectively by Usher, Ware, Colgan, &c. If this date, to the plausibility of which Usher's ingenuity has chiefly contributed, can and ought to be set aside, the principal objections to any other hypothesis will immediately fall to the ground. In the first place I must observe, that said date is not founded upon any positive record, in which the saint's exit was affixed to it, but upon the supposition that his mission lasted for sixty full years, which, being reckoned from a late part of A. D. 432, (108) the year of his arrival, bring us down to 493. But what proofs are there to force us to admit, that St. Patrick lived to the uncommon age of, at least, 104 years? For such would be the case in

this hypothesis, as it is certain that he was not less than 44 years old, (109) when his mission commenced. And what are the grounds, on which that number of sixty years was introduced? None that I can discover except the whimsical conformities between our apostle and Moses (110) first started by some theorist, and afterwards gradually received by way of pious belief. These conformities are of old standing, and, I dare say, more ancient than any of the present Lives of St. Patrick, including even Fiech's hymn; for we find them not only in Nennius but likewise in the fragments of Tirechan. One of them consisted in allowing 120 years for the life of our saint. Then it was thought expedient to divide this number into certain parts, and the best sounding division was reputed that of two equal ones of sixty each, viz. before and after his arrival on the mission, which were again equally subdivided. (111) Thus the full sum of 120 was retained and admitted even by some, who placed St. Patrick's death long before A. D. 493. (112) In like manner the number of sixty years for his preaching was allowed by some chroniclers, who assigned it to A. D. 491. (113) This hypothesis, however, clashed with other accounts, according to which the whole time of his mission did not exceed 40 years. (114) New calculations were then entered into, in which, while some of them broke in upon the round numbers of 120, 60, &c. care was taken to allow an extraordinary length of time for his age; and hence arose, first, the jarring systems as to the number of his years, (115) and, secondly, the addition, to the time spent in preaching and active exertion, of many years passed in retirement and contemplation. (116)

(107) *Chap. iv. §. I. 11.*

(108) See *Chap. v. §. 1.*

(109) See *Chap. iv. §. 3.*

(110) *Chap. iv. §. 1.*

(111) See above *Not. 95. 96.* and *Chap. iv. §. 1.*

(112) Nennius, according to whom St. Patrick, must have died

about A. D. 465 (above §. 2.) has the 120 years; and Giraldus Cambrensis affixing our saint's death to 458, adds "in the 120th year of his age." (*Topogr. Hibern. dist. 3. c. 17.*)

(113) Marianus Scotus, or his interpolator, has at A. 491; "S. Patricius obiit—LX annis in Hibernia prædicavit." Yet in the same chronicle, at A. 432, he is said to have preached only 40 years. Usher has endeavoured (*p. 880 seqq.*) to amend the text of Marianus in one way, and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 233.*) in another. Neither of them, however, has done it in a satisfactory manner. The probability is that Marianus really allowed no more than the 40 years, which is the number marked also by a Scholiast to Nennius, (See *Chap. iv. §. 1.*) and that afterwards some dabbler in chronicle-making inserted in another part of the text 60 years, the number mentioned in other documents. He affixed them to the year 491 in consequence of his supposing that this was the year of St. Patrick's death; while according to what Marianus has at A. 432, the saint would have died in 472. Florence of Worcester, who also, as well as Sigebert and others, places his death in 491, allows sixty years for his preaching. (See Usher *p. 881.* and Colgan *Tr. Th. p. 232. 255.*) These chroniclers supposed that St. Patrick arrived in Ireland in 431, following Bede (*Epitome*) and others, who assigned the arrival of Palladius to A. D. 430, (See Usher, *p. 899.*)

(114) See *Not. præc.* Jocelin allowed for it only 35 years, and the Glastonians reduced it to eight. (Usher *p. 379.*)

(115) *Chap. iv. §. 1.*

(116) See above *Not. 95.* The Glastonians counted 39 years thus spent by St. Patrick, and, they said, at Glastonbury. (Usher, *p. 879.*)

§. XI. As therefore no dependence can be placed upon those preconceived hypotheses and vague traditions concerning the number of years assigned for St. Patrick's whole life, or for the course of his mission, &c. a different method must be resorted to, by which we may come, at least, near to the true year of his death. That he did not live until A. D. 493 nor until 491, (117) is evident from this circumstance, that Benignus his successor in the see of Armagh

died in the year 468. (118) To ward off this argument Usher, and after him Ware and others pretend, that Benignus was appointed to that see during the life time of St. Patrick; but they could not produce any authority for this assumption, (119) while on the contrary every old document, that can be referred to on the subject, represents Benignus as a real successor of our Apostle, that is, after his death. And first we have the life of Benignus himself, in which the matter is so stated. (120) Next come all such Lives of St. Patrick, as make mention of or allude to the accession of Benignus to Armagh; in them it is constantly exhibited as having taken place after the decease of his master. The Tripartite, after relating how Benignus, when a boy, became a pupil of the saint, introduces the latter saying; "He will be the *heir* of my power, that is, he will be *after me* the supreme moderator of the Irish church." Then it adds; "And this prophecy was proved by the event; for he became afterwards so distinguished by his learning and miracles, that in the opinion of all persons he was judged worthy of *succeeding* his master S. Patrick in the archbishoprick of Armagh and primacy of Ireland." (121) Here we find Benignus called the *heir* of St. Patrick, and the saint *foretelling* his appointment, not *appointing* him, and the opinion or *judgment* of others mentioned as the immediate cause of his promotion. Several other Lives agree in substance with this statement. (122) If it should be objected that the assigning of St. Patrick's death to some time before A. D. 468 cannot agree with what those Lives have concerning the great number of years, which they allow for his life, I will reply, that I am not bound to answer for their bungling computations, particularly as, with the exception of Jocelin, (123) none of them mention the year of our Lord in which he died. The question is not which were the years, in which they might have imagined that St. Patrick or Benignus died;

but whether they believed that the former died before the latter. Now as to this point they are unanimous, and it is of such a nature that it could have been easily known ; while the other question was involved in the darkness arising from jarring reckonings, nor did they trouble themselves about it. As soon, however, as the fact of our apostle having died before the incumbency of Benignus is ascertained, it necessarily follows that he could not have lived to as late a period as even A. D. 480. For, should we, for argument sake, admit that Benignus did not die quite as early as 468, yet we know that Iarlath his successor died 482, and was succeeded by Cormac, who died in 497. In confirmation of what has been now laid down, I beg to refer the reader to the account given of St. Patrick's prophecy concerning St. Brendan ; (124) of Nennius' computation of the times of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and Columbkil ; (125) and of Kienan of Duleek who, as we are told, wrote a Life of St. Patrick, and consequently must have survived him, although he died himself in 489. (126) Further arguments will be found elsewhere, derived in great part from the genuine history of St. Brigid.

(117) Baronius (*Annal. ad A. 491*) and Petavius (*De Doctrin. temp. Tom. 2. ad An. per. Jul. 5204*) following the present text of Marianus Scotus (see *Not. 113.*) affix St. Patrick's death to A. D. 491. At the same time they state that he died at the age of 82 years. They did not reflect that these positions could not be reconciled, unless we were to suppose, what no one will admit, that St. Patrick was not born until A. D. 409, and so would have been a bishop when only 23 years of age, viz. in 432, at which time his mission commenced. They should either have placed his death much sooner than 491, or given him a much longer life.

(118) Ulster Annals (Usher *p. 877.*) 4 Masters (*Tr. Th. p. 293.*) Ware (*Bishops at Benignus.*) &c. &c.

(119) See above §. 2.

(120) *Tr. Th. p. 293.* The same is found in a passage of the

Acts of Moctheus, which Usher himself has quoted (*p.* 876.) Colgan, perceiving that the Annals place the death of Benignus *bishop of Armagh* in 468, and that according to his own *Life* as well as that of Moctheus, he succeeded St. Patrick when dead, was so puzzled that he threw out (*ib.*) a conjecture of a most extravagant kind. The Benignus, he says, who died in 468, was different from the Benignus, who succeeded after St. Patrick's death, viz. after A. D. 493. But where could he have found a second Benignus bishop of Armagh in those times? All our writers mention but one, the great Benignus the favourite disciple of our Apostle. Nor was there room for any Benignus in that see about A. 493; whereas the then bishop was Cormac. Colgan was not unacquainted with Usher's evasion, but did not think himself authorized to resort to it, as he could not deny that St. Patrick died prior to the accession of Benignus.

(121) “*Hic heres regni mei erit, hoc est. erit post me supremus Ecclesiae Hibernicae moderator. Et oraculum probavit eventus; nam puer ille postea ita doctrina et miraculis claruit, ut omnium judicio dignus habitus sit, qui magistro suo S. Patricio in archiepiscopatu Ardmachano et primatu Hiberniae succederet; quod munus, &c. Tripart. L. 1. c. 45.*

(122) Probus (*L. 2. c. 1.*) makes St. Patrick say to Benignus; “*Jam te fili meum successorem dignum esse sentio futurum.*” In the third *Life* (*cap. 36.*) the saint is introduced as saying of him; “*Quia mei heres regni est.*” Tirechan has (*Pr. p. 875*); “*Ipse est Benignus episcopus successor Patricii in Ecclesia Machiae.*” Jocelin is still more explicit (*cap. 39.*) where he writes; “*Ipsum successorum ministerii sui sicut et fuit, fore praedixit. Idem namque Benignus in regimine pontificatus primatusque totius Hiberniae successit S. Patricio.*” This succeeding to the primacy as well as to the see, which is mentioned also in the *Tripartite*, is worth observation; for whereas Jocelin elsewhere (*cap. 191*) represents St. Patrick as retaining the primacy until the time of his death.

(123) As Jocelin lived at a later period than several of the chroniclers, who endeavoured to assign the precise time of St. Patrick's death, he took from them what he has (*cap. 196.*) about his having died in the year of our Lord 493, which he makes the same as the first year of the emperor Anastasius, whose reign

began in 491, and places in the pontificate of Pope Felix II. *alias* III. who, by the bye, died early in 492.

(124) *Not.* 85. to *Chap.* vi. (125) Above §. 2. *Not.* 12.

(126) Above §. 6. Colgan's evasion (*Tr. Th.* p. 217.) *viz.* that Kienan might have written that work before St. Patrick's death will not answer the description of what is called the *Life of a Saint*. In such tracts it is always presupposed that the person, whose Acts are given, has, after persevering unto the end, been removed to heaven. Were it certain that Mel of Ardagh wrote Memoirs or Acts of St. Patrick (See *Not.* 41.) it would follow that he also survived him, and consequently that the saint died prior to A. D. 488. Supposing even that he had not written such Memoirs, the very report of his having done so shows that he was considered as a survivor of St. Patrick. Usher saw into this difficulty, and accordingly added from himself (*Ind. Chron. ad A.* 488) to *S. Patricii* the words *ad huc superstitis*. Ware (*Writers*) acted in like manner.

§. XII. At present it remains only to inquire which was the precise year, in which our great saint departed this life. We have seen that some accounts had A. D. 458. (127) This date would agree very well with the ten years allowed in one document for the incumbency of Benignus, while it would take away some of the ten other years marked in the same for St. Patrick's own administration of Armagh, which was not founded before A. D. 454. But, as has been shown, (128) the document alluded to cannot in its present state be used as a guide to direct us. That date would leave only 26 years for the whole mission of St. Patrick, a space of time shorter than what we meet with in any authority worth mentioning. (129) Besides this objection, a much stronger one occurs founded on the very remarkable tradition, and which I find no reason for calling into question, that our saint died on a Wednesday. (130) Now in the year 458 the seventeenth of March fell on Monday. For the same reason we must reject the hypothesis of the Bollandists, who

assigned the death of St. Patrick to A. D. 460, (131) while in that year the 17th of March fell on Thursday. Nor can it be said, strictly speaking, that he died *about* 460, as there was no year, either before or after, near enough to it, with which that chronological criterion would agree. A much more probable supposition is, that he died about 472, the very year assigned in the Glastonian tablet referred to by Usher. (132) I say *about* 472, as the criterion now alluded to would suit not that year but 471. And if we admit that those, who allowed 40 years for the whole of St. Patrick's mission, supposed that it commenced in 431, (133) this computation would bring us straight to 471. It might also be granted that even reckoning the period of the mission from 432 to 471, it might, according to the mode of using round numbers, be said to have lasted 40 years, although in reality it would have been somewhat less than 39, whereas it had not begun as early as the 17th of March in the year 432. But a very strange objection arises against this hypothesis from what we have seen concerning the death of Benignus being assigned to A. D. 468. And, were we even to allow that the death of Benignus is placed rather too early, yet it can hardly be supposed that his accession to Armagh did not take place until A. D. 471, as thus there would remain only eleven years for the whole time of his incumbency and that of his successor Iarlath, who, as already observed, died in 482. Having now examined all the hypotheses worthy of consideration, I will venture to propose another, which is less liable to exceptions than any I have met with. I can scarcely call it a hypothesis, as I find it clearly laid down in a copy of the Annals of Innisfallen. This copy assigns the death of St. Patrick to the 432d year after the passion of our Lord, (134) a date, which exactly corresponds to A. D. 465, according to the system of Bede and others, who have affixed the passion to the year 33 of the Christian era.

By adopting this year as that of St. Patrick's death, full room will be found for the ten years allowed for his administration of Armagh, and we will have 33 years for the whole period of his mission, a number that comes near to the 35 of Jocelin. And, what is particularly to be remarked, the 17th of March fell in said year on Wednesday. (125) It will also be seen, that this date agrees better than any other with the sequel of our history. We may now, without resorting to conjecture, or tormenting ourselves with endeavouring to reconcile irreconcilable computations, safely state that our Apostle was called to heaven either at the age of 78 years or in his 78th year, as his birth occurred in 387, (136) and his death in 465.

(127) Above §. 2. (128) *Not.* 141 to *Chap.* vi.

(129) See *Not.* 113-114. The Glastonian nonsense about 8 years merits no consideration.

(130) See *Chap.* iv. §. 1.

(131) See *Chap.* iv. §. 2. The Bollandists, having laid down with Baronius and Petavius that our saint was 82 years old when he died, perceived that it would be absurd to follow them in their other supposition, *viz.* that he lived until 491. (See *Not.* 117.) Accordingly they looked out for an earlier period and guessed at A. D. 460. Yet they have been followed by Baillet, to whom alone reference is made in this date in *L'Art de verifier les dates*, *Tom.* 1. *p.* 96, at *St. Patrice*.

(132) *P.* 879. (133) Compare with *Not.* 113.

(134) "Quies Patricii 16 Cal. Aprilis anno 432º. a passione Domini." Annals of Innisfallen among Harris's Manuscripts in the library of the Royal Dublin Society.

(135) Usher (*p.* 882) argued very justly, in defence of his favourite year 493, against those who stood out for 490, 491, or 492, that in none of these years the 17th of March fell on Wednesday, as it did in 493. We find four years in a course of less than thirty, to which that criterion applied, *i. e.* four years marked with the Dominical letter *C.* *viz.* A. 465, 471, 482 and 493. The last could not, by any means, have been the year of

St. Patrick's death; nor could 482, as that was the year, in which Iarlath died.

(136) See *Chap.* iv. §. 4.

§. XIII. As soon as the news of the saint's death had spread throughout Ireland, the clergy flocked from all quarters to celebrate his funeral obsequies. (137) This they did with extraordinary pomp and great profusion of torches and lights, (138) insomuch that for a considerable time, during which the obsequies were continued both day and night, darkness was dispelled, and the whole time seemed one constant day. (139) Every bishop and priest, according as he arrived at Saul, naturally wished to celebrate the holy mysteries in commemoration of their apostle, and hence the funeral service must have been kept up for several days. As it consisted not only in the celebration of mass but likewise in Psalmody and chaunting of hymns, (140) which was continued during the night; (141) and as there were probably various commemorations, such as those of the third day, ninth day, &c. (142) celebrated on this occasion, it is not to be wondered at that this sort of uninterrupted day had left a strong recollection of it in Ireland. A strange turn has been given to this circumstance, by converting that artificial light into real day-light, without the intervention of any night whatsoever, throughout the district around Saul. This long day, they tell us, lasted for twelve ordinary days, (143) the length of time during which the obsequies were celebrated. (144) Others made it still longer; but it is evident that the whole statement was founded on a misconception. (145) It is said that a furious contest was very near breaking out, concerning the place in which St. Patrick's remains should be deposited, between the Ulidians and the inhabitants of the district, in which Armagh is situated. (146) To prevent bloodshed matters were providentially so managed, that his body was interred at Down; (147) although part of his reliques were

brought to Armagh. (148) It seems that, notwithstanding the general belief as to Down, there arose in course of time some doubts as to the particular spot, in which the body had been placed. (149) As to what is related of its having been found in the 12th century, this subject will be inquired into elsewhere.

(137) “Clerici enim Hiberniae confluebant ad celebrandas exequias Patricii undique.” Fiech’s hymn, *Stroph.* 31.

(138) Besides the lights used during the time of divine service, and those more or less numerous according to the rank of the persons, used in funeral processions (see Bingham *Book* XXIII. *ch.* 2.), a custom still prevalent in Catholic countries, it was considered an act of respect to keep lights around the corpse in the place (regularly the church) where it was deposited and watched until the time of burial. Eusebius tells us (*Vit. Const. L. 4. c.* 66.) that Constantine’s body was surrounded with lights and watched for several days and nights. Hence came what we call *wakes*.

(139) In the hymn (*Stroph.* 29. 30) it is compared to the long day caused by the standing of the sun for Joshua against Gabaon.

(140) St. Jerome (*Epitaph. Fabiol. cap.* 4.) describing the funeral service for Fabiola, writes; “Sonabant Psalmi, et aurata templorum tecta reboans in sublime quatiebat Alleluia.”

(141) St. Gregory of Nyssa (*Vit. Macrinae*) says, that the persons watching the body of his sister Macrina sang psalms during the whole night. To this singing by night during the obsequies of St. Patrick is probably to be referred what we find in Fiech’s hymn (*Stroph.* 31. Colgan’s translation); “Sonus *consensus superni reddebat ipsos sopore irruente ubi humi decumbentes.*” By *consensus superni* we may understand the singing of psalms and hymns, it being a sort of celestial music. In Lynch’s translation we have, instead of *consensus superni* the *musical instrument*. Could it be that instrumental music was allowed at the obsequies of our saint? This would form a singular exception to the practice of the church in those days; for, although the Jews in their watchings or wakes of the dead had that custom, (*Matth.* IX. 23.) yet among Christians no other than vocal music seems to have been allowed in their religious ceremonies until a

period much later than that we are now treating of. I know too little of the Irish language to be able to unravel that obscure passage; but, if any thing like a musical instrument be mentioned in it, I should think that it was either a bell (for the use of bells was very ancient in Ireland) or some sonorous instrument, such as the trumpet of the ancient Egyptian monks, by which the time for attending the service was announced. The effect of the sound or noise of this instrument would be to rouse people from their sleep, not to *bury them in sleep* as Lynch's translation runs. Probus, however, relates that on the first night, the obsequies being celebrated by Angels, the clergy, &c. suddenly fell asleep. "In prima autem nocte exequiarum ejus sancti Angeli excubias vigiliarum ibidem fuerunt, hymnorum atque psalmarum modulationes in omnibus complentes; quicumque vero ad vigiliis primae noctis clerici vel laici venerant subito abdormierunt, et Angelis excubantibus locum dabant. In caeteris autem *noctibus* homines religiosi orantes, ac *psalmos canentes*, sacrum corpus ex more custodiebant." *L. 2. c. 36.* The Angels are mentioned also in the hymn, *Stroph. 32.* Whether the *concentus superni* as above, be connected with with them, is not clear from the text.

(142) See Bingham, *Book XXIII. ch. 2. sect. 19.*

(143) Probus *L. 2. c. 34.* Jocelin, *cap. 193.*

(144) Tripart. *L. 3. c. 105.*

(145) According to the Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 106*) some said, that it lasted for a whole year. This stuff was borrowed from the words of Fiech's hymn (*Stroph. 28*); "Spatio unius anni continuata lux erat." Lynch's translation has; "Till the year's end (from 17th March) continued the lights." The meaning of the author is very clear from the sequel. He attributes this continuation of light or lights to the celebration of the obsequies and the conflux of clergymen. As to his making it last for a year or great part of a year, it can be explained by supposing that various commemorations were held from time to time, which might have been repeated until they closed with the anniversary. That he did not mean *day-light* during that whole time, is evident from his saying (*Stroph. 32*), that Angels attended on the *first night* of the obsequies. Probus also mentions *nights* during this celebration (see *Not. 141.*); and hence I suspect that what occurs (*L. 2. c. 31.*) about the miraculous long day is an interpolation, especially as it is rather misplaced.

(146) Probus *L. 2. c. 39.* Tripart. *L. 3. c. 107.* Third Life, *cap. 91.* Jocelin, *cap. 194.* Ulidia or *Ullagh*, whence the modern name *Ulster*, comprehended only a part of this province. It consisted chiefly, of, at least, a great part of the now county of Down.

(147) Third Life, *cap. 88.* Fourth, *cap. 107.* Tripart. *L. 3. c. 108.* Yet (*ib. c. 101*) it mentions Saul as the place, where St. Patrick was to be interred. Jocelin, *cap. 196,* and Usher's Tripartite (*Pr. p. 173.*) have Down. More authorities will be found in Usher (*p. 888, seqq.*) and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 259, seqq.*) To these writers I refer those, who may wish to see a complete refutation of the Glastonian scribblers, who pretended that our saint died and was buried at Glastonbury. (See also above §. II. and Harris, *Bishops, p. 23.*)

(148) The *Lipsana*, or reliques of Patrick Senior, are mentioned in some old Calendars (*Tr. Th. p. 262.*) as being at Armagh. Patrick senior was no other than the great St. Patrick. This will help us to explain the expression of St. Bernard (*Vid. S. Mal. cap. 7.*); "In qua (Ardmacha) et vivus praeftit et mortuus requiescit." Usher (*p. 888*) quotes to the same purpose an unpublished Life of St. Patrick.

(149) Tirechan and Nennius say that the place, in which St. Patrick's remains lie, is unknown. (See *Chap. iv. §. I.*) Whatever truth there may be in this assertion, it need not be understood with regard to the place in general; such as that his body was somewhere in Down; but ought to be considered relatively to the particular spot. Nor does the conformity with Moses require any more. For, although the few feet of ground that contained the body of Moses, were not known, yet the place in general was, being a valley in the land of Moab over against Bethpoer. (*Deuter. xxxiv. 6.*) The Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 108.*) and Jocelin *cap. 196.*) state that St. Patrick's body was laid in a very deep pit, to prevent its being stolen. To guard against the commission of such a theft at any time, it might have been thought proper to conceal the spot as much as possible. We may also suppose that the accumulation of graves around that of the saint might, in a long lapse of time, have given occasion to doubt, which was his peculiar one. Similar doubts have been started concerning the burying places of several eminent saints.

§. XIV. It will not be expected that I should waste my time with giving an account of the so called Patrick's Purgatory of Lough Dearg (Donegall), or examining if there could have been any foundation for attributing it to our Apostle. It is never mentioned in any of his Lives; (150) nor was it, I believe, heard of until the eleventh century, the period at which the Canons Regular of St. Augustin first appeared. (151) For it was to persons of that Order, as the story goes, that St. Patrick confided the care of that cavern of wonders. (152) Now there were no such persons in the island, in which it is situated, nor in that of St. Davoc in the same lake, (153) until, I dare say, about the beginning of the 12th century. This purgatory, or purging place (154) of Lough Dearg was set up against another Patrick's Purgatory, viz. that of Croagh-Patrick, mentioned by Jocelin, which however ill-founded the vulgar opinion concerning it, was less objectionable. (155) Some writers have said that it got the name of Patrick's Purgatory from an abbot Patrick, that lived in the ninth century; (156) but neither were there Canons Regular of St. Augustin at that time; nor were such abridged modes of atoning to the Almighty for the sins of a whole life then thought of. It was demolished in the year 1497 by order of the Pope, although it has since been in some manner restored. No mention of it is allowed in any part of the Church service. (157)

(150) Colgan has published (*Tr. Th. p. 285*) a little tract, which he says he found in a *MS.* placed after the end of the Tripartite, and therefore attributes to the author of that work. In it this purgatory is spoken of together with its privileges, &c. But it was not written by that author, as, to omit other reasons, plainly appears from the mention of Canons of St. Augustin, a description of persons unknown when he lived. It is a transcript from the foolish *Narrative* of the monk Henry of Salterey (Huntingdonshire), which also has been published by Colgan (*ib. p. 273*).

seqq.) This Henry lived in the 12th century, and has related what he heard from another English monk, Gilbert of Lud, concerning that cavern, and chiefly the wonderful things that happened to Owen, an Irish soldier, who had the courage to enter it, and which Gilbert said he had been informed of by Owen himself. These visions of Owen, as they have been called, were thence copied by Matthew Paris, and others. See more *ap.* Colgan (*loc. cit.*) and Usher (*p.* 897. *seqq.*). The mighty Dr. Ledwich says (*Antiq. p.* 446.) that the story was trumped up to make the Irish more obedient and submissive; pray, to whom?

(151) See *Not.* 133. to *Chap.* iv.

(152) In the Narrative (see *Not.* 150.) we read; “Sanctum vero Patricium Dominus in locum desertum adduxit, et unam fossam rotundam intrinsecus obscuram ibidem et ostendit, dicens; “*Quisquis veraciter poenitens, vera fide armatus, fossam eandem ingressus, unius diei ac noctis moram in ea faceret, ab omnibus purgaretur totius vite sue peccatis, sed et per illam transiens non solum visurus esset tormenta malorum, verum etiam, si in fide constanter egisset, gaudia beatorum.*” Sicque ab oculis ejus Domino disparente, spirituali jucunditate repletus est B. Patricius, tam pro Domini sui apparitione, quam pro fossae illius ostensione, per quam sperabat populum aberrare conversurum: statimque in eodem loco ecclesiam construxit, et *B. Patris Augustini Canonicos vitam apostolicam sectantes in ea constituit*; fossam autem praedictam, quae in coemeteris est extra frontem ecclesiae orientalem, muro circumdedit, et januas serasque apposuit, ne quis eam ausu temerario, et *sine licentia*, ingredi praesumeret, clavem vero custodiendam commendavit *Priori ecclesiae ejusdem*—et quoniam homo a peccatis purgetur, locus ille *Purgatorium S. Patricii* nominatur.” This trash is to be found, nearly *verbatim*, in the little tract mentioned above (*Not.* 150.).

(153) Concerning St. Davoc’s island and monastery see Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. His account of it is, however, rather confused.

(154) Poor Harris thought, that what is called *Patrick’s Purgatory* was relative to the state of souls after death, and accordingly, having ventured on controversy, argues (*Bishops, p.* 25.) against praying for the dead from the circumstance of *that purgatory* being fabulous. He was not indeed the only person, that argued thus badly. But they might have easily discovered

that it got said name from the supposition, that persons, who duly prepared spent some time there, were *purged* or cleansed from their sins while *living*. (See *Not.* 152.) As to praying for the dead, nothing can be more certain, as will be seen elsewhere, than that it was practised in Ireland ever since the days of St. Patrick.

(155) Jocelin writes (*cap.* 172.); “ In hujus (Croagh-patrick) montis cacumine jejunare ac vigilare consuescunt plurimi spinantes se postea nunquam intraturos portas inferni, quia hoc impetratum a Domine existimant meritis ac precibus S. Patricii. Referunt etiam nonnulli, qui pernoctaverant ibi, se tormenta gravissima fuisse perpressos, quibus se *purgatos a peccatis* putant, unde et quidam illorum locum illum *Purgatorium S. Patricii* vocant.” Why then should not the Canons Regular have another at Lough Dearg?

(156) See Usher *p.* 897. It was so little known even in the times of Henry of Salterey, that, as he relates, an Irish abbot, whom he consulted, told him he had never heard any thing about it.

(157) This fable had got into a Roman breviary printed in the year 1522. On this being taken notice of, orders were immediately issued, that it should not appear in any future edition, and accordingly it is not to be met with either in the Roman or any other breviary published since that year. Strange that Rothe and Colgan, who must have been aware of this and other circumstances, could ~~have~~^{not} attempted a vindication of it. Ledwich, amidst other stuff concerning this Purgatory, says that Pope Benedict XIV. preached a sermon on it. This is not true. That sermon was preached not by Benedict XIV. but by Benedict XIII. and not when Pope, but when archbishop of Benevento. See *Hibernia Dominicana*, *p.* 5. the very page, to which that faithful antiquary refers, *p.* 447.

§. xv. Besides the Confession and the Epistle against Coroticus some other tracts have been attributed to St. Patrick. But with the exception of, at least, some of the Canons already spoken of, (158) and of the treatise *De Abusionibus Seculi*, it is now generally agreed, that such of them as are still extant were not written by him. This treatise has

been quoted as a work of our saint by writers of the 8th or 9th century. As, however, the style is quite different from that of the Confession, &c. it has been conjectured that in its present state it is only a translation from the Irish, in which language St. Patrick might have composed it. (159) A collection of Sermons pronounced by him is said to have existed; but none of them are now to be found. (160) A monastic rule is also mentioned; and it is not improbable that he drew up one similar to those, which he had observed himself at Tours and in Lerins. (161) Tracts like these now touched upon would agree very well with what we know concerning the occupations and proceedings of our Apostle; not so a large historico-political work foolishly ascribed to him by some of our antiquaries, which they call *Seanchas More* or the *Great Antiquity*. They tell us it was compiled in the year 439, and that St. Patrick was assisted in this mighty undertaking by two holy bishops, one of whom was Benignus, three kings, and three antiquaries, (162) who, according to this notable history, formed the famous *Committee of Nine*, appointed for this purpose by the senate called the *Fes* of Temor or Tarah. (163) So then St. Patrick and other ecclesiastics would have been members of the national assembly of Ireland, and that at a time when the far greatest part of the persons entitled to sit in it were Pagans. Would king Leogaire, who was never a Christian, (164) have allowed a place in that meeting to a foreigner, or, what would be still more strange, recognized his authority? And how could Benignus have been a bishop in 439, or even a senator, and chosen on a committee? In that year St. Patrick was better employed, preaching in Connaught, than in attending senates. The mixture of ecclesiastics with laymen in the states-general of nations was quite unknown in St. Patrick's days. What has become of the *Seanchas More*, is uncertain. (165) As to some other writ-

ings under the name of our saint, I refer the reader to those who have expressly treated of these subjects. (166)

(158) Above §. 3.

(159) See Ware, *Opusc. S. Pat. &c.* p. 139. and compare with Tillement, *Mem. &c. Tom. xvi. p. 785.*

(160) Stanilhurst (*Vit. S. Patr. L. 2.*) drew up a flowery sermon in St. Patrick's name, which Messingham, although he doubted of its genuineness, honoured with republication in his *Florilegium.*

(161) See *Chap. iv. §. 9. 12.*

(162) Colgan has (*Tr. Th. p. 214*); “Ad annum 438 (439) tradunt quatuor Magistri; Anno Christi 438 et regis Leogarii decimo, vetustis codicibus aliisque antiquis Hiberniae monumentis undique conquisitis, et ad unum locum congregatis, Hiberniae Antiquitates et Sanctiones Legales S. Patricii auctoritate repurgatae et conscriptae sunt. Authores, quorum opera illud opus congestum fuit, Leogarius, Corcus, et Darius, tres reges; Patricius, Benignus, et Carnechus, tres sancti episcopi; Rossius, Dubthacus, et Fergussius, tres antiquarii.” Colgan says that the second part of this compilation, the *Legal Sanctions*, was probably the same as the Collection of Canons, *Canoin Phadruic*, mentioned by Jocelin, *cap. 185.* Thus St. Patrick would not have meddled with state matters; but the contrivers of that story meant somewhat more than mere ecclesiastical regulations.

(163) See Keating, *Book 2d*, and O'Conor's *Dissertations on the History of Ireland, Dissert. 1. Sect. 15.*

(164) *Chap. v. §. 6.* O'Conor, whom I was really surprised to find abetting this silly story, says that Leogaire had been a Christian but apostatized. I wish he had told us at what time he became one.

(165) Nicholson, *Ir. Hist. Libr. ch. 2.* Keating derives from it the Psalter of Cashel, the Book of Armagh, &c. &c.

(166) Ware (*Opusc. S.P.*); *Idem* and Harris (*Irish Writers*); Colgan *Tr. Th. p. 214 seqq.* &c. &c.

CHAPTER VIII.

Benignus appointed successor to St. Patrick—Preached the Gospel in those tracts not visited by St. Patrick—Sends for Iarlath—Death of St. Benignus—Death of Isserninus bishop of Kilkullen—St. Brigid received the veil from Maccaicus—Her parentage—Place of her birth—Place where she received the veil—Visits Teffia—Goes with Erc bishop of Slane into Munster—Goes to the plain of Cliach, county Limerick—Goes to South Leinster—Goes into Connaught and resides a while in county Roscommon—Parentage and birth place of St. Iarlath—Death of King Leogaire and accession of Olioll Molt—Death of Olioll—Christian princes in Ireland at this period—Bishops Ailbe and Declan—Conference at Magh-Femyn—Synod of Cashel—Angus king of Munster grants the Island of Arran to Enda, on which he builds a monastery—St. Ailbe's great reputation—Restrained by king Angus from leaving his diocese—Several ecclesiastical schools erected—Several nunneries established—Foundation of St. Brigid's great nunnery of Kildare—Conlaeth first bishop of Kildare—Natfroich the spiritual companion of St. Brigid—Bishops contemporary with St. Brigid—Brigid or the abbesses of Kildare had no jurisdiction over the abbots or bishops—Cormac succeeds Iarlath in the See of Armagh—Cormac bishop of Trim—Luman first bishop of Trim—Death of several bishops—Bishop Cerban of Feart—Cerban near Tarah—Dubhtach or Duach successor of Cormac in the See of Armagh—Aengus Mac Nisse first bishop of Connor—Cailan abbot of Antrim—Canoc or Conoc

founder of the monastery of Gallen—Brothers of Canoc—St. Daboec—Fortchern bishop of Trim—Churches of Kill-fortchern and Kilconnel—St. Fredolinus the traveller.

SECT. I.

THE see of Armagh did not remain long vacant. All those, who were concerned in appointing a successor to St. Patrick, were unanimous in the choice of Benignus; (1) and, accordingly his accession took place long before the end of the year 465, in which the saint died. We have already seen how, when young, he became a disciple of our apostle. (2) It is related in his Acts that, when he became qualified to preach the Gospel, he was employed in various parts of Ireland, (3) and particularly in places which St. Patrick had not visited in person. West Munster (Kerry) and some parts of the now county of Clare, districts, which, as already observed, (4) were not honoured with St. Patrick's presence, are particularly specified; and he has been considered as the apostle of those tracts, although then only a priest. (5) After his promotion to Armagh I find nothing remarkable recorded concerning his transactions. Several disciples of his are spoken of, and among them are some who have been called disciples of St. Patrick. (6) How long he governed Armagh is a subject involved in some doubt. If he died A. D. 468, (7) we cannot allow more than three years and some months for his incumbency; but could it be proved that it lasted ten years, (8) his death should be assigned to 475. Were it not that our Annalists agree in assigning his death to A. D. 468, (9) I would be much inclined to think that it was somewhat later; because the Tripartite mentions his having governed for *several* years, (10) an expression which, if founded on truth, would imply more than three or four years. In this

case we might suppose that the 18 or perhaps only 17 full years, allowed by some writers for Iarlath his successor down to A. D. 482, ought to be divided between them both. Yet I allow we should have some better argument than a mere expression of the Tripartite, and perhaps mistranslated, to induce us to depart from the date given by the Annalists. His having resigned his see some years before his death is a mere Glastonbury story, and directly opposite to the express testimony of his own Acts, in which we read that, finding his end approaching, he sent for Iarlath, and received from him the Lord's body; and that after he was immediately succeeded by him. (11) St. Benignus died on the 9th of November and was buried at Armagh. (12)

(1) See *Chap. vii. §. xi.*

(2) *Chap. v. §. 4.*

(3) Among the parts of Ireland, through which he accompanied St. Patrick, Connaught is particularly mentioned. It will not be denied, that, while a scholar, he was with the saint in that province; but he was probably too young to be a preacher until after they left it, *viz.* about the beginning of A. D. 442 (See *ch. v. §. 13.*) Another Benignus, brother of Cethecus and a bishop, is spoken of as having been employed in Connaught; (*Tripart L. 2. c. 52.*) if there was such a person, he must not be confounded with the Benignus of Armagh.

(4) *Chap. vi. §. 8.*

(5) Sanctus autem Patricius in persona propria non visit populos Iarmomoniae, seu *Occidentalis Momoniae*, sed provinciam illam commisit S. Benigno; qui, cum septem aliis sociis S. Patricii discipulis comitantibus et collaborantibus, eos continuis verbi Dei praedicationibus, signis, et virtutibus multis, e tenebris idololatriae ad lucem fidei perduxit, et salutaribus undis Ecclesiae adunivit. Quem proinde ut *Apostolum* cultu et obsequiis ex voto devotè venerantur. Eadem etiam obsequia et officia praestare debent Corcamorogii, (*Corcomroe* in Clare) quos in fide Christi sedulo instructos, et baptizatos, Christi aggregavit ovili." *Vit. S. Benigni, cap. 6. (Tr. Th. p. 203.)*

(6) *Ex. c. Buadmel, and Carellus, whom the Tripartite*

(*L. 2. c. 23*) makes bishop at Tannach, somewhere in the county of Sligo.

(7) See *Chap. VII. §. XI.*

(8) Usher (*p. 875*) has ten years for the incumbency of Benignus, which he counts from A. D. 455 (See *Not. 141 to Ch. VI.*) In consequence of this calculation he was forced to reckon 13 years from the accession of Benignus until his death, which, as he observes (*p. 877*) some of our Annals place in 468. Thus then we should suppose, what Usher, by the bye, does not assert, that Benignus resigned his see three years before his death (see *Ind. Chron. ad A. 465*). But there is no foundation for this story of the resignation of Benignus, and accordingly Usher's computation cannot be reconciled with his own authorities. For, if ten years were the precise time of that incumbency, he should either have made them begin in 458 or end in 465. Still more perplexed are the calculations of the Bollandists, who also allow ten years for the episcopacy of Benignus, which they begin in 470 and terminate in 480. Having laid down that St. Patrick died in 460, they make him be succeeded by the pretended Sen-Patrick, of whom enough has been said already (*Chap. VII. §. 2.*) Sen-Patrick, according to them, died at Glastonbury in 470, and here they bring in Benignus. This sort of conjectural chronology is quite inconsistent with the date, that must be allowed for St. Patrick's death (*Chap. VII. §. 12*), and with the well authenticated fact that Benignus was his *immediate* successor. Besides it would leave only two years for the incumbency of Iarlath, who died in 482.

(9) To the Annals of Ulster and the 4 Masters referred to above (*Not. 118 to Chap. VII.*) add those of Innisfallen.

(10) *L. 1. c. 45.*

(11) “Cum vir Dei (Benignus) videret tempus suae resolutionis instare, curat accersiri S. Hierlatium filium Trieni—et ex ejus manu arrham et pignus aeternae beatitudinis corpus Domini devotissime sumit, et se ad vitae terminum et Patriae parat introitum. Fuit autem hic S. Hierlatius, qui ipsi in sede Ardmachana et primatu Hiberniae *immediate successit.*” *Vit. S. Benigni, cap. 18.* The Glastonians, in the same manner as they pretended to have had St. Patrick among them, took to themselves also his disciple Benignus, and, to mend the matter, assigned his arrival at Glastonbury to A. D. 460. Then it was added that he was buried at a

place called Ferlingmer, and an epitaph was made out for him under the name of *Beona*. (See Usher *p.* 876, *seqq.*) We had persons enough of that name, (Colgan, *AA. SS. p.* 90.) one of whom they might have chosen for themselves without stealing St. Benignus of Armagh. Hence the story of the resignation of Benignus, which Ware has assigned to A. D. 465, the very year of his appointment. (See *Chap. vi. Not.* 145.) O'Flaherty in a passage of his *Ogygia Christiana*, part of which has been already quoted (*ib. Not.* 146.) calculates that Benignus, whose accession he affixed to A. D. 458, resigned his see six years after, viz. in 464. Thus he speculated to make room for the 18 following years of Iarlath's incumbency.

(12) *Pr. p.* 877. How a story about Benignus having died at Rome got into the Annals of Innisfallen, I cannot discover.

§. II. Isserninus, bishop of Kilcullen, (13) did not long survive his friend Benignus, as he died in the year 469. (14) Who was his immediate successor in that place I cannot venture to say, for it is scarcely credible that Mactaleus, who was bishop there in the sixth century, (15) could have been the person. It is very probable, that he was not succeeded there *immediately* by any one, in the same manner as we do not know of any successor of his colleague Auxilius (16) at Killossy. It is not to be supposed, that in those early times permanent sees were so generally established, that a bishop should be regularly appointed to a place, in which a former one had resided. At the time of Isserninus' death there were, at least, two bishops stationed in parts of Leinster not far remote from the district of Kilcullen, viz. Fiech and Maccalaus, (17) so that there was no necessity for appointing another to it, as the episcopal duties could have been performed by either of those prelates. Maccalaus was the bishop, from whom St. Brigid received the veil; and, as this remarkable circumstance occurred about the time we are now treating of, it will not be amiss to touch upon, in this place, the early part of the history of that extraordinary

virgin. (18) She was of an illustrious family of Leinster. Her father Dubtach was of royal blood, being of the race of Ethee or Eochad brother of the celebrated (19) Con surnamed *Kedchathath*, (of the hundred battles). Her mother Brocessa or Brotseach was of the noble house of *Dal-Concobhair* (O'Connor), in the southern part of the territory of the Bregii. (20) They were both Christians, according to the most creditable account; (21) for, no attention is due to what we find in two or three of the so called Lives of St. Brigid concerning her mother having been a concubine, whom, when pregnant, the wife of Dubtach obliged him to dismiss, and of her having been purchased by a pagan poet or a Magus, and how, in consequence of his taking her to Ulster, she was there delivered of the saint. (22) This romance-like narrative cannot agree with the circumstance that the parents of the saint were Christians, I mean such strict Christians as were then in Ireland, nor with the rank of her mother's family and her being everywhere else spoken of as the wife of Dubtach. (23) St. Brigid was born at Fochard (Faughter) about two miles to the North of Dundalk, and in a district, which was formerly considered as part of Ulster. (24) Whether her coming into the world in that place was owing to her parents having had a residence there, or to their being on a visit at some friend's house, it is immaterial to inquire. Various years have been assigned for her birth; but, on comparing the best authorities it appears that it must have been in some year between A. D. 451 and 458, both included. Meanwhile we may follow Usher's computation, which affixes it to 453. (25) According to this date she was twelve years old when St. Patrick died, (26) and might have been known to him, in consequence of her singular sanctity having become conspicuous at a very early age, joined with her being of an illustrious family. But she could not have been a professed nun at that time, nor have already

founded a religious establishment. (27) In the most consistent and authentic accounts of both saints, St. Brigid does not appear as a consecrated virgin during the life time of St. Patrick. (28) Accordingly we cannot admit what is said of her interviews, when Abbess of a monastery, with our Apostle, nor of her having, at his request, woven the shroud, in which his body was after his death enveloped. (29)

(13) Chap. vi. §. 5.

(14) Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(15) *Not.* 35 to Chap. vii.

(16) See *Chap.* vii. §. 3.

(17) See *Chap.* vii. §. 5.

(18) Colgan has published in the *Trias Thaumaturga* six tracts, which he calls *Lives*, concerning St. Brigid. The first is an Irish poem celebrating her virtues and miracles, ascribed in an anonymous preface to St. Brogan of Rostuiric in Ossory near Sliabh-Bladhma (*Slieve-bloom*), who had been requested by Ultan of Ardbraccan to compose it, and therefore could not have written it about A. D. 526, as Colgan thought, and as Harris, in opposition to Ware, has placed it. For Ultan lived until the year 657 (Usher, *Ind. Chron.*); and accordingly Ware was more correct in reckoning Brogan among the writers of the seventh century. The second is the celebrated work of Cogitosus, who could not have lived in the sixth century, as Colgan and others imagined. For in his prologue he speaks not only of a succession of bishops of Kildare after Conlaeth, who died in 519, and which succession is mentioned in terms indicating a long lapse of time; but likewise represents the bishop of that see as the chief of the Leinster prelates, which he certainly was not until after that century. (See Usher, *p.* 965.) His description also of the church of Kildare plainly refers to a time much later than that period. Yet we cannot place him lower down than about the beginning of the ninth century or some time before the devastation of Kildare by the Danes, which began in the year 835 (836). (See *Tr. Th.* *p.* 629.) For it can scarcely be doubted, that it was about that time that the remains of St. Brigid were removed to Down, then a safe place, to guard them against the fury of those heathens. (See *ib.* *p.* 565.) Now these holy remains were at Kildare when Cogitosus wrote his book. (See *cap.* 35.) And that he lived before the said devasta-

tion is evident, first, from his not making, in his minute description of the church (*ib.*) the least allusion to its having been ever destroyed, or to the spoliation of the shrines of St. Brigid and Conlaeth, which he represents as very splendid and rich; secondly, from his stating that the city of Kildare and its suburbs were a place of refuge, in which there could not be the least apprehension of any hostile attack; “*Nullus carnalis adversarius, nec concursus timetur hostium;*” (*cap.* 36.) Cogitosus could not have written in this manner after the year 836, nor even after 831, (832) in which year Kildare was plundered by Kellach son of Bran. (*Tr. Th.* p. 629.) That mighty critic Dr. Ledwich says, (*Antiq.* p. 166) that the work of Cogitosus is *supposititious*, and why? Because it was not written in the sixth century! But surely it was written some time or another, and certainly by a man of the name of *Cogitosus*, who would not have been heard of but for this work, in which he has left us his name. The poor Doctor does not understand the very terms of the art of criticism. What he meant to assert seems to be that it was written in the 12th century, on account of what is said of the architecture of the church, in which he supposed that stone building was implied. Could not there be architecture without stone? Has he heard of such a country as Germany, or of the many fine houses there built without either stone or brick? He thought that the word, *parietes* used by Cogitosus, (*cap.* 35) should be understood of stone. How then would he understand the *parietes tabulati*, of the same writer and in the same chapter? The fact is that Cogitosus has not a word about stone in his description of the church. The book itself is rather a panegyrical discourse on St. Brigid than a regular Life. The third treatise is attributed by Colgan to Ultan of Ardbraccan, who is known to have written something concerning St. Brigid. (See Ware at *Ultan* and *Harris, Writers*, p. 30.) But neither he nor any writer of the 7th century could have recorded the many strange fables, with which it is crammed. Besides, it differs from the two former tracts in some material points. It is a hodge-podge made up at a late period, in which it is difficult to pick out any truth from amidst a heap of rubbish. The fourth, which is divided into two books, was written, at a period, when it was universally believed that St. Brigid's remains were at Down, and, I dare say, some time in the 10th or 11th century. Colgan suspects it is the same as the work

on St. Brigid said to have been written by one Animosus, who might have flourished late in the tenth. (See *Tr. Th. p.* 563, and Harris at *Animosus*.) The fifth treatise or Life is, making allowance for many stories, tolerably well written. The author Laurence of Durham, who lived in the 12th century. The sixth is a rather long Latin poem, to which is prefixed a prologue beginning with "*Finibus occiduis*," &c. Colgan got both the prologue and the Life from the Benedictine library of Monte Cassino, in which it was marked as written by one Chilien a monk of Inniskeltra (in Lough Derg, river Shannon). And yet elsewhere (*Tr. Th. p.* 255.) he ascribes the prologue to Donatus an Irisman, who was bishop of Firole in Tuscany in the ninth century. Harris has followed this distinction (*Writers at Donat*). This Chilien, whether author of both (as Colgan has *ib. p.* 597) or not, was, according to a conjecture of his, the same as Coelan of Inniskeltra, who seems to have flourished in the eighth century, and not the seventh to which Harris assigns him (at *Chaelien*). Bollandus thought (*ad 1. Febr. S. Brigida Comm. pr. §. 2.*) that they were different persons. Be this as it may, if Chilien lived in the eighth century, I believe it was in the latter part of it. His calling St. Brigid's mother a *countess* smells of a late period. On the whole I suspect, that the author was later than even the eighth century. But it is not worth while to enter into a further discussion concerning him.

(19) *Tr. Th. p.* 613.

(20) Colgan (*Tr. Th. ib.*) has from an Irish life of St. Brigid; "*Brotseac filia Dallbronacii, filii Aidi Memair de Dalconchabhair ex australi Bregiorum regione fuit ejus mater.*" (Concerning the district of the Bregii see *Not. 14 to Chap. v.*) And the Scholiast to a hymn in honour of St. Brigid, beginning, *Audite Virginis laudes*, says that it was composed, perhaps by Ultan of Ardbraccan, "*as he was of Dalconchabhair, of which family was also the mother of St. Brigid Brotseach daughter of Dallbronac.*" (See Colgan *loc-cit.*)

(21) Cogitosus (*cap. 1.*) writes; "*Sancta itaque Brigida, quam Deus praescivit ad suam imaginem et praedestinavit, a Christianis nobilibusque parentibus, de bona ac praevalentissima Etech prosapia, in Scotia orta, patre Dubtacho et matre Brocessa genita.*"

(22) These stories are given in the third and fourth Lives, which

in very great part are mere transcripts of each other, agreeing, word for word, in very many passages. The former bears every appearance of being an abridgment of the later. Be this as it may, they form but one authority. And as to the Life called the fifth, whatever it has on these subjects was evidently taken from one or other of them. Amidst other nonsense contained in these tracts a Magus is introduced foretelling the future sanctity of the child, while she was still in her mother's womb.

(23) Besides what we have seen (*Not.* 20 and 21), it may be observed, that in the prologue to the sixth life Dubtach is represented as a noble pious man, and still more noble through his spouse and their holy offspring;

Dubtachus ejus erat genitor cognomine dictus ;

Clarus homo meritis, clarus et a proavis ;

Nobilis atque humilis, mitis, pietatos repletus ;

Nobilior PROPRIA CONJUGE, prole pia.

I should probably not have troubled the reader with any remarks on those stories, and passed them by, as Usher, Ware, and others have done, had not Harris, striving to appear more learned than Ware, foisted them into his account of the saint. (*Writers at Brigid.*)

(24) The fourth Life has (*L. 1. c. 6.*); “*Villa illa, in qua sancta Brigida nata est, Fochart Muirthemne vocatur; quae est in provincia Ultorum, scilicet in regione quae dicitur Conaille Muirthemne.*” Usher refers to this passage (*p. 627*). St. Bernard writes (*Vita S. Mal. cap. 13.*); “*Venerunt aliquando tres episcopi in villam Fochart, quem dicunt locum nativitatis Brigidae virginis.*”

(25) *Ind. Chron.* Colgan considers (*Tr. Th. p. 620*) Usher's opinion as the most probable. The Bollandists, viz. Henschenius and Papebrochius, assign (at *17 Mart. p. 533*) St. Brigid's birth to A. D. 436 or 437, without, as Tillemont observes, any sufficient proof. They found themselves obliged to throw out this conjecture in consequence of their supposing that St. Brigid had interviews with St. Patrick, and that he had requested her to weave a shroud for him, which circumstance they assigned to A. D. 458, to make it agree with their hypothesis concerning St. Patrick's death in 460. Their predecessor, Bollandus, who admitted at (*S. Brigid, 1 Feb.*) these circumstances relative to the friendship between the two

saints, was not, however, under the necessity of antedating the birth of St. Brigid, whereas he supposed with Usher, that St. Patrick did not die until the year 493. Now the successors of Bollandus, when they rejected this date, should have rejected also what has been said about the shroud, &c. and thus would not have been reduced to assign, in opposition to the best authorities, her birth to the time above mentioned, and her death to 506 or 517.

(26) It is stated in the Annals of Roscrea, quoted by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 620.*) that St. Brigid was born on the 8th day of the moon of February. This was, in the year 453, the 4th of March, as the Golden number was in that year xvii. Reckoning from that day to the 17th of March 465, we have somewhat more than 12 years.

(27) The lowest age, which I find to have been allowed in those times in any part of the Church for taking the veil, was that of 16 or 17 years. (St. Basil, *Ep. Canonica. Can. 18.*) The African canons fixed it at 25; and this regulation became very general in the Western church. Yet even in the countries, where it was received, it might have been dispensed with in certain cases. (See Gibert, *Corp. J. Can. Tom. II. p. 410.*)

(28) The Tripartite, however minute in every thing relative to St. Patrick, makes mention of St. Brigid only once, where it relates (*L. 3. c. 4.*) that, when listening, together with a vast number of people, to a sermon of his, she fell asleep and had a vision relative to the then state of the Irish church and to its future vicissitudes, as expounded by St. Patrick, who knowing that she had a vision desired her, after she awoke, to tell what she saw. She said that at first she saw a herd of white oxen amidst white crops, then spotted ones of various colours, after which appeared black and dark-coloured oxen. These were succeeded by sheep and swine, wolves and dogs jarring with each other. (See also Jocelin, *cap. 95.*) In this narrative there is nothing repugnant to the ways of the Almighty, who has been often pleased to impart to little ones secrets and gifts, which he withheld from the learned and wise of this world. It was thus that while the chief priests and Scribes remained in their infidelity, the children cried out, *Hosanna to the Son of David*, through a divine impulse, as appears from our Saviour's answer to those wiseacres; "*And they said to him; hearest thou what these say? Jesus replied; Yes: have you never*

read, that out of the mouth of infants and sucking babes thou hast perfected praise ? Matth. XXI. 16. St. Brigid might have been at that time ten or eleven years old, an age fully sufficient to render her in the hands of God, an instrument fit for displaying the wonderful effects of his grace and his knowledge of all things. If in what is called the order of nature we find so many children of extraordinary precocity in learning, so many *Enfans celebres*, what may we not expect from the omnipotence of God in the order of grace ?

(29) This circumstance is mentioned in her third Life, (*cap. 60.*) and in the fourth (*L. 2. c. 30.*). The sixth Life also has it (*cap. 46.*); but it is omitted in the fifth. Neither Cogitosus, nor the author of the first Life, has a word about it ; and, what is very remarkable, they never once mention St. Patrick, notwithstanding the care, with which they collected whatever could redound to the honour of St. Brigid. Now, had she had those frequent interviews, or kept up a correspondence with him, or attended him at his death, &c. is it possible that those writers, who are evidently her most ancient biographers, would have been quite silent on such material points ? Next we have the Lives of St. Patrick, in none of which, except Jocelin's (*cap. 188, seqq.*) and the fourth (*cap. 92, seqq.*) which may be considered as an abridgment of Jocelin, is there even an allusion to that history of the shroud ? We have already seen (*Chap. VII. §. 9. 13.*) with what minuteness Fiech's hymn, the Scholiast, Probus, the Tripartite, and the third Life give an account of the last days of St. Patrick, his death, obsequies, &c. They specify the name of the bishop, who attended him, although otherwise scarcely known. Strange indeed would be their omitting to mention so celebrated a saint as St. Brigid, had she attended with the shroud at his exit. Nor with the exception of one solitary instance (See *Not. prec.*) does her name ever occur in these Lives of our Apostle. Had those circumstances, which have been reported by later writers concerning her transactions with St. Patrick, really occurred, it is impossible that they could have been overlooked by those authors, who lived nearer to their times. Perhaps she wove a pall or some sepulchral ornament to be spread over his grave, and hence might have arisen the idea, that she had done so during his life time. From what has been hitherto observed it follows also, that St. Patrick did not live nearly

as late as A. D. 493. St. Brigid's reputation was spread far and wide before that time. In her exertions for forming congregations of holy virgins and establishments for them, which coincided so well with the views of our Apostle; she would and should have acted under his guidance, were he alive. Accordingly there would have been frequent communications between them, concerning which the ancient writers could not have been totally silent. Nor can their silence be accounted for in any other manner than that St. Brigid was still a child when St. Patrick took his leave of this world. (Compare with *Chap. VII. §. 11.*)

§. III. St. Brigid received a good education, (30) and to singular modesty and decency of manners united an extraordinary degree of charity towards the poor. (31) Instances are related of the interposition of Providence in replenishing the store, which she applied to her benevolent purposes. When arrived at a proper age, her parents were on the point of getting her settled in the married state; but she announced her determination to remain a virgin, to which, as we find nothing to the contrary, we may suppose they willingly assented. (32) She then applied to the holy bishop Maccaille or Maccaleus, (33) who, being well assured of her good disposition, admitted her into the number of sacred virgins by covering her with a white cloak and placing a white cloth or veil over her head. (34) If we are to believe Tirechan, Maccaille was then at Usny hill (Westmeath); (35) which place, although not his usual residence, was probably comprized within his district. (36) Hence it is not to be inferred, that her father resided in the province anciently called Meath; for he is constantly spoken of as a Leinster man, and seems to have lived not far from where she afterwards established her monastery of Kildare; (37) and the reason, for which she had recourse to Maccaille, was probably no other than that he was then the nearest bishop to her father's house. Nor could a priest receive her profession; for the consecration

of virgins was reserved to the episcopal order. It has been said that Mel of Ardagh, not Maccaille, was the bishop, from whom she received the veil. This story is so plainly contradicted by the best authorities, that it is not worthy of refutation. (38) Another still more foolish story is that she received it in the Isle of Man. (39) The only foundation for it was, as Usher has justly remarked, that in consequence of the likeness of the names, Maccaille was confounded with Maguil or Maccaldus bishop of Man. (40) St. Brigid was undoubtedly, at least, 16 years old at the time of her consecration, as in those days that was the earliest age at which that ceremony would have been allowed. (41) We may also observe, that her parents would not have had the intention of getting her married at the time she declared for the state of virginity, unless she had reached that time of life. Supposing then that her consecration took place as soon as the laws of the Church would permit, it may be admitted that she was veiled in the year 469. (42) We are told that, when kneeling at the foot of the altar during the time of her profession, the part, on which she knelt, being of wood, recovered its original freshness and continued green to a very late period. (43) It has been also related, that seven or eight other maidens took the veil along with her, (44) and that some of them, together with their parents, requested of her to remain in their country. She complied with their wish, (45) and, being placed over her companions by the bishop, lived for some time along with them in a place assigned to them by him within his district, (46) and probably in that part of the king's county, which formerly belonged to Meath. (47) How long she remained there we are not informed; but, as her reputation for sanctity became daily greater and greater, crowds of young women and widows applied to her for admission into her holy institution. (48)

(30) "A sua pueritia bonarum litterarum studiis inolevit." Cogitosus, *cap.* 1.

(31) *Ib.* and *cap.* 2.

(32) It is said in the third Life (*cap.* 17), that, when her father and brothers were pressing her to accept the hand of a certain suitor, she prayed to God to visit her with some deformity, and that one of her eyes burst and was melted in her head, on observing which the father consented to her taking the veil, after which the eye was restored to her. In the sixth Life (*cap.* 9.) we find a different account; for, as there related, it was not St. Brigid that lost an eye but one of her brothers, who, having had the audacity to give her a blow, because she refused to marry, was in punishment for this crime struck by an Angel. There is nothing like either of these anecdotes in Cogitosus or in the first Life, nor even in the fourth.

(33) In Colgan's edition of Cogitosus the name is written *Macchille*, in that of Canisius and Messingham *Macca*; but the true spelling is *Maccaille*, which we find in Brogan's Irish poem or in the first Life, and in other documents (*Tr. Th. p.* 525.)

(34) "Qui (Maccalleus) caeleste intuens desiderium, et pudicitiam, et tantum castitatis amorem in tali virgine, *pallium album et vestem candidam* super ipsius venerabile caput imposuit." Cogit. *cap.* 3. In the first Life we have (*Stroph.* 8) "Posuit Maccaille velum super caput Sanctae Brigidæ" The Calendar of Cashel and Maguire in his *Festilogium* (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 525.) likewise mention Maccaille as the person, who gave the veil; and, the latter adds, a *white* one, to St. Brigid. Tirechan says, that she received the *pallium* from Mac-Cuille or Maccaille. The fifth Life (*cap.* 28) calls the consecrating bishop *Maccaleus*. It is worth remarking, that the dress of the ancient Irish nuns was white; nor were there any distinct orders of them in Ireland until some centuries after St. Brigid's time, as they all followed the same rule that she had observed. The white garment of St. Brigid is mentioned in the third Life, *cap.* 103. We find nothing about cutting of hair, which was not practised in the profession of holy virgins as early, or, at least as generally, as the regulation for their wearing a particular habit. (See Tillemont, *Mem. &c. Tom. x. p.* 84-302, and Bingham *B. VII. ch. IV. sect. 6.*)

(35) " Sancta Brigida pallium cepit sub manibus filii Cuille in Huisniach Midi." (Usher *p.* 1031.)

(36) See *Chap.* vii. §. 5.

(37) In the fourth Life (*L.* 2. *c.* 3.) it is said, that after an absence of some duration she returned to her own country, that is, to the district where her relatives resided, and that *in said tract* a place was assigned to her for erecting a monastery for holy virgins, afterwards called *Kill-dura*.

(38) It is to be found in the third Life, (*cap.* 18) with the author of which Mel appears to have been a great favourite. This Life was, I suspect, patched up in the diocese of Ardagh, and very probably in an island of Lough Rie called the *Island of all saints*, in which Augustin Magraidain lived, who, having compiled Lives of Irish saints, died A. D. 1405. (Ware's *Writers*) Colgan got one of his copies of it from the monastery of that place. Yet, however partial to Mel, it mentions Maccaille but makes him a disciple of Mel, and represents him as introducing St. Brigid to him. Harris, having met with this stuff, makes Mel the bishop, from whom St. Brigid received the veil. Did he never read Cogitosus or the tracts quoted above (*Not.* 34. 35)?

(39) For this fable Usher quotes (*p.* 643.) Hector Boethius, *Histor. Scot.*

(40) See *Pr.* *p.* 1031. Usher has been followed by Colgan (*Tr. Th.* *p.* 525.) and Bollandus (*ad Brigid.* 1 *Feb. Comm. pr.* §. 4). Concerning Maccaldus see above *Chap.* vi. §. xi.

(41) Above *Not.* 27. Usher (*Ind. Chron. ad A.* 467) has from Hector Boethius St. Brigid's profession at the age of fourteen. But he remarks (*p.* 643) that he does not know whence that writer got his information. I am sure that he got it only out of his own head on the supposition, that St. Brigid became a nun as soon as was allowable. In the times of Boethius, who lived before the Council of Trent, that age was considered as sufficient for receiving the veil.

(42) Usher, reckoning her age only fourteen, has A. D. 467.

(43) Cogitosus, *cap.* 3.

(44) The fifth Life (*cap.* 28, *seqq.*) has seven; the third (*cap.* 18) mentions eight, although a few lines before it states that St. Brigid set out from her father's house with only three of them. It seems

that, when they arrived at the place where the bishop was, they met there four or five other postulants.

(45) Third Life, *cap.* 18.

(46) Fifth Life, *cap.* 30.

(47) That it was in the ancient Meath may be collected from its having been not far from Usny hill, where St. Brigid received the veil. In the third Life (*cap.* 20) it is spoken of as surrounded by towns in Meath. Usny hill is not far distant from the now King's county, in which Maccaille seems to have usually resided. (See *Chap.* VII. §. 5.) In Fearcall, formerly a part of Meath, now the baronies of Ballycowen and Ballyboy (King's Co.) there was a place called *Rath-brighide i. e.* Brigid's town. (*Tr. Th. p.* 625). At any rate St. Brigid's dwelling was either in that district or in an adjoining one of Westmeath; and I find a *Teghbrighide*, or Brigid's house in Kinel-fiacha (*Tr. Th. ib.*) *i. e.* the country about Kilbeggan.

(48) Fifth Life, *cap.* 32.

§. IV. It would have been inconvenient to assemble so many persons in one place; and the good of the Church required that those pious ladies should be divided into various establishments in the respective districts, of which they were natives. On this account St. Brigid was probably invited by some bishops to proceed to their dioceses for the purpose of introducing that regular observance, which had rendered her first establishment so celebrated. Tef-fia, or the country about Ardagh, of which Mel was bishop, is particularly mentioned among the districts, which she visited; (49) and her interviews with that prelate on religious concerns might have given rise to the notion that from him she had received the veil. Erc bishop of Slane (50) was one of her friends, and it is said that she went with him to Munster on occasion of his paying a visit to his relatives, as he was originally from that province. (51) It is added that they were in the plain of Femyn, *Magh-Femin*, at a time when a great synod was held there, and that Erc spoke highly in honour of St. Brigid, and of the miraculous powers

with which the Almighty had gifted her. (52) Thence she is said to have gone with her female companions to the house of a person, (53) who lived near the sea, and to have spent a considerable time there. (54) Next we find her in the plain of Cliach (county of Limerick) (55) where, as is related, she obtained from a chieftain the liberty of a man, whom he had in chains. (56) From that country she went to the territory of *Labrathi* (57) in South Leinster, and remained there for some time. Having not seen her father for several years she thence proceeded to his house to pay him a visit, (58) and after a short stay set out for Connaught, and fixed her residence, together with the other ladies of her institution, in the plain of Hai or Magh-ai in the now county of Roscommon. (59) While in that country, she was occupied in forming various establishments for persons of her sex, according to the rule which she had formed. (60) The times, in which the transactions now related occurred, are not specified; but having found them, partly in the third and partly in the fourth Life, treated of before the establishment at Kildare, I thought it advisable to give them in this place.

(49) Third Life, *cap.* 29. Fourth, *L. 1. c.* 34.

(50) See *Chap.* VII. §. 7.

(51) Third Life, *cap.* 71. *seqq.* About Erc's family and connexions see Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 544.).

(52) Third Life, *cap.* 72. On Magh-femyn see above *Chap.* VI. *Not.* 61. Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 625) has a *Kill-brighde* near Fethard in Tipperary.

(53) The reader must not think it strange to find St. Brigid and her companions travelling from one place to another, and taking up their residence in private houses. In the early times of the Church, and before monasteries or nunneries were established, consecrated virgins used to live with their relatives and friends, and could, according as necessity or certain duties required, appear in public. Fleury sums up the practice on these points in a few words;

“ Dans les premiers temps les vierges, même consacrées solennellement par l'évêque, ne laissoient pas de vivre dans les maisons particulières, n'ayant pour clôture que leur vertu. Depuis elles formèrent de grandes communautes ; et enfin on a jugé nécessaire de les tenir enfermées sous une clôture très-exacte.” *Instit. au Dr. Eccl. part. 1. ch. 28.*

(54) *Third Life, cap. 73.* Colgan (*Not. ad. loc.*) thinks that the place was Killbrighde, now Kilbride in the county of Waterford. It is in the neighbourhood of Tramore.

(55) Cliach is otherwise called Aracliach (Colgan *AA. SS. p. 13.*). The country about Knockany, the barony of Conagh, &c. were comprized in it. (See *Chap. vi. §. 8.*)

(56) *Third Life, cap. 76.*

(57) *Ib. cap. 81.* Colgan thinks that *Labrathi* was the same as Hy-Kinsellagh. (See above *Not. 45 to Chap. vi.*)

(58) *Ib. cap. 87.*

(59) See *Not. 79 to Chap. v.*

(60) The fourth *Life (L. 1. c. 49.)* has ; “ Post haec exiit S. Brigida cum suis ut peregrinaretur in provincia Conachtorum—et habitavit ibi in campo *Haii*, aedificans cellas et monasteria per circuitum.” See also *Third Life, cap. 94.* Colgan mentions (*Tr. Th. p. 625.*) several places in Connaught, called *Killbrighde, Teghbrighde, &c.* But we are not bound to believe, that nunneries were erected there at the time we are treating of. It is more probable that the ladies, who first submitted to her rule, were not shut up in convents. (See *Not. 53.*) In the passages now referred to a bishop is spoken of as being at the place, in which she dwelt. But his name is not given. Was he Cethucus, or Asicus? (See *Chap. vii. §. 5. 6.*)

§. v. Before we enter on the remaining part of the history of St. Brigid, let us endeavour to find out how other ecclesiastical matters were going on in Ireland. We have seen that Iarlath succeeded Benignus in the see of Armagh. His accession could not have been earlier than the latter end of A. D. 468, the year in which Benignus died. He was of the illustrious house of the Dalfiatach, and was born at Rathrena in the now county of Down, (61) a castle so called from the name of his father Trena. It is said

that he was a first cousin of Dichuo, St. Patrick's first convert, Trena and Trichem, the father of Dichuo, having been brothers. Nothing particular has come down to us with regard to his proceedings, and all that we know further about him is, that he was the third archbishop, and that he died on the eleventh of February A. D. 482. (62) Accordingly his incumbency lasted, at the utmost, little more more than thirteen years. (63) During this period and for some years earlier the king of Ireland was Alild Molt, or, as some call him, *Olioll Molt*, who, from being king of Connaught, was raised to the throne of all Ireland in place of his relative Leogaire, (64) who fell in battle A. D. 463. (65) Whether he was a Christian or not, I am not able to ascertain; although some modern writers speak of him as such, and go so far as to assert that the Christian religion was during his reign incorporated with the civil constitution, (66) which is as much as to say, that it became the religion of the state. Yet it appears to me very strange, that his name never occurs in the Lives of St. Patrick, not even in the Tripartite, in which we find so many chieftains and subordinate kings mentioned as Christians. Alild's reign over Ireland began before the saint's death, and he had been king of Connaught for some years sooner. Therefore it would seem that, had he been a Christian, he would, in consequence of his dignity, have been particularly spoken of. His name occurs in one of the Lives of St. Brigid, but without the least allusion to his religion. As to a connexion between Church and State having taken place in his time, this cannot, I think, be reconciled with the fact that his successor Lugadius, as will be seen, lived and died a pagan. Alild, having reigned 20 years, was killed in the battle of Ocha in Meath, A. D. 483. (67)

(61) It has been deduced from a strange story related by

Jocelin (*cap.* 132) about the wickedness and miserable end of one Tremei, whom the Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 57, seqq.*) calls Trena the father of Iarlath, that Rath-trena was in the district of Mourne. In the course of that story, as given in the Tripartite, the birth of Iarlath is placed after St. Patrick's return from Munster, that is, after A. D. 452. (See *Chap.* VII. §. 9.) How then could he be a bishop in 468? Yet by these fables about Trena the poor man's character has been terribly blasted. I do not mean to assert, that he was a Christian; but if there was such a monster of the name of *Tremei* or *Trena*, I am sure he was different from the father of Iarlath. From the same fables Colgan (at *Iarlath*, 11 *Feb.*), after him Harris (*Bishops*), concluded that Iarlath was rather young when raised to the see of Armagh. For the Tripartite represents him as having been baptized, when an infant, by St. Patrick, and therefore after A. D. 432. But Colgan, when giving credit to these stories, should have followed them as he found them, and consequently should have placed Iarlath's infancy not merely after 432 but after 452. Strange that he did not see into those shameful anachronisms, and reject such nonsense *in toto!*

(62) *AA. SS.* at 11 *Feb.* Ware, *Bishops.* Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(63) The reckoning of 18 years for Iarlath's administration (See *Not.* 8 and 11.) cannot be reconciled with the dates marked in our Annals. Usher was so hard pushed to find room for them that (*p.* 875) he stretched them down to A. D. 483, as if that were the first year of the incumbency of Cormac the successor of Iarlath. Did he not know that Iarlath died on the 11th of February, or did he suppose that the see remained vacant a whole year? I suspect that the number XVIII, on which Usher built, (See *Not.* 141 to *Chap.* VI.) was a mistake of a transcriber for XIII. Ware very prudently said nothing about Iarlath's years, nor did Colgan in his enumeration of the bishops of Armagh (*Tr. Th.* *p.* 293). Harris, however, foisted into Ware, that Iarlath died in the 18th year of his pontificate.

(64) Alild Molt was son of Dathy, and consequently nearly related to Leogaire, who was Dathy's first cousin. (See *Not.* 20 to *Chap.* IV. and *Not.* 42 to *Chap.* V.) Usher, (*p.* 947) and Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 4.) instead of *Dathy* read *Nathi*.

(65) This is the year marked by Usher (*loc. cit.*) and *Ind. Chron.*, Ware (*loc. cit.*), and O'Flaherty (*Ogyg. cap.* 93). It is

specified by the observation that Leogaire reigned for full 30 years after the arrival of St. Patrick. Yet Colgan, following the 4 Masters, places (*Tr. Th. p. 447*) Leogaire's death (without adding that he was slain) in the year 458 (459). As I am not writing the civil history of Ireland, I will not enter into a disquisition on these subjects.

(66) O'Connor, *Dissertations, &c. Dissert. 1 sect. 15.*

(67) Usher, *p. 1029* and *Ind. Chron. Ware, Ant. cap. 4.* O'Flaherty, &c. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 565*) assign that battle to A. D. 478 (479), thus reckoning the 20 years of Alild Molt's reign from 458. (See *Not. 65.*)

§. VI. Although it is uncertain what religion was professed by the monarch of Ireland, yet there can be no doubt that several of the minor kings and dynasts of this period were Christians. Some of those young princes, who had been instructed by St. Patrick, (68) must by this time have been in the possession of their domains. Illand, and perhaps Alild, princes of North Leinster, who are spoken of as Christians, (69) belonged to those times, as did Crimthan the dynast of Hy-Kinsellagh. (70) Among the Ulster chieftains, who were then Christians, I believe we may safely reckon Fergus, son of St. Patrick's friend Conal, and grandfather of St. Columba. (71) I pass over some persons of less note, and whom we should rather call nobles than chieftains, such as those belonging to the families of Dichuo, Daire, &c. In Connaught we find, at least, some members of the princely house of Tir-Amalgaidh, (72), and, if we are to believe the Tripartite, even a son of the monarch Dathy. (73) But of all the Irish princes of that period, who distinguished themselves as Christians, Aengus, king of Cashel, or Munster, has been most celebrated for his piety and zeal. It can scarcely be admitted, that he was a king when St. Patrick was in that province, nor can it by any means be allowed that the so much talked of synod of Cashel, or meeting at Magh-femyn, was

held at that time. (74) Yet there is nothing to prevent our believing that, several years later, perhaps about A. D. 484, a synod and meeting were held in those places for the purpose of regulating the ecclesiastical concerns of the South of Ireland. Ailbe was certainly a bishop at that time; and it is not improbable that Declan of Ardmore, although younger than Ailbe, was then old enough to be one also. For, although he lived until towards the middle of the sixth century, in which he was particularly distinguished; (76) yet, if we suppose that he reached the age of about ninety, he might have been thirty years old in the year 484. Thus, with the mere exclusion of the name of St. Patrick, might be admitted what is related in the Life of Declan concerning a conference in Magh-femyn, at which the chiefs of the Desii attended, and a synod at Cashel, in which, with the approbation and cooperation of king Aengus, the extent of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was determined and many salutary decrees enacted. (77) Or, should it be contended that Declan was not a member of that synod, it will not follow that it was not held, particularly as it is alluded to in the Life of Ailbe. (78) As to the meeting at Magh-femyn, (79) it was most probably the one assembled there, when St. Brigid was in that country, and at which bishop Ercus attended. (80)

(68) See *Chap. v. §. 8.* and *Not. 12* to *Chap. vi.*

(69) *Chap. vi. §. 5.*

(70) *Ib.* and *Not. 57.*

(71) See *Chap. vi. §. 2.*

(72) See *Chap. v. §. 12.*

(73) See *ib.* This prince, Eochad, who is called son of Dathy, must have been a brother of Alild Molt, who, if he had ever become a Christian, would not have been passed over by an author, who tells us that a brother of his was one.

(74) See *Chap. vi. §. 6.*

(75) See *Chap. vii. §. 7.*

(76) *Chap. i. §. 12.*

(77) "Commanentes in civitate Cassel S. Patricius et S. Albaeus sanctusque Declanus cum multis sanctis suis discipulis

apud regem Aenaeam multa circa ecclesiastici regiminis et vigoris Christiani leges, et in Christianae fidei ulteriorem propagationem constituerunt."

(78) See *Not.* 67. to *Chap.* vi. It is somewhat remarkable that in Ailbe's life Declan is not mentioned on this occasion.

(79) *Vit. S. Declan. cap.* 30, *seqq.*

(80) Above §. 4.

§. VII. When Ailbe was returning from Cashel to Emly he was met by Enna or Enda, who requested of him to go back with him and to supplicate the king that he would please to grant him the island of *Arn*, (81) for the purpose of erecting a monastery on it. Ailbe complied with his wish and obtained for him said island, or perhaps only a part of it, unless we are to suppose that it was not as yet inhabited; which is indeed probable, as Aengus, on being spoken to on the business, observed that he had not before heard of such an island. Enda immediately set about building the monastery, which could scarcely have been founded before about A. D. 480, as he lived until about the year 540. (82) Nor can its foundation be assigned to a period subsequent to 490, that being the year, in which Aengus was killed. It has been said that Enda erected ten monasteries in the island, as if one had not been sufficient, or all the religious houses, that existed there in late times, should be ascribed to him. (83) The most authentic accounts make mention only of one monastery, in which he governed 150 monks according to the strictest rules of discipline. (84) Enda was of the illustrious house of the princes of Orgiel, (85) and son of Conal the son of Damen or Damhene. (86) This Damen could not have been the prince of Orgiel of that name, who is said to have lived in the latter part of the sixth century; (87) for, in that case, we should bring Enda down to the seventh, which cannot be reconciled with the most creditable authorities. (88) Enda's father is called Conal of Clogher, whence it may be inferred that he

was born at or near that town. (89) According to some accounts he was brother in law to king Aengus, who is said to have been married to his sister Dairine. (90) This is less improbable than the stories concerning his having been actually prince of Orgiel; and, on having resigned his principality, gone to foreign countries for the purpose of doing penance; erected a monastery called *Latinum* after he had been ordained priest at Rome, on which occasion some monstrous fables occur which even Colgan rejects; and on the whole having spent 20 years in exile before he made application for a grant of the isle of Arran, it is unnecessary to examine these and some other vague circumstances of his life, which are to be met with here and there; and I will merely observe, that those rambles of 20 years after having reached the age of manhood cannot be reconciled with his having lived until about A. D. 540, unless we should suppose that he was, at least, 100 years old when he died. The resort of so many distinguished persons to his monastery, and the manner, in which he is spoken of in the old calendars and martyrologies, prove that he was an eminent saint and most highly respected. I do not find him marked by any other title than that of abbot.

(81) It is the largest of the South isles of Arran, which are three in number and lie in the mouth of the bay of Galway. It has been called *Ara-na-naomh*, or, Arran of the saints. In Ailbe's Life we read; "Magna est illa insula, et est terra sanctorum; quia nemo scit numerum sanctorum, qui sepulti sunt ibi, nisi solus Deus."

(82) In the Acts of St. Brendan of Clonfert it is related that, before he set out on his great voyage, he paid a visit to Enda in Arran and spent three days with him. (See Usher, p. 963.) This must have been, as Colgan observes, (*AA. SS. p. 714*) about A. D. 540. And it appears from the Acts of Kieran of Clonmacnois, that Enda was alive in 530 (Usher *Ind. Chron.*) and even later, as will be seen elsewhere when treating of Kieran. It is

strange that Usher, on finding that Enda lived to so late a period, could have affixed the foundation of his monastery of Arran to A. D. 449. (*Ib.*) He was led astray in this and several other chronological points by his preconceived opinion, that Ailbe was a bishop earlier even than 449. Had he not placed the monastery of Arran too early, he need not have doubted (*ib.* at A. 530) of Enda's being alive in said year. Harris, as usual, follows Usher, and has (*Monasteries*) for Arran A. D. 449; although Ware, who is seldom wrong, and whose opinion he ought, at least, to have let the reader know, assigns (*Antiq. Chap. 27 at Galway*) that foundation to about the year 480. What has been now observed concerning the time that Enda founded his monastery serves also to prove, that whatever synod was held at Cashel during the reign of Aengus did not take place until the period we are treating of; for that monastery was erected very soon after the breaking up of the synod.

(83) In the Life of Enda or Endeus (*AA. SS. 21 Mart.*) written by Augustin Magraidin, and abounding in fables, we read (*cap. 17*) “*Divisit in partes decem inter eos (discipulos) insulam, et in ea construxit decem monasteria; et in quolibet ordinavit unum superiorem quasi patrem, et alterum quasi secundum ei in potestate.*” If these superiors of the respective houses were not mentioned, it might be admitted that Enda had constructed ten different cells at some distance from each other, all which, however, would have formed but one monastery of that sort, which the Egyptian monks called *Laura*. (See Bingham, *B. VII. ch. 2 sect. 2.*) But the author alluded to the ten religious houses, that were in the island in his days, and of which in Colgan's time there remained only the chapels or churches, which Archdall, with his usual wisdom, says (at *Arran*) were built by Enda.

(84) See *AA. SS. p. 711, seqq.*

(85) Orgiel or Oriel comprized the now counties of Louth and Monaghan, and some other districts.

(86) Colgan says that Enda was the *Mac-hua-Daimene* or *Damhene* of Tirechan's list. (See *Not. 33 to Chap. VII.*) I believe Enda could not have been a disciple of St. Patrick, unless perhaps when a mere boy. Usher happened to say (*p. 867*) that Enda was the same as Ennaus son of Cath-bothai, and that he

died *A. D.* 457. But in the *Addenda et Emendanda* (*p.* 1048) he marked a *Dele* to what he had there written.

(87) See *Tr. Th.* *p.* 381.

(88) In a marginal note to *Tr. Th.* *p.* 381, seemingly written by John Conry, to whom the copy, which I use, once belonged, it is contended in opposition to Colgan, that Damen, the grand father of Enda, was the same as Damen, who lived late in the sixth century. But the arguments are of no weight, and some of them prove the very reverse. For instance, the writer refers to a passage of O'Donnell's *Life of Columb-kill*, (*L. 1. c.* 106) in which it is said that this saint called upon Endeus in Arran. Now O'Donnell places this circumstance before Columb-kill's departure from Ireland, which was in 563. Therefore the monastery of Arran existed long before 583, one of the earliest years guessed at in said note for the foundation of Arran. Columba might have paid that visit about *A. D.* 540. Another argument is that St. Carecha, said to have been sister of Enda, and grand-daughter of Damen, died, according to the 4 Masters in 578. Surely this proves the contrary of what the note-writer maintained. Carecha is marked as having lived to a very great age. How then could she have been the grand-daughter of a man, who, at the earliest, did not die until *A. D.* 560? We must, therefore, distinguish this Damen from the grandfather of Enda, or reject all that has been said about his having got Arran from king Aengus, his having been a superior of Kieran, visited by Brendan (see *Not.* 82) and even by Columba. Yet I acknowledge, that a difficulty of much greater weight than those alleged by the writer of the note may be deduced from the catalogue of Irish saints (Usher, *p.* 914), in the second order of whom we find an Endeus. That order flourished from about the year 544 until near the end of the sixth century. Endeus of Arran might have been alive for some time after 544, and so be reckoned in that order; but the difficulty consists in the name, *Endeus*, being placed towards the end of the list after the Brendans, Finmians, Kieran, Columba, &c. as if he were a junior compared with them, and accordingly should be supposed to belong not to the former, but to the latter part of the sixth century. Yet perhaps the name was misplaced in Usher's copy; and its appearing with one or two others within crotchets seems to indicate, that something of that kind had happened. Should this observation

not be thought satisfactory, we may observe that the Endeus of the catalogue was a different person, perhaps the one of Emleaghfad who was a disciple of Columba, while the great Endeus of Arran is to be placed in the first order among the Ailbes, Declans, Mac-carthens, and so many others, whose names are not mentioned. The Bollandists state (at 21 *Mart.*) that he did not live down to A. D. 550, nor perhaps later than 540.

(89) Colgan relates that St. Fanchea (*AA. SS. 1. Jan.*) a sister of Enda was born at Rathmore near Clogher, formerly a castle and residence of the princes of Orgiel.

(90) *Vit. S. Endaei, cap. 12.* Unless this be a story founded on the kindness of Aengus towards Enda, we must admit that Aengus was twice married, first to Dairene, and next to Ethne Huathach, daughter of Crimthan of Hy-Kinsellagh, who was certainly his queen at the time he was killed. (See *Tr. Th. p. 551*, and 565, and Keating, *Book 2.*)

§. VIII. The reputation of Ailbe was daily increasing. Being a very humble man, he wished to shun the honour that was shown to him by every one, and accordingly determined on withdrawing from his diocese and on retiring to the island of *Tyle*, (91) there to live known only to God, and retired from the world. Aengus, however, thwarted his plan, and gave directions at all the seaports that Ailbe should be watched and not allowed to quit those, who by his preaching and baptizing were become children of God. (92) It seems that Ailbe was to be accompanied by several pious persons, and that his intention was to lead together with them a monastic life; for it is added that, though not permitted to leave Ireland, he then sent 22 men beyond sea. (93) These were allowed to depart; but the good king would not suffer his subjects to be deprived of the spiritual superintendance of Ailbe. This was probably one of his last pious acts, and not long prior to his being killed A. D. 490 in the great battle of Killofnadh. (94) The memory of Aengus was so much revered, that it was considered a great

honour to be a member of his family and descended from him. Hence it has come to pass that a considerable number of persons have been called his sons, no matter in what part of Ireland they lived, and that many an Aengus has been changed into the king of Cashel, and many a Natfraich into his father. (95) These mistakes were carried so far, that of 24 children, whom it was pretended he had, twelve are said to have been saints. (96) I find only one saint, the Abbot Naal, who may with a sufficient degree of probability be pronounced a son of his, and who will be treated of hereafter. But among his less immediate posterity we shall meet with several persons, distinguished for their sanctity and learning.

(91) *Tyle* is the name used by the Irish for the Thule so much spoken of by the ancients. It is in fact the same name, and signifies a northern country, from *thuah*, the left, or North. Usher quotes (*Pr. p.* 868) a passage from Dicuil an Irish writer of the 8th or 9th century, in which the island *Tyle* is plainly supposed to be Iceland. It is well known that Irish missionaries have been in that island, and Dicuil speaks of some, who had been there in his time; but it is singular that it could have been resorted to by navigators from Ireland as far back as the 5th century. If what is said of Ailbe's intention of going thither be true, it shows that the ancient Irish carried on a more extensive commerce than is generally imagined.

(92) *Vit. S. Albaei, cap.* 40.

(93) *Ib.* Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 241) thinks that for 22 ought to be read 24; and that those persons were the 24 disciples of Ailbe, whom Brendan, in the course of his voyage, found in an island leading an angelical life.

(94) The 4 Masters have (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 565.); “Anno 489 (490) Aengussius filius Natfraich Momoniae rex occubuit in praelio de Killofnadh, caesus per Murchertachum filium Ercae, Illandum filium Dunlaing, Alildum filium Dunlaing, et Euchadium Guineach.” (See above *Not.* 62 to *Chap.* vi.)

(95) For instance Marian Gorman mentions (at 31 July) three sons of a Natfraich, viz. Follomon, Papan, and Colman Cumber.

Colgan says (*AA. SS. p. 174*) that in the margin was added, that this Colman was son of Darine, whom he supposed wife of Aengus. (See *Not. 90*). Thence he concludes that Colman was the son of Aengus, and only the grandson of Natfraich. Then he infers that likewise Follomon and Papan were sons of Aengus. Why place such reliance on a marginal note by some one, who confounded two Colmans together? Or was he sure that Darine was wife to Aengus? It is much more probable that she was not. Besides, those persons are expressly called sons of Natfraich. If Marian thought that their father was king Aengus, would he not have mentioned his name, especially as it was far more celebrated and revered than that of Natfraich? By a similar process Colgan (*ib.*) makes out another son of Aengus, one Iernoc.

(96) Colgan (*loc. cit.*). The extravagant fable of Aengus's 24 sons and as many daughters, and half of each number and sex saints (*ib.*), must have arisen, at least in part, from the circumstance of many persons having been called sons or daughters of men named *Aengus*. Hence they were fathered upon the king; and at length some compiler reckoning them up made out in all 48 individuals, of whom, according to various vulgar traditions here and there throughout Ireland, he was reported to have been the father.

§. IX. Ecclesiastical schools and seminaries, under the name of monasteries, were established and governed by several Irish prelates of this period. That of Ailbe was probably founded before the death of king Aengus. The monastery or school of Fiech of Sletty has been already spoken of. (97) From the mention made of several disciples of Benignus (98) it appears that he also had some establishment of that kind, or rather that he governed not only the see but the school of Armagh, which seems to have been entrusted to him for some time before the death of St. Patrick. Mel of Ardagh had a *great monastery* (99) before he was visited by St. Brigid. (100) That of Motheus of Louth has been highly celebrated, and he is represented as a man of learning. (101) Another renowned school was that of Ibar in Begerin,

(102) which he established after having preached the Gospel in various parts of Ireland, and in which he instructed a vast number of persons. (103) We may add, I believe, a school at Antrim under Mochay, whom we find not only called bishop but likewise abbot. (104) But the most distinguished institution of this kind in the more Northern parts of Ireland seems to have been that of Olcan of Derkan, who, although not a bishop in St. Patrick's life time, (105) was in all probability one about the year 480; (106) whereas Aengus Macnise the first bishop of Connor, who died, at the latest, in 514, had been a scholar of his son. (107) In Connaught we find an episcopal monastery or seminary said to have been governed by Asicus at Elphin, (108) before he retired to the desert where he was discovered by some of the disciples, who belonged to that school. (109) There were also some establishments at this period for holy virgins and widows, independently of and partly prior to those of St. Brigid; but I cannot venture to ascertain more than two of them, viz. one at Drum-dubhain in Tyrone, (110) and another at or near Armagh. (111) With great probability may be added that of Kilsleve-Cuilin, in which Darerca, who has been called a sister of St. Patrick, (112) is said to have lived. (113) As to other establishments of this kind, which some writers date from those times, either we have not sufficient proofs of their then existence, (114) or we know that some of them must have been founded at a later period. (115)

(97) *Chap. vi. §. v.*

(98) Above §. 1.

(99) *Third Life of St. Brigid, cap. 29.*

(100) See above §. 4.

(101) He is styled, *Pater egregiae familiae—Lucerna Lugmadensium—magnus egregius, et longaevus.* See *AA. SS. p. 732.* Compare with *Chap. vi. §. 12* and *Chap. vii. §. 7.*(102) See *Chap. 1. §. 13.*

(103) In Ibar's Life, as quoted by Usher (*p.* 1061) we read ; "Adultas, sacerdos, et multa sanctimonia vitæ pollens, Ibarus missus est ad Evangelium prædiscandum per Hiberniam, in qua innumeros ad fidem Christi convertit—Ad fines Lageniensium venit, et australem ejus partem, ubi est litoralis parva insula *Begerin*, id est, *Parva Hibernia*, dicta; ubi celebre condidit coenobium, et sacras ibidem literas aliasque artes optimas docuit maximam multitudinem Hibernorum et aliorum."

(104) See *Chap.* VII. §. 7.

(105) *Chap.* VII. §. 6.

(106) Usher seems to place his promotion in 474 (*Ind. Chron.*).

(107) *Olcan's Acts* at 20 *Feb.*

(108) *Tripart. L. 2. c.* 40, *Jocelin, cap.* 107.

(109) See *Chap.* VII. §. 6.

(110) See *Chap.* VI. §. 3, and III. §. 18.

(111) *Chap.* VI. §. 13.

(112) *Chap.* III. §. 18.

(113) Kilsleve-Cuilin (the Killevy of Archdall) is in the county of Armagh. The 4 Masters, and Ware (*Ant. cap.* 26) make Darerca, *alias* Moninne, who died on the 6th July A. D. 518, abbess there. (See more *Not.* 116 to *Chap.* XVII.) As to an unnery of the same Darerea at Linn near Carrickfergus, which Harris and Archdall have, I can find no authority for it, except these few words of one of our martyrologies; "S. Darerca in Line" (*AA. SS. p.* 719). This passage may be understood of a church in that place under the title of St. Darerca; or there might have been a Darerca there different from the one of the 5th century. In *p.* 262 of the *AA. SS.* to which Archdall refers there is not a word about Line or Linn.

(114) A nunnery of St. Fanchea is mentioned in the Acts of Enda of Arran, whose sister she is said to have been. Colgan, who treats of this saint at 1 Jan. found a parish church at Rosoirthir in Fermanagh, in which her festival used to be kept, and thence conjectured that she had a nunnery there. From him Harris took it, and then Archdall, who has it at *Ross Orry*. But are we to suppose that every holy virgin established a nunnery? As to the authority of the Acts of Enda, it is not worth attending to (see *Not.* 83), unless corroborated by other testimonies; and it so happens, that what is said in them about Fanchea is intermixed with some of the most fabulous parts of the whole tract. Now I find no confirmation of what we there read about Fanchea. There

were, as Colgan remarks, several saints of that name; but nothing occurs to make us admit that any of them founded a nunnery in the 5th century. Harris and Archdall have two of these pretended early establishments in the county of Longford, for which there is much less foundation than for that of Fanchea. One is Druimcheo, said to have been erected for St. Lupita. Certain absurd stories concerning Mel and Lupita (Tripart. L. 2. c. 29. and Jocelin, *cap.* 102.) have given rise to the notion of there having been a nunnery there in St. Patrick's time. Whatever house of that kind Lupita might have been in, it was no other than that of Armagh. (See *Chap.* vi. §. 13. *Not.* 139) And if ever there was one at Druimcheo, it must have been derived from the institution of St. Brigid, who had spent some time in that neighbourhood. The other is that of Cluain-Bronach or Clonbrone near Granard for the two Emerias. To support this position, much better authority would be requisite than the vague traditions about these pretended daughters of the unfortunate Milchuo. (See *Not.* 26. to *Chap.* v.)

(115) Kill-Liadain or, as Archdall calls it, Killiadhuin (King's Co.) is said to have been founded by Kieran of Saigir, and therefore not before the sixth century. (See *Chap.* i. §. 14.) For the same reason that of Ross-Benchuir (Co. Clare) belongs to the same period; for the first abbess Concha, or rather Cocchea, is stated to have nursed Kieran. (*AA. SS* p. 461-465.) As to Kilaraght, which also has been affixed to the 5th century, I have already noticed some mistakes concerning it (*Chap.* v. §. 10.), and more will be seen elsewhere.

§. x. Ware and Harris assign the foundation of St. Brigid's great nunnery of Kildare to about A. D. 480. It is very probable that it was established some time between that year and 490. (116) The occasion of her founding it is thus related. As the great reputation of the saint, and the supernatural gifts, with which she was endowed, attracted persons from all parts of Ireland to the place of her residence, the people of Leinster thought they had the best right to enjoy such a treasure on account of her being of a Leinster family. Accordingly they sent to the part of Connaught where she then was, (117) a deputa-

tion, consisting of several respectable persons and friends of hers, to request that she would come and fix her residence among her own people and relatives. She complied with their wish, and, when arrived in that district, was welcomed with the greatest joy. She was immediately accommodated with a habitation for herself and her companions, which was the commencement both of her great monastery and of the town or city of Kildare. (118) It got this name from there being a very high oak tree near that habitation or cell. (119) Some land was annexed to the house, as a help towards the maintenance of the inmates. (120) Yet they were poor, and accordingly we find, now and then, mention made of alms of various sorts brought to the nunnery. (121) But whatever property St. Brigid possessed or acquired in any manner was shared by her with the poor, and wonderful instances of her liberality have been recorded. Let it suffice to mention that of her having given in charity some very valuable sacerdotal vestments, which used to be worn by the bishop on the more solemn festivals. (122) She was very hospitable to strangers and particularly to bishops and religious persons. (123) Her humility was so great, that she used occasionally to tend the cattle on her land. (124) The extraordinary veneration, in which she was held, caused a great resort of persons, from the highest (125) to the lowest, to her monastery for the purpose of requesting her prayers, and, joined with the afflux of the poor and infirm claiming alms and relief, gave rise to a new town for the accommodation of such a multitude of visitors. Meanwhile her establishment was becoming more and more numerous, and it became necessary to enlarge her buildings proportionally to the number of her nuns and postulants. (126) Next she found it requisite to provide spiritual direction and assistance both for her institution and for the settlers and visitors at Kildare. Knowing that this could not be regularly had without a bishop, she made appli-

cation for that purpose, and procured the appointment of a holy man to preside over that church and other churches belonging to her order. (127) If the latter part of this statement be correct, *viz.* that this bishop was to have jurisdiction over all the churches and communities of St. Brigid's institution, jointly however with herself, we will have one of the oldest instances, and perhaps the very first, of the exemption of religious houses from the jurisdiction of the ordinaries, or bishops in whose districts they were situated. That the saint herself and the abbesses, who succeeded her in Kildare, exercised certain rights and authority over the members of her institution, wherever they lived, will not be denied; but it is scarcely credible that the bishops of Kildare would have been allowed to interfere except with such of them as resided in their diocese. It seems, however, that some such privilege existed, with regard to Leinster, in the days of Cogitosus; for at that time Kildare was the ecclesiastical metropolis of the province, and Cogitosus a clergyman or monk there, was not backward in exalting the dignity of that see. (128) St. Brigid is mentioned as having *appointed* the bishop, whom she wished for; (129) but this must be understood relatively to his having been chosen in consequence of her recommendation, which it was not to be doubted would be attended to by the Irish prelates at that period.

(116) If we are to believe what is said of St. Brigid's having foretold to Illand, king of North Leinster, that he would be victorious in his battles, one of which was that in which Aengus, king of Cashel was killed (Fourth Life, *L. 2. c. 10, seqq.*) the house at Kildare must have been established before A. D. 490. For, she is spoken of as already settled there, and that was the year in which Aengus fell. (*Not. 94.*) Considering that she had been in Munster probably about the year 484 (see §. 4 and 6.) and spent sometime afterwards in Connaught before she founded Kildare, we may affix said foundation to about the year 487.

Colgan thought (*Tr. Th. p. 565*) it might have been about A. D. 483.

(117) Above §. 4. (118) Fourth Life, *L. 2. c. 1. seqq.*

(119) "Illa jam cella Scotice dicitur *Kill-dara*, Latine vero sonat *Cella quercus*. Quercus enim altissima ibi erat—cujus stipites adhuc manet." (*Ib. L. 2. c. 3.*) Usher has refuted (*p. 626, seqq.*) the assertion of that impostor Dempster, viz. that Kildare was so called from the reliques of a Scotch woman, Daria, mother of St. Ursula, which had been brought to Ireland. There was an Irish virgin of that name and a companion of St. Brigid at Kildare, who is mentioned in that same fourth Life, *L. 2. c. 89*. But the author derives the name, *Kildare*, not from her, but from the oak. And in the third Life (*cap. 47.*) it is called *Cella roboris*.

(120) See Cogitosus, *cap. 5.* where mention is made of reapers working for St. Brigid. The circumstance there related is given in the first or metrical Life in the following words; "Quodam die messis, licet erat pauper (non erat haec ansa reprehensionis menti religiosae) serenum fuit in ejus messe, per reliqua loca ingens pluvia." (*Stroph. 15.*)

(121) Third Life, *cap. 47, 48, 50.* Fourth, *L. 2. c. 4, &c.*

(122) Cogitos. *cap. 29.* Fourth Life, *L. 2. c. 80.* This act was somewhat similar to the celebrated one of St. Ambrose, who disposed of some sacred utensils for the ransom of captives, a proceeding which he maintains the propriety of in his *Offices* (*L. 2. c. 28*); and which was imitated by St. Augustin, as Possidius tells us in his Life, *cap. 24.*

(123) See Cogitosus, *cap. 6.* fourth Life, *L. 2. cap. 55-59.*

(124) Cogitosus, *cap. 7, 8.*

(125) See third Life, *cap. 64, seqq.*

(126) In the fourth Life (*L. 2. c. 3.*) after mentioning the first habitation or cell, which was assigned to St. Brigid, it is added that she erected there a monastery for a great number of virgins. Cogitosus in the prologue writes; "Haec ergo egregiis crescens virtutibus, ubi per famam bonarum rerum ad eam de omnibus provinciis Hiberniae innumerabiles populi de utroque sexu confluebant vota sibi voventes voluntarie, suum monasterium—et culmen praecellens omnia monasteria (nunneries) Scotorum—in campetribus campi Liffici (*Maghliffe*) supra fundamentum fidei firmum construxit."

(127) After the words just quoted Cogitosus continues; “Et prudenti dispensatione de animabus eorem regulariter in omnibus procurans, et de *Ecclesiis multarum provinciarum sibi adhaerentibus* sollicitans et secum revolvens, quod sine summo sacerdote, qui ecclesias consecraret, et ecclesiasticos in eis gradus subrogaret, esse non posset, illustrem virum et solitarium, omnibus moribus ornatum, per quem Deus virtutes operatus est plurimas, convocans, eum de eremo, et de sua vita solitaria, et sibi obviam pergens, ut ecclesiam in episcopali dignitate cum ea gubernaret, atque ut nihil de ordine sacerdotali *in suis deesset ecclesiis*, accersivit. “Et postea sic unctum caput,” &c.

(128) He describes it as a principal see and church, and gives its prelate the title of *archbishop*. The abbess, he says, was revered by all the other abbesses of Ireland. This may be true of the greatest part of them, whereas most of our nunneries followed the rule of St. Brigid.

(129) The fourth Life has (*L. 2. c. 19.*); “*Conlianus episcopus sanctus et propheta Dei, qui habebat cellam in australi parte Campi Liffei, venit in curru ad S. Brigidam, et commoratus est apud eam aliquot diebus, quem beata Brigida primum episcopum elegit in sua civitate Killdara.*” Cogitosus also seems to say (*Not. 127.*) that the appointment was made by her. But it cannot be supposed that so humble a saint would have arrogated to herself a privilege quite contrary to the canons of the Church, or that such a pretension would have been allowed by the hierarchy.

§. XI. The person thus appointed to the new see of Kildare was Conlaith or Conlaeth, or as some call him, Conlian, (130) who had hitherto led a recluse life and was distinguished for his sanctity. (131) It might seem from a passage already quoted, (132) that he was a bishop before he was placed at Kildare; but the text may be well understood of that title being given to him, as the usual one by which he was spoken of in after times, although he was not entitled to it until he was appointed to that see. (133) He was its first bishop; and whatever some persons have advanced concerning certain predecessors of his is not worthy of consideration. (134) The time of

his consecration, or, what comes to the same point, of the erection of the see, is not mentioned; but it is probable that it was, at least, two or three years subsequent to the foundation of the nunnery, and not earlier than the year 490. Hitherto the institution had been attended by a priest, and one named Natfroich is distinctly spoken of as the spiritual companion of St. Brigid, and having remained with her all his life time, (135) notwithstanding the superintendance of Conlaeth. It is stated that he used to read for the nuns in the refectory, while they were at their meals. (136) By whom Conlaeth was consecrated we are not informed; but there can be no doubt of there having been a sufficiently full attendance of bishops on that occasion. (137) Fiech of Sletty the principal bishop of Leinster was still alive, and so were St. Brigid's friends Ibar and Ercus, and perhaps Maccalleus. Bronus of Cassel-irra, who is often mentioned in some of St. Brigid's Lives, and who seems to have paid her a visit while she was in Connaught, (138) might have then come to Leinster to shew his attention to the saint, particularly as he is said to have owed to her interposition and miraculous powers the exculpation of his character from a charge once brought against him, by an infamous woman before a great assembly, and in the presence of several bishops. (139) It has been said that Conlaeth presided over a College of monks at Kildare. I believe this is a mistake; he is not mentioned by any other name than that of *bishop*, nor are any monks spoken of as governed by him. (140) There was undoubtedly a body of inferior clergy under him for the service of the church; but we are not to suppose that all our clergy were of the monastic sort. I do not find any allusion to monks at Kildare until long after St. Brigid's time. (141) Much less admissible is the strange assertion of Colgan that bishop Conlaeth was subject to St. Brigid, whence he would conclude that the abbesses after her time were for many

years invested with jurisdiction over the abbots, or, what would be the same, the bishops of Kildare. (142) There is not the least foundation for this statement ; while, on the contrary it is evident from the testimony of Cogitosus, that the bishops of that see were as independent as any others. All that can be admitted is, that in St. Brigid's time the church expenses seem to have been defrayed out of the funds of the monastery ; (143) and that her successors had, in virtue of the original foundation by the saint, a right to the use of the church. (144) While they presided over their institution, the bishops governed the diocese ; although the church or cathedral remained under the joint management of both parties. (145) To conclude the account of the establishment, &c. of Kildare, and of St. Brigid's proceedings about the year 490, I will merely observe, that, were we to believe the story-tellers of Glastonbury, she would have been in that place at this very period ; for they tell us that she arrived there in 488, and remained for many years in a small island near that monastery. (146) This nonsense is scarcely worth mentioning. From her Lives and every Irish document relative to her history it is plain that she spent her whole life in Ireland.

(130) Cogitosus (*cap.* 29) calls him *Conlaith*, and (*cap.* 35) *Conlaeth*. In the first Life (*Stroph.* 41.) the name is written *Conlaidh* ; the fourth has *Conlian* (*Not. prec.*),

(131) See *Not.* 127, and 129.

(132) *Not.* 129.

(133) Cogitosus represents him as merely a holy man living in retirement until he was taken notice of by St. Brigid ; and then adds, *Et postea sic unctum caput*, &c. (See *Not.* 127.)

(134) Ware mentions a Red book of the Earl of Kildare, which has one Lonius and then Ivor before Conlaith, and which was followed by Stanihurst. He observes that this is an error, and, he might have added, a palpable one. For, as we have seen (*Not.* 129), Conlaith is expressly called the first bishop of Kildare ; and it is evident from Cogitosus (See *Not.* 126, 127.) that there neither was

nor could be a bishop there before him; as the establishment of the monastery and the formation of a new town were the causes of a bishop being required there. And until then there was scarcely a house on the spot. Who that Lonius was it is difficult to discover; unless he were a person of that name, who lived in the sixth century and was revered at a place called *Killgaura*, the affinity between which name and *Killdara* might, as Colgan very properly remarks, (*Tr. Th. p. 565*), have led to the mistake of placing him at Kildare. As to Ivor he was the same as Ibar, who having had some communications with St. Brigid, and been a friend of hers, (third Life, *cap. 54. fourth, L. 2. c. 23*) was supposed by some blunderer to have been her ordinary, and therefore at Kildare.

(135) The fourth Life has (*L. 1 c. 43*) prior to the foundation of Kildare, the appointment of Natfroich to the duty of attending St. Brigid, which it erroneously attributes to St. Patrick, unless we should suppose that he was constituted her spiritual director, when she was very young. (See above §. 2. “S. Patricius dixit ad beatam virginem; ex hac die non licebit tibi sine sacerdote ambulare, sed sit sacerdos in comitatu tuo. Ordinavit tunc S. Patricius sacerdotem nomine Natfroich, qui in tota vita sua feliciter in comitatu S. Brigidæ vixit.” The author of the third Life has stupidly changed (*cap. 41*) the attendance on St. Brigid into that of an *auriga*; and hence the silly denomination of *charioteer* added to his title of *priest*. Poor Archdall tells us (at *Kildare*) that Natfroich is said to have been *coachman* to St. Brigid! Pray where were coaches to be found in those days? When St. Brigid and Natfroich happened to travel together, we may easily suppose that he drove the curricule; but this is very different from the menial office of a charioteer.

(136) *Tr. Th. p. 629.*

(137) Perhaps it was to the assemblage of bishops for the consecration of Conlath, that Cogitosus alluded, where he writes (*cap. 6.*); “Advenientibus enim episcopis, et cum ea hospitantibus,” &c.

(138) See third Life, *cap. 85.*

(139) The matter is thus related in the third Life, (*cap. 39.*); “Quaedam autem, quæ in precatum cesidit, dicebat infantem, quem genuit, esse cujusdam episcopi de discipulis St. Patricii nomine Broom. Ille autem negabat. Tunc omnes in concilio,

audientes mirabilia et opera St. Brigidae, dixerunt quod haec quaestio per illam finiri possit. Adducta est itaque mulier cum suo infante in sinu ad Brigidam extra concilium. Dixit autem Brigida ad illum; De quo viro concepisti infantem hunc? Illa respondit, de episcopo Broon. Brigida dixit; non sic existimo. Tunc Brigida ad S. Patricium humilians se dixit; Pater, tuum est hanc quaestionem solvere. Patricius respondens ait; Mea filia charissima Brigida, tu revelare digneris. Sancta itaque Brigida signans os illius foeminae signo crucis Christi, statim intumuit totum caput ejus cum lingua; sed nec sic illa poenituit. Tunc Brigida linguam infantis benedixit, dicens ei; Quis est pater tuus? Ille respondit ambulans; non est episcopus Broon pater meus, sed quidam homo, qui sedet in parte concilii ultimus, ac turpis vilisque. Tunc omnes gratias egerunt Deo, et Brigida magnificata est, et mulier poenitentiam egit." The same narrative is given almost *verbatim* in the fourth Life (*L. 1. c. 42.*) and more diffusely, with some variations, in the fifth (*cap. 50.*). It is placed just before the appointment of Natfroich, of which above (*Not. 135.*) and if such a circumstance occurred in the presence of St. Patrick, St. Brigid must have been then very young. Neither Cogitosus nor the author of the first Life have a word about it, although they relate several miracles much less remarkable and worthy of being recorded than this would have been. I suspect that it is an imitation of a somewhat similar anecdote concerning St. Briccius or Briction bishop of Tours and immediate successor of St. Martin. (See Gregor. Turon. *Hist. Fr. L. 2. c. 1.*)

(140) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 627*) says it appears from Cogitosus and other writers of St. Brigid's Acts, that Conlaeth presided over monks when bishop of Kildare. But he refers to no particular passage, nor indeed, in my opinion, could he have done so. At least I have not been able to find one to that purpose, nor so much as the title of *abbot* applied to Conlaeth, as it frequently is in Irish history, whenever bishops had monasteries annexed to their cathedrals. Colgan had before said, that there were three dignitaries at Kildare in St. Brigid's time, viz. the abbess, an abbot, and a Bishop; and then he qualifies this strange position by stating, that Conlaeth was both bishop and abbot. The truth is, that there is no foundation for the existence of any establishment of monks there at that time. Archdall, to patch up the business, has (at

Kildare) made Natfroich the first abbot, although his guide Colgan has no such thing, and never calls him even a *monk*. Natfroich is every where in *St. Brigid's Lives* called simply a *priest*. (See *Not.* 135.)

(141) For the first time we find *St. Aidus* both *abbot* and *bishop* of *Kildare*, who died in the year 638. (*Tr. Th.* p. 629) The college called of monks, over which *Aidus* presided, was in reality the chapter of the Cathedral, as plainly appears from *Cogitosus*, who describing the church tells us, (*cap.* 35) that the bishop used to enter the sanctuary by a door in the right side of the church, together with the collegiate body and clerical assistants (*cum sua regulari schola et his, qui sacris sunt deputati ministeriis*) to immolate the holy and Lord's sacrifice (*sacra et Dominica immolare sacrificia*); while there was another door at the left for the use of the abbess and nuns alone, by which they entered for the purpose of enjoying the banquet of the body and blood of *Jesus Christ* (*ut convivio corporis et sanguinis fruantur Jesu Christi*). Having happened to make mention of this church, I may add that the great aisle of it outside the sanctuary was divided by a partition separating the males from the females, and that each division had a door peculiar to itself. From what has been now observed we see that the nuns had not a separate church for themselves, although their habitation adjoined it on one side, while that of the bishop and chapter seems to have been close to it on the other. *Colgan* imagined (*Tr. Th.* p. 627) that both habitations were separated merely by a wall; but the church (and a very large one it was) formed a much wider line of separation.

(142) *Colgan* endeavoured (*Tr. Th.* p. 627) to support this whimsical and truly uncanonical position by referring to the singular system of the order of *St. Birgitta* of *Sweden*, which consists of both males and females, and in which the abbess has a jurisdiction over not only the nuns but even the monks. *Colgan* took into his head that, as there was an affinity between the names *Brigid* and *Birgit*, their monastic institutions were likewise formed on a similar plan. What has a likeness of names to do in this matter? Besides in the institution of *St. Birgitta* there was no such thing as jurisdiction over bishops. *Colgan* ought to have reflected that this *Swedish* princess most probably knew little or nothing concerning the system of *St. Brigid*; for at the time of

her forming her establishment, *viz.* not long before A. D. 1370, the nunnery of Kildare was in a state of great insignificance. Archdall has given to his readers in a positive manner what Colgan had proposed as a matter of doubt, and tells them that the abbots of Kildare were for several years subject to the abbess.

(143) The anecdote above mentioned of St. Brigid having given some sacerdotal vestments to the poor shows, that they were considered as belonging to the nunnery.

(144) See *Not.* 141.

(145) Cogitosus writes (*Prolog.*) “ Et postea sic unctum caput et principale omnium episcoporum (alluding to Kildare being then the chief see of Leinster) et beatissima puellarum principalis *felici comitatu inter se* et gubernaculis omnium virtutum suam erexit principalem ecclesiam—quam semper Archiepiscopus—et Abbatissa—*felici successione et ritu perpetuo dominantur.* ”

(146) See Usher, p. 900, *seqq.*

§. XII. Iarlath, archbishop of Armagh, who died early in the year 482, (147) was succeeded by Cormac, whom Ware (148) and (Colgan (149) make son of Enda, who is said to have been a brother to king Leogaire. This is, I suspect, a mistake; for Enda's son Cormac, whom his father had entrusted to the care of St. Patrick, (150) is not mentioned in the oldest accounts concerning him as having ever become a bishop, although in the passages relative to him the see of Armagh is particularly spoken of. (151) As to Enda having been a brother of king Leogaire, which I think also a mistake, (152) it is irrelevant to the present subject. The Cormac of Armagh is mentioned in many Irish Calendars, but without the addition of *son of Enda*, which would not have been omitted, were he the same person. For Enda was a chieftain of high consideration; and were it merely to remind the reader of his having consigned his son Cormac to St. Patrick, the authors of these Calendars would have mentioned his name when treating of the archbishop Cormac. This archbishop is distinguished, in the Irish annals, from

many other Cormacs by the addition that he was from the district of *Ernaidhe*. (153) How much more distinct would not his specification have been by marking him the *son of Enda*, had he been such? *Ernaidhe* was probably some part of the country near Lough Erne or the river of said name, unless it was the same as *Ernatia*, which seems to have been in the now county of Louth. (154) It was certainly different from the territory, in which *Enda* lived, *viz.* *Usneadh* or *Usny*. (155) Another mistake is, that *Cormac* had been bishop of *Trim*, before he was promoted to *Armagh*. It is true that some writers of our Calendars represent him as such; but it is easy to account for their having done so. There was a *Cormac* bishop of *Trim* in the eighth century, whose memory together with that of *St. Luman* and several others was revered there on the 17th February. (156) Now it happened that this was the very day of the festival or death of *Cormac* of *Armagh*; and hence it came to pass that the two *Cormacs* were confounded together. Then it became necessary to suppose the translation of *Cormac* from *Trim* to *Armagh*, a proceeding which would not have been allowed by the Western church, in the fifth century, without the greatest necessity. Next came another paradox, the burying of *Cormac* at *Trim*, because he, who was really bishop of *Trim* was buried there. Surely the clergy and people of *Armagh* would not have suffered the remains of their archbishop to be removed to another diocese. The two *Cormacs* are very clearly distinguished from each other in the *Irish Annals*. (157) And, what decides the whole question, it is to be observed that *Trim* was not an episcopal see in the 5th century, and that its first bishop *Luman* or *Loman* belonged to the seventh. (158) *Cormac*, concerning whose transactions I find nothing particular recorded, died on the 17th of February, A. D. 497. (159)

(147) §. 5.

(148) *Bishops at Cormac.* I believe he merely followed Colgan.

(149) *Acts of Cormac at 17 Feb.* (150) See *Chap. v. §. 8.*

(151) In the Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 18, 19.*) where Cormac son of Enda is said to have been consigned to St. Patrick, it is stated that Cormac used to receive from certain bishops, whom St. Patrick had appointed his masters, some cows every all saints' day towards his support; and that, as these were given to him in honour of St. Patrick, their successors used to continue this sort of payment to the see of Armagh after the death of Cormac. But it does not mention Cormac as having been bishop, and gives him no other name or title than that of *Cormac Snithine*. Thus the matter stands in the text as quoted at full length by Colgan at 17 Feb. Yet in his edition of the Tripartite in *Tr. Th.* he has thrown in some words indicating that this Cormac was bishop of Armagh. Instead of, as we read at 17 February, "*Et sic postea haec servitus (of giving the cows) eorum ecclesiis adhaesit, donec Nuadhat abbas Ard-machanus*" he swells up the text in *Tr. Th.* with the following words; "*Et ille mos postea apud eorum successores transiit in consuetudinem et debitum, ut singuli nempe quotannis successoribus S. Cormaci vaccam debeant solvere, donec Nuadhat, &c.*" He thought that said tribute could not be paid to Armagh, unless Cormac had been bishop there. And then instead of the words, with which at 17 Feb. the text concludes the account of Cormac; "*Cormacus Snithine est nomen hujus filii,* (Would the author have called him merely a *filius*, had he been an archbishop?) Colgan has in *Tr. Th.* "*Sanctus hic Cormacus a loco, ut apparet, educationis cognomento Snithine appellatus est.* This is evidently an alteration of the original text. Jocelin, who usually follows the Tripartite, or, at least, certain documents, whence that work was in part derived, has (*cap. 100*) an account of Enda and his consigning Cormac to St. Patrick's care, which account he thus concludes; "*S. Patricius baptizavit puerum, educavit, litterisque imbuat. Puer autem aetate, sapientia, et sanctitate crevit; virtutibus atque miraculis clarus in Domino requievit.*" Would he not have mentioned his having been raised to the primacy of Armagh, if he had known that to have been the case?

(152) See *Not. 69 to Chap. v.*

(153) Cormacus *de regione Ernaidhe*, episcopus Ardmachanus. (*AA. SS. p. 359.*)

(154) See *Not. 84* to *Chap. vii.* I find (*AA. SS. p. 315*) an *Ernaidhe* in Muskerry, co. Cork; but it is not called a district; and besides it is more natural to suppose that Cormac was a native of Ulster rather than of Munster.

(155) See *Chap. v. §. 8.*

(156) *AA. SS. p. 363.* Colgan has the Acts of this Cormac at that day, and strives to distinguish him from an older one, likewise bishop of Trim, as he thought, *viz.* the Cormac who became archbishop of Armagh.

(157) The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 360.*) have; “A. 496 (497) Cormacus *de Crich-anernaidhe*, episcopus Ardmachanus, S. Patricii successor, emisit spiritum—A. 741 (742) Cormacus episcopus Athrumensis decessit.”

(158) See *Not. 35* to *Chap. v.* More will be found lower down.

(159) *Not. 157. AA. SS. ad 17 Feb.* Usher, *Ind. Chron.* Ware, &c.

§. XIII. During the greatest part of Cormac's incumbency the king of all Ireland was Lugaid or Lugdach, who succeeded Alild Molt in the year 483. (160) He was son to the monarch Leogaire, and, at least, as impious as his father. After a reign of 25 years he was killed in 508 (161) by thunder, as a just judgment for his obstinacy in infidelity and his opposition to the Christian religion. (162) The death of archbishop Cormac was preceded by that of some of our most illustrious prelates. St. Mel of Ardagh died in 488; (163) St. Kienan of Duleek in 489. (164) The last year of St. Maccaleus, who had given the veil to St. Brigid, was A. D. 490. (165) St. Mochay of Antrim survived Cormac; yet only by about four months, as he died on the 23d of June A. D. 497. (166) St. Asicus of Elphin was probably dead by this time; but I cannot find the year of his death, although the day, on which it happened, *viz.* the 27th of April, would seem to have been recorded; if, however, he was the same as Assanus, whose name was affixed to that day. (167) Nor is

it unlikely that Cethecus, Tassach, and perhaps one or two more of our bishops, who had been consecrated in St. Patrick's time, (168) had departed this life before the year now mentioned. Meanwhile other holy men were forming new churches. Munis, a bishop, who is said to have been a Briton and a brother of Mel, (169) is supposed to have founded the church at Forgney in the county of Longford (170) about the year 486. If he had been brother to Mel, that date would answer well enough; but the kindred between them is quite too doubtful to serve as a clue in this matter, being founded merely on the stories concerning their relationship to St. Patrick. There is, however, an argument, which, notwithstanding its being blended with fables, merits some consideration, and helps to fix the time, at which Munis erected his church. It is this, that said church existed before the birth of Kieran of Clonmacnois, (171) and is stated to have been erected 30 years prior to it. (172) Now, as Kieran was born, as is usually supposed, in the year 516, this computation brings us back directly to 486. Of Munis I find nothing else that can be depended upon, except that his festival was affixed to the 18th of December. (173) Another saint is usually joined with Munis, *viz.* Rioch, and, were we to believe the fables about St. Patrick's nephews, also a brother of his and a son of Darerca. (174) But St. Rioch belongs to the sixth century, having been contemporary with the holy bishop Aedus, who died A. D. 589, (175) and who had visited Rioch in his monastery of Inis-bo-finde in Lough Rec. (176) Is it then to be believed that he was brother to Mel, came with him to Ireland about A. D. 454, was St. Patrick's librarian, made bishop by him, &c. to omit other stuff raked together by Colgan? (177) Towards the later end of the 5th century I find a bishop Cerbanus of Fearta-Cerbain near Tarah, whose death is affixed to A. D. 500. (178) Nothing further is known about him. From his name *Cerban*,

or *Cervan*, perhaps that of Killcarn in Meath has been derived. Could he be the same as Corpain, whom the *Annals of Innisfallen* call bishop of Iferte, (179) and whose death they assign to the same year, *viz* 500? Iferte is thought to be the country about Ard-fert in Kerry; (180) but that name might have been given also to other places, and bears a strong analogy to that of *Fert* or *Feart-Cerbain*. (181) Were it not for the addition, *near Tarah*, I should be inclined to conclude that Cerbanus was the same person as Corpain, and that Ardfert was his see.

(160) Above §. 5. This is the year assigned by Usher, Ware, &c. Yet Colgan, (*Ind. Chron. to Tr. Th.*) following the 4 Masters places the commencement of Lugaid's reign in 478 (479). See *Not.* 65.

(161) Colgan, still adhering to the 4 Masters, has A. D. 503 (504).

(162) Ware, *Antiq. eap.* 4. Keating, *B. 2. p. 15. Ed. A. 1723.* In the Tripartite (*L. 1. c. 67.*) it is related, that he was struck immediately after having spoken contemptuously of St. Patrick, and that the place, where this catastrophe occurred, was thence called *Achadh-farcha*, the *hill of thunder*. Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p. 172.*) that it was so called in his time, and that it lies in the county of Meath.

(163) *Chap. vii. §. 5.*

(164) *Ib. §. 6.*

(165) The 4 Masters (ap. *Tr. Th. p. 526*) have; "A. 489 (490) Maccalle episcopus obiit."

(166) *AA. SS. p. 189.* See more *Not. 74 to Chap. vii.*

(167) See Colgan, *Tr. Th. p. 114.*

(168) See *Chap. vii. 5, 6, 7.*

(169) Munis is reckoned among the pretended nephews of St. Patrick by his sister Darerca (Usher *p. 825.*) I will not trouble the reader with further observations on these fables. (See *Chap. iii. §. 18.*)

(170) We read in the Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 2.*); "S. Munis episcopus de Forgnuidhe in regione Cuircne, in boreali parte Midiae, ad ripam australem fluminis Ethne (Inny)." Archdall has Forgney in Westmeath, on the supposition that the territory of Cuircne did

not extend beyond the western boundary of that county. But from Forgney having been in that territory, it appears that Cuircne comprized some part of the adjoining county of Longford, in which is Forgney, as it is called to this day, and in the barony of Shrowle (see Seward, *Topogr. Hib.*), through which flows the river Inny.

(171) Tripart. *L. 2. c.* 20 down to 26. Jocelin, *capp.* 113, 114.

(172) Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 266) quotes a passage to this purpose from the Supplement to the Acts of St. Kieran.

(173) In the martyrology of Salisbury it is marked at 6 Feb., and Colgan has given his Acts, such as they are, at that day.

(174) Usher, *p.* 825. Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26, at *Longford*. Colgan, at 6 Feb. Bollandus also at same day has admitted these stories.

(175) Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(176) Inis-bo-finde or the *island of the white cow*, is in Lough-Ree, a lake formed by the Shannon between Connaught and the county of Longford. In the Life of St. Aedus, *cap.* 35, (*AA. SS. ad 28 Feb.*) we read; “ Venit sanctus episcopus Aedus ad insulam Bo-finde, id est, *vaccae albae*, quae est in stagno Righe; et suscepit eum S. Rioch abbas illius loci honorifice. Monasterium enim clarum in illa insula est, quod ex nomine insulae nominatur.” There is another island of the same name, or, as now called, Innis-boffin, in the ocean off the barony of Morisk, Co. Mayo. Usher (*p.* 825) mistook it for the other, but afterwards (*p.* 1070) corrected himself.

(177) *Ad 6 Feb.* Usher saw into these absurdities, and therefore distinguished (*p.* 1045) two Riochs, one the abbot of Inis-bo-finde in the sixth century, and the other an older one, *viz.* as he still thought, the nephew of St. Patrick. But in all the stories about Rioch this pretended nephew and the founder of Innis-bo-finde are spoken of as the same person.

(178) The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p.* 732) have at A. 499 (500); “ S. Cerbanus episcopus de Feart-Cerbain *prope Temoriam* obiit.” A holy priest Corbanus is mentioned in the Acts of St. Mochtheus (*cap.* 13) who might have become a bishop, and was, in Colgan’s opinion, the same as Cerbanus.

(179) “ A. 500. Quies Corpain episcopi Iferte.”

(180) Harris (Bishops at *Ardfert*) observes that Iferte, or *Hy-*

ferte, signifies the territory of miracles. Ware (*Antiq. cap. 29*) says that *Ardfert* is the *high place of miracles*. If *Ardfert* was in *Iferte*, we will have found the first bishop on record in Kerry, viz. Corpain. Yet Ware, who made great use of the *Annals of Innisfallen*, does not mention him at *Ardfert*.

(181) As *Feart* or *Fert* is an Irish word for *miracle*, we find it applied to several places. *Feart-Cerbain* may be explained *the place of Cerbain's miracle*; in like manner the phrase *bishop of Iferte* may be understood, *bishop of the place of the miracle*.

§. XIV. In the same year (A. D. 500) died on the 23d of April the celebrated St. Ibar of Beg-erin, (182) concerning whom every thing worthy of being recorded has been already related. Before we conclude the account of the 5th century, it must not be forgotten that Cormac, who died A. D. 497, was succeeded at Armagh by Dubtach, or, as some have called him, Duach. (183) Colgan adds to his name *de Druim-dhearbh*, but does not tell us where that place was situated. (184) Little or nothing remains relative to his history except that he governed the see for 16 years, and died in 513. The see of Connor was very probably established before the close of the 5th century; for Aengus Macnise its first bishop, who had been a disciple of Olcan, (185) did not, at the latest, live beyond the year 514. Ware states that Cailan, whom he supposed first bishop of Down, was contemporary with Macnise, and that he was raised to that see about the end of the century. (186) Cailan is called also Coelan, and had been abbot at Antrim, (187) perhaps under St. Mochay. Colgan does not, as far as I can discover, speak of Coelan as a bishop. He seems not to have had his Acts, which Usher refers to as *indicating* that from being abbot at Antrim he became bishop of Down. (188) Yet there are strong reasons for believing that he was not at any time a bishop; one of which is that we find him, when far advanced in life, still styled merely *abbot* of Antrim. (189) Or, if he became bishop of Down, he must have been pro-

moted when very old, and undoubtedly not before some time in the sixth century. (190) Yet, whether bishop or not, he may be justly reckoned among the eminent men of the fifth, although he may have lived until about the year 540.

(182) Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(183) Ware *Bishops*—Usher, *Ind. Chron.* &c.

(184) See *Tr. Th.* p. 293. Could it be Derver in the county of Louth, and diocese of Armagh? (185) Above §. 9.

(186) Ware *Bishops* at *Down*, and *Antiq. cap.* 29.

(187) Usher, p. 1065, where he is called *Caylanus* or *Coelanus Nendrumensis abbas*; and in p. 954. *Coelanus Noendrumensis*. Colgan mentions him (*Tr. Th.* p. 269.) by the name of *Coelanus abbas Aondromensis*, and would fain reckon him among the disciples of St. Patrick. *Noendrumensis* and *Aondromensis* or *Aendrumensis* equally signify his having been of Antrim. The particle *na*, of, is frequently prefixed to the names of places when persons belonging to them are spoken of; and, if followed by a word beginning with a vowel, is contracted into *N*. Harris not knowing this, or not reflecting on it, has given us (*Monasteries*) a *Nendrum* or *Noendrum* in *Down*, as *Cailan's* monastery, and has been followed by *Archdall*, who says that it is now unknown. It is no wonder that it should be so, whereas it never existed. Even *Usher* seemed not to understand the meaning of *Noendrumensis*, for (p. 954) he has a *Q. An Edrumensis*. No writer, however, went so much astray on this subject as *Alemand*, who (*Monast. &c.*) confounded *Noendrum* with *Neddrum*, and hence took occasion to criticize *Usher* for having placed a monastery at *Neddrum*, where there was none until late in the 12th century. To understand the subject it is to be observed that the largest of the *Copland* islands off the coast of *Down*, viz. *Big-isle* was anciently called *Neddrum*, *John de Courcy* having granted the greatest part of the lands, &c. of said island to the monks of *St. Mary of York* and of *St. Bega* of *Coupland* in *Cumberland* brought over some of these monks and founded for them a cell in *Neddrum*, to which he assigned lands in *Duffren*. The deeds may be seen at full length in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. II. p. 1023. There were two grants, the former of which was to the monks of *Coupland* or

Copland, and is dated A. D. 1178. The other, in which those of York are included, and the cell of Neddrum is mentioned, bears no date. Ware places the foundation of the cell in 1183, Harris has 1179 or 1183. It is now easy to understand, why the name of *Copland* was given to Neddrum and the adjacent isles. Usher, who was well acquainted with these matters, does not even hint at Neddrum, as the Benedictine establishment there was not formed until some hundreds of years after the period he was treating of.

(188) *Pr. p.* 1065. Usher writes; “*Quem actorum ipsius descriptor—Dunensem postea in Ultonia factum fuisse episcopum significat.*” The phrase, *significat*, is rather of a doubtful import.

(189) In the Life of St. Finnian of Maghbile (Moville), who flourished in the middle of the 6th century, it is related that, when a lad, he was sent to the venerable *old man* Coelan *abbot* of Antrim to be instructed by him, and that the latter thought it advisable to send him to a great monastery in Britain then governed by Nennio. (See *AA. SS.* p. 438 and Usher, *p.* 954.) Now this could not have occurred earlier than A. D. 520, and Usher mentions Coelan as still an abbot in that year. (*Ind. Chron.*)

(190) Coelan was no higher than abbot of Antrim, when Colman of Dromore was a pupil of his. (Usher, *p.* 1065.) If Colman lived so late as some writers thought, Coelan could not have been a bishop until about the middle of the 6th century. But we shall soon see that Colman lived many years earlier than is usually supposed.

§. xv. Colgan says that Canoc, otherwise Conoc or Mochonoc, founder of the monastery of Gallen in the King's county, flourished about A. D. 492. (191) Hence Ware (192) and after him Harris and others have laid down, that Canoc founded it about that year. He is said to have been a native of Brecknock in Wales but son of an Irish prince called Bracan or Brecan, who settled in that district, and from whom it has got its present name. (193) Brecan is said to have had a great number of children, the eldest of whom is usually stated to have been Conoc. (194) According to one account, Brecan died in the year 450. (195) If so, Conoc might

have become distinguished in the 5th century. But we find a grandson of Breacan fighting battles about 603; (196) and it will not be believed that the grandfather's death could have preceded those battles by more than 150 years; or that Conoc, were he founding monasteries in 492, could have been uncle of a prince, who was able to fight in 603. Accordingly, admitting whatever are told about Conoc's lineage, and his founding the monastery of Gallen, it can scarcely be supposed that he was old enough to be an abbot until towards the middle of the sixth century. (197) Among several persons spoken of, I am sure without sufficient authority, as sons of Breacan and brothers of Conoc I find St. Dabeoc, (198) whose monastery was in an island of Loughderg in Donegall. But there is no proof of this statement, (199) nor of what some late writers have concerning Dabeoc having been contemporary with St. Patrick. (200) Another of the pretended brothers of Conoc is Diradius called of Edardruim; and accordingly an ancient monastery has been assigned to that place, (201) although never mentioned in our history. Then comes another brother St. Mogoroc of Struthuir, (202) concerning whose time nothing certain is known. We have also Carpreus of Kill-chairpre, (203) whose history is still more obscure, although there were several saints of that name. I pass over some other of those pretended sons of Breacan, as I do not find that our compilers of Monasticons have endeavoured to make out monasteries for them.

(191) *Canoc's Acts* at 11 Feb. (192) *Antiq. cap.* 26.

(193) David Powel (not Camden, as Colgan says) writes (*Annot. ad Itiner. Cambr. L. 1. c. 2.*); "Hic Brechanus natus erat patre Haulapho Hibernorum rege et matre Britannica, nimirum Marcella filia Theodorici filii Tethphalti reguli de Garthmathrin, illius nempe regionis, quæ ab hoc Brechano nomen accepit, et hodie Brechonia vel Brechinia dicitur, Britannice Brecheinoc. Hujus

Brechani filia nomine Tydvael uxor fuit Congeni filii Cadelli powisiae reguli, et mater Brochmaeli cognomento Scithroc, qui Ethelfredum Northumbrorum regem ad Devam fluvium interfecit, ejusque copias fudit, circa annum Domini 603."

(194) The Cambrian Biography gives him 24 sons; the eldest of whom was Cynog or Conoc. Others have 12 sons, Conoc the eldest, and 12 daughters. (See Sir R. Colt Hoare's *Notes to the Itinerarium Cambriae* L. 1. c. 2. and Colgan at 11 Feb.) But Giraldus himself, the author of the *Itinerarium*, tells us (*ib.*) that he had 24 daughters all saints. (See also Camden, *Britan. col.* 703.) Aengus Kelideus, quoted by Colgan, reckons ten holy men sons of his, among whom Mochonoc, and who, one only excepted, having come to Ireland, either founded religious houses or led a monastic life. I just mention these things; the reader will judge what credit is due to them. I will merely observe, that several of those pretended sons of Brecan were certainly born in Ireland, and at different periods.

(195) A MS. quoted by Sir R. C. Hoare, *loc. cit.*

(196) See *Not.* 193.

(197) Colgan, who seldom stops at anachronisms, thought that Conoc might have been the same as Conan, a priest at the time St. Patrick was in Connaught (see *Chap.* v. §. 10.) and consequently about A. D. 440. We have already (*Not.* 58. to *Chap.* vi.) noticed a mistake of the Tripartite with regard to Conoc and his nephew Cadoc, who, by the bye, seems never to have been in Ireland. (See *Cadoc's Acts* at 24 Jan.) Colgan, in the *Tr. Th.* admitted that story of the Tripartite, but has nothing about it in *AA. SS.* Yet in this latter work he gives us (at 11 Feb.) a St. Duban as flourishing about A. D. 492, of whom or whose place of abode he knew nothing, except that Aengus Kelideus has among the so called sons of Brecan (*Not.* 194) one Duban *de Rinn-dubhain alithir*. These genealogical accounts, in which some of our old writers so much abound, cannot be depended upon, unless supported by other authority.

(198) Colgan refers (*AA. SS.* p. 312.) to Dabeoc what Aengus Kelideus says of one Mobeoc of *Gleann-geirg*. But surely this is not the same name as *Lough-Derg*, nor is *Dabeoc* the same as *Mobaoc*.

(199) Colgan, notwithstanding his endeavours to make Dabeoc

a son of Breacan, yet quotes an old Hagiology, in which he is called *son of Luinim, the son of Dibracha, of the race of Dichuo*, St. Patrick's first convert. (See *AA. SS.* p. 313.) According to this account Dabeoc was no relative of Canoc, and must have lived long after St. Patrick's time. For Dibracha, his grandfather, is not called son of Dichuo, but said to be a descendant of his; and three or four generations might have elapsed between them.

(200) St. Dabeoc is never mentioned in any of the Lives of St. Patrick. O'Donnel, connecting him with the fable of Patrick's purgatory, was the first who placed him in those early times by introducing him (*Vita S. Columb. L. 1. c. 10.*) as prior to Columbkill. Ware, Harris, and others, were too hasty in assigning the foundation of his monastery to the 5th century.

(201) Harris and Archdall have this unknown monastery in Roscommon, because Colgan says (*AA. SS. p. 313.*) that there was a parish church of that name in the diocese of Elphin. Is every church to be converted into a monastery?

(202) Struthuir or Struthair was near Sletty in the Queen's county, and we find a monastery there in the tenth century. Colgan (*loc. cit.*) knows nothing about a Mogoroc there, but tells us that a saint of that name was revered on the 23d of December in the church of Dergne in the territory *Hy-bruin-chualan*. This was a part of the present county of Wicklow, and it is very odd that he could imagine, that Dergne might be the same place as Struthair. For Dergne, alias *Delgne*, was no other than the present Delgany, and is famous in our history for a great battle, mentioned by Colgan himself from the 4 masters, and by Ware (*Antiq. cap. 24.*), in which Ugair, king of Leinster, totally defeated Sitric and the Danes of Dublin in the year 1022. Archdall, on the supposition that Struthair might have been the same as Dergne, has placed it in Wicklow, although he says that it was near the church of Sletty.

(203) Colgan (*loc. cit.*) threw out a conjecture that this church was in the county of Sligo. Hence Archdall has a monastery so called, and founded, he says, about A. D. 500. (See at *Sligo.*)

§. XVI. St. Fortchern, who is said to have been bishop of Trim, should be placed in the 5th century, and even in St. Patrick's time, were we to believe

Jocelin, (204) and the Tripartite, (205) They make him son of Feidlemid prince of the country about Trim (206) a son of king Leogaire. (207) He is stated to have been with many others a disciple of St. Luman of Trim ; and this is sufficient to show that he did not live so early, whereas Luman belonged to the seventh century, in which several of Fortchern's fellow-students are placed even by Colgan. (208) Accordingly there is no foundation for assigning the establishment of the church of Killfortchern, (209) to the 5th century ; at least if this be the St. Fortchern, from whom it got its name, which I think very doubtful. Another establishment, which ought not to have been placed in said period, is that of Kilconnel in the county of Galway. (210) The arguments adduced by Colgan for this high antiquity are of little or no weight, (211) and one of them proves the contrary of his position. (212) Some other foundations have been assigned to the 5th century, without the least appearance of probability, and in direct opposition to the whole tenour of Irish history. (213) As therefore this is not the proper place for inquiring about them, I will conclude this chapter with observing, that St. Fridolinus called the *traveller*, and who founded some churches in the Continent, did not, as some writers assert, (214) flourish as early as the year 495. It will be seen elsewhere, that he lived about 200 years later.

(204) *Cap. 52.* (205) *L. 2. c. 1.*

(206) See *Not. 35. to Chap. v.*

(207) Notwithstanding this royal descent I find in the Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 98.*) St. Fortchern *de Rathaidme* blacksmith to St. Patrick.

(208) See at 17 Feb. where he has Loman, Fortchern, and many others of those disciples.

(209) Kill-fortchern was in Idrone (county of Carlow) and is mentioned in the Calendars. Colgan calls it merely a church.

Archdall has it among the monasteries. Neither Ware nor Harris make mention of it.

(210) Kill-chonail, now Kilconnel, was in the district of Hy-maine, and got its name from a St. Conal, who is supposed to have been a bishop. Colgan has his Acts at 18 March.

(211) Scarcely any thing is known about Conal, except that he is spoken of in the Acts of St. Attracta (at 9 Feb.) as a brother of hers, and is there said to have had a church at Droma. Now Colgan himself doubts whether Droma was the same place as Kilconnel. Colgan's most plausible argument is founded upon a curious passage, which Usher found annexed to an old copy of Irish canons, (see *Pr. p.* 1049) in which St. Patrick is said to have reproved Conal and Ethian for having ordained unworthy bishops in Magh-ai (Roscommon), and to have denounced to them, that their churches would be always insignificant. But who can depend upon such stories, which were fabricated at a time when churches were wealthy in Ireland, and which do not agree with their situation in St. Patrick's days? A similar story is told in the Tripartite (*L. 2. c.* 123.); the scene is placed likewise in Connaught, but the guilty bishops are said to have been Mac-carthen of Clogher, and a pretended brother of his, also called Maccarthen; the saint is made to foretell that their sees would be unhappy, and particularly that of the latter; who was the more guilty of the two; for it should be neither powerful nor rich; "*potentia et divitiis carebit.*" Jocelin has (*cap.* 123) the same story, but with some variations, and without mentioning names. It is unnecessary to prove, that St. Patrick never announced such judgments as these, and it would be ridiculous to infer from such grounds, that Conal was a bishop in his time. By *Ethian* was probably meant Etchen, a holy prelate of the sixth century, and who certainly was not guilty of the charge brought against him in that story. We will meet with him hereafter. As to Conal, there were many saints of that name; and from one of them Kilconnel was so called; but whether from its having been the place of his residence or from a church there dedicated in his name, cannot be determined. And supposing even that it was Conal's own church, Harris and Archdall ought not to have assigned the foundation of it to the fifth century, nor much less to the time of St. Patrick.

(212) Colgan observes that Conal is said to have been a brother

of St. Attracta, whom he supposed contemporary with St. Patrick. It will, however, be seen that this saint lived either in the sixth or seventh century.

(213) Harris is shamefully incorrect in this respect. *Ex. c.* he places in the fifth century a monastery in Inismore founded by S. Columba, although he could not but have known, that Columba was born in the sixth. In like manner he assigns to the same period foundations by St. Iarlath of Tuam and St. Senan of Inniscathy notwithstanding its being indubitable that they belonged to the following century. One would imagine that Harris sometimes reckoned the centuries in Dr. Ledwich's manner, (see *Chap. II. §. XIV.*) and that he understood the time elapsed between A. D. 500 and 600 by the name of the *fifth*.

(214) Colgan has the Acts of Fridolin at 6 *Mart. Ware* following Possevin (*Appar Sac.*) and some German authors says (*Writers*), that he lived in the year 495. Colgan endeavoured to maintain this date, and Harris left it uncontradicted.

CHAPTER IX.

Establishment of the Irish or Scots in North Britain—Colman a bishop—Colman of Dromore—Caylan abbot of Antrim—Monastery of Locha founded—St. Maccarthen of Clogher—St. Tigernach of Clogher, stiled Ferdachrioch—Murchertach Mac Erca monarch of Ireland—Gildas taught at Armagh—Death of several bishops—Ailill succeeds Dubtach in see of Armagh—St. Sinell or Senchell—Natalis abbot of Kilmanagh—St. Sinan of Inniscathy—Abbot Cassidan—Death of Conlaeth bishop of Kildare—Nennidh Lamh-ghlan—St. Nennidh Laobhdearc—Death of St. Brigid—Birth of St. Columbkil—St. Derlugdach successor of St. Brigid—Death of St. Ailbe of Emly—And of St. Declan—Ultan succeeds Declan as abbot—School of Clonard—St. Finnian—Muredach prince of Hykinselagh—Enquiry into the times of St. David,

Gildas, and Canoc—Paul the hermit—St. Carnech—Death of Muirchertach monarch of Ireland—Death of Ailild archbishop of Armagh—Tigernach of Clones—Lugadius bishop of Conor—St. Moctheus of Louth.

SECT. I.

WE are now arrived at the sixth century, a period in which the Christian religion became almost universal throughout Ireland, and in which our country could boast of many very holy and learned persons, who have been ornaments not only of the Irish, but of the whole Christian church. The early part of this age forms a remarkable epoch in the history of the British islands; for the year 503 was that of the regular establishment of the Irish or Scots in North Britain under Loarn son of Erk, and the first year of the new Scottish kingdom out of Ireland. (1) These settlers were Christians, and it is said that one of them, Fergus, brother and successor to Loarn, had when young been blessed by St. Patrick, who foretold that his posterity would enjoy sovereign power. (2)

Usher states, that a bishop Colman, by whom Finnian (of Maghbile) was first instructed, flourished in the beginning of this century. (3) He does not tell us where he was bishop, but plainly distinguishes him from Colman of Dromore, whom he assigns to a later period, (4) in consequence of having confounded him with Colmanel of Muckmore, (5) a mistake, in which he has been followed by Ware and others. (6) But from the very documents referred to by Usher it is evident, that Finnian's first master was no other than Colman of Dromore, and that he was eminent in the early part of the sixth century. We have seen that Finnian, after having been under the care of bishop Colman, was sent to Caylan abbot of Antrim. (7) Colman of Dromore had been him-

self a pupil of Caylan, (8) and consequently some years before Finnian was recommended to the latter, most probably by Colman himself, then a bishop, and who must have been very intimate with Caylan. Colman having received the rudiments of learning from Caylan was sent to study the Scriptures under Ailbe of Emly, perhaps about the year 500, and afterwards by advice of Macnise, bishop of Connor, erected a noble monastery on the bank of the river *Locha*, (9) that is, the Lagan, which flows through Dromore. This monastery must have been founded before the end of A. D. 514, in which, at the latest, Macnise died. (10) Hence it appears that the see of Dromore is more ancient than commonly supposed, and that Colman flourished not in the late but in the early part of the sixth century. He was of a Dalaradian family and therefore a native of the territory, in which his see was situated. The year of his promotion to the episcopacy is unknown, as also that of his death. (11) His festival is kept on the 7th of June.

(1) See *Not.* 29 to *Chap.* 1. To what has been there observed add that some of our old historians mark the date of this establishment by placing it 20 years after the battle of Ocha, in which Alild Molt was killed. (See Usher *p.* 1029.) That battle was fought in 483. (*Chap.* VIII. §. 5.) The notation of 20 years between the two events shows at the same time, that the 4 Masters and Colgan were wrong in affixing the battle to A. D. 478 (479), whereas it is universally agreed on, that the Scottish establishment under Loarn commenced in 503. From that mistake flowed others, as to the years in which some of our kings either began or ceased to reign.

(2) *Tripart. L. 2. c.* 135. and *Jocelin c.* 137.

(3) *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 500.

(4) *Ibid. ad A.* 550.

(5) *Jocelin* has (*cap.* 96.) a prophecy of St. Patrick concerning Colmanel of Muckmore. He has another (*cap.* 98.) concerning Comgall of Bangor, in which his birth after 60 years is foretold. It is known that Comgall was born A. D. 516. *Jocelin* says

nothing about the number of years that were to elapse between the prophecy concerning Colmanel and his birth. But it seems that in some accounts the 60 years in the case of Comgall were extended also to that of Colmanel. Hence Usher, having confounded Colmanel with Colman of Dromore, affixes the birth of the latter to *A. D.* 516 (*Ind. Chron.* see also *ad A.* 456), and the foundation of his monastery to 550 (*ib.*)

(6) Ware (*Bishops*, and *Ant. cap.* 29.) agrees with Usher. And elsewhere (*Writers*) he brings down Colman of Dromore to the seventh century, in consequence of a story concerning a Colman having been consecrated at Rome by Gregory the great. This was the same person as Colman Ela or Colmanel, whom Jocelin in the prophecy alluded to (*Not. prec.*) represents as to become in course of time Apostolic legate in Ireland, and whom Colgan distinguishes by that title (third Index, *Tr. Th.* and *AA. SS.*) assigning his death to *A. D.* 610 (*AA. SS. p.* 247.). Colgan, however, did not confound this so called Apostolic legate with Colman of Dromore; for he not only expressly speaks of them as distinct persons (*Tr. Th. p.* 113. *Not.* 106 and 3d *Ind.*), but even reckons Colman of Dromore among the disciples of St. Patrick (*ib. p.* 269), and accordingly as very different from a man said to have been born in 516, and whose death he placed in 610. Yet, through a sort of negligence very usual with Colgan, he quotes (*AA. SS. p.* 191) without any observation a passage from Usher, in which Colman of Dromore is confounded with Colmanel. Harris, who has the same confusion at *Bishops* and *Writers*, distinguished them at *Monasteries*. Archdall (at *Muckamore*) has jumbled them together.

(7) *Not.* 189 to *Chap.* VIII.

(8) Usher, *p.* 1065.

(9) Usher, *ib.*

(10) It is very strange that Usher has, by mere conjecture, affixed (*Ind Chron.*) the erection of this monastery to *A. D.* 550. He seems to have paid no attention to the date of Macnisset's death, although he had before him the Annals of Innisfallen, which assign it to as early as the year 506 (507). He also confounded (*Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 550 compared with *A.* 456) the monastery near the Locha, viz. of Dromore, with that of Muckmore, a place in the county of Antrim; and hence Harris very wisely and after him Archdall assign the foundation of Muckmore to about 550. But

of Muckmore and Colmanel more will be found in the proper place.

(11) Harris's conjectures as to A. D. 600 or 610 are quite nugatory. These dates refer to other Colmans, who lived later. The confounding together various persons of that name is not a late error. Ware (*Writers*) refers to a Life of Colman of Dromore, in which Columkill is introduced as prophesying concerning him. Now, unless we are to reject what is related of his education under Caylau and Ailbe, and his connexion with Macnissie, Colman was prior to Columkill by many years. We know that the latter had some transactions with Colmanelo; and hence, I believe, the mistake has proceeded.

§. II. St. Maccarthen of Clogher, whose history I have been obliged to anticipate, (12) died, as already stated, in the year 506; and, as some say, on the 24th of March. (13) He was succeeded by St. Tigernach, who fixed his see or residence at Cluan-eois (Clunes or Clones) in the county of Monaghan, (14) still retaining the government of the church of Clogher, for which reason he was surnamed *Ferdachrioch*, (15) or the *man of two districts*. He is said to have been of a princely family, grandson, by his mother, of a king Echodius, and to have had St. Brigid for godmother, through whose recommendation he was raised to the episcopal dignity. (16) He had received his clerical education, as we are told, in the monastery of Rosnat in Great Britain under the holy abbot Monennus, (17) and, it seems founded that of Clones before he was appointed bishop. Following the order of time, the next remarkable event we meet with is the death of Lugaid, king of all Ireland, in the year 508, (18) after which there was an interregnum of about five years, (19) at the expiration of which in 513 Murchertach son of prince Murdach and great grandson of Niell Naoigiallagh (20) was raised to the throne. (21) He is usually surnamed *Mac Erca* from his mother Erca, who was a daughter of Loarn (22) the first chieftain of the Irish

who, as above stated, formed the great settlement in North Britain. She was a christian and had some saints among her nephews. (23) It is probable that also Muredach her husband was one. King Murchertach their son was undoubtedly a Christian; (24) and he is the first of our monarchs, whom we can with certainty consider worthy of that glorious name. He is represented as a good and pious sovereign. His reign continued until the year 533, or, as others say, 534. (25) I find another occurrence, worthy to be recorded, if true, assigned to the same year 508, viz. the return of Gildas, after having taught for some time at Armagh, to his own country, Britain. (26) This position is at best but an hypothesis, connected with another, which I believe cannot be maintained, concerning this Gildas having been different from, and many years prior to, Gildas the historian. (27) An opportunity will soon occur for inquiring into this subject. In the course of a few years, subsequent to the last mentioned, several of our prelates departed this life; Bron, bishop of Cassel-irra, in 512 on the 8th of June; (28) Dubtach, archbishop of Armagh in 513; (29) Ercus of Slane in 514, (30) to which year some of our Annalists assign also the death of Aengus Macnise bishop of Connor, while others place it in 507. (31) Whichever was the year of his departure from this life, the day, on which he died, was the third of September. (32) Some others of the more ancient Irish bishops were undoubtedly dead by the times we are now treating of; but the years of their demise are not known. Amidst this vacuum in our history nothing appears to me so singular as that the year, in which the celebrated Fiech of Sletty died, has not been recorded. (33) Yet the memory of the day of his death has been preserved; as we find his *Natalis* assigned to the 12th of October. (34)

(12) Chap. vi. §. 12.

(13) Usher, p. 856. There is a diversity of dates with regard to this matter. (See *Ind. Chron.* ad A. 506 and Colgan, *AA. SS.* at *MacCarthyen 24 Mart.*)

(14) Usher p. 856. Ware, *Bishops.*

(15) The Calendar of Cashel has (*ap AA. SS. p. 740.*); "S. Ferdachricus episcopus de Clochar, post episcopum MacCarthyennum." Now all accounts agree that the real name of MacCarthyen's successor was *Tigernach*, and that *Ferdachrioch* was merely a surname, which agreed very well with the circumstances, in which *Tigernach* was placed, but did not suit *MacCarthyen*, to whom some persons have erroneously applied it. (See *Not. 132 to Chap. VI.*) Harris has (*Bishops at Clogher*) on this point puzzled himself and his readers to no purpose. His mistake with regard to it is excusable; but not so his saying that *Tigernach* might have been the same as *Tigernach* bishop of *Clonmacnois*. There was no religious establishment, either see or monastery, at *Clonmacnois* until the year 548; while our *Tigernach* was bishop at *Clones* since 506. Nor was there any *Tigernach* of *Clonmacnois* in those ancient times. Harris confounded *Cluan-eois* with *Clonmacnois*, and applied to the latter what belonged to the former. Thus (at *Bishops, Clonmacnois*) he has a pretended bishop *Tigernach* in that place, for whom he quotes the 4 Masters. Now the 4 Masters knew nothing about such a person, but they write; "An. 548 (549) St. *Tigernac*, bishop of *Cluaineois*, died on the 4th of April." (*AA. SS. p. 191 and 439.*) This passage bewildered Harris, who has given us these dates, &c. at *Clonmacnois*. He ought to have known that the Irish Annalists, when treating of *Clones*, write *Cluain-eois*, *Cluain-eosensis*; whereas they express *Clonmacnois* by *Cluain-mhic-nois* or simply *Cluan*, whence *Cluanensis*. We find both places and names clearly distinguished in a passage of our Annals (*AA. SS. p. 150*), in which it is stated that in the year 548 (549) a great plague carried off *Kieran Cluanensis* (of *Clonmacnois*) and *Tigernach Cluaineosensis* (of *Clones*) the very person whom we are now treating of. Archdall, in obedience to Harris, brings in a *Tigernach* at *Clonmacnois*, but different, he adds, from the one of *Clogher*, and makes him succeed *Kieran*. All stuff! There was no abbot or bishop *Tigernach* there in those days.

(16) *Tr. Th. p. 605.* If this narrative deserves credit, we must

suppose that St. Brigid's standing as godmother for Tigernach was in her younger days, and, at least 30 years before A. D. 506. On this occasion it is observed that whoever was recommended for the episcopacy by St. Brigid, was immediately approved of and chosen by the clergy and people. (Compare with what has been said about Conlaeth of Kildare *Chap. VIII. §. 10.*)

(17) Colgan, *AA. SS. at Monennus 1 Mart.* This Monennus was undoubtedly the same person as Nennio abbot and bishop of what was called the *great monastery* in Britain, and to whom Cailan of Antrim is said to have sent Finnian of Maghbile. (See Usher, *p. 954.*) *Mo* is merely the prefix indicating affection. Colgan would fain make him the same as Moena, who died bishop of Clonfert in the year 571. But how could a man, who had been a bishop in Britain before Tigernach became one in 506, be supposed to have lived to so late a period? Besides, the names are plainly different. Others have foolishly confounded him with Nennius, the British historian, who lived in the 9th century. Where was that monastery of Rosnat? Neither the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Stevens, Tanner, Nasmith, nor Camden have, as far as I could discover, a word about it, although it is often mentioned in the Acts of some Irish saints. In those of Tigernach, quoted by Colgan (*ib.*) it is observed that it was otherwise called *Alba*, or *white*. Colgan hence concludes that it was no other than the famous monastery of Bangor or Banchor near the river Dee a few miles from Chester, and which must be carefully distinguished from the present episcopal town Bangor, which lies far to the West of where the monastery stood. (See Usher, *p. 133.*) His chief argument is that *Ban*, in Irish, signifies *white*, and so *Ban-chor* was the same as *white choir*. But, waving certain doubts concerning said monastery having existed at that early period, it is to be recollected that *Ban* has not that signification in the British language, which is that to be looked to in this inquiry. I suspect that Rosnat or *Alba* was the celebrated see called *Candida casa* or *White house*, now Whithorn. (See *Not. 149. to Chap. 1.*) The illustrious Ninia or Ninian had founded that see early in the 5th century, and there can be no doubt of an ecclesiastical school having been established there. (See Usher, *p. 661. seqq.*) When we read of Nennio being the bishop, to whom some Irish students were sent, this, I believe, must be understood as originally mean-

ing that they were sent to the school held in the see of Nennio or Ninia, who was dead before Tigernach or Finnian could have repaired thither. And in fact Finnian's master is called *Mugentius*, and what is very remarkable, the place *Candida* (*AA. SS. p. 634*). The master of Endeus of Arran, who is also said to have been at that school, is called not Nennio but Mansenus. Let me add that *Candida casa* lay very convenient for students from the North of Ireland; and it is worth observing, that of those, who are spoken of as having studied at Rosnat or *Alba*, scarcely one is to be found that was not a native of Ulster. There is a village and parish in Dumbartonshire, called *Roseneath*, anciently *Rossnachoich*, (*Stat. Acct. of Scotland, Vol. iv. p. 71.*) But there is no mention of a monastery having been there.

(18) See *Chap. VIII. §. 13.*

(19) Usher *p. 947.* Ware, *Antiq. cap. 4.* O'Flaherty *Ogyg. Part. III. c. 93.*

(20) *Tr. Th. p. 447* from the 4 masters.

(21) Usher and O'Flaherty, *loc. cit. &c.* The 4 Masters and Colgan follow a different line of chronology. In consequence of their having (erroneously I believe) assigned the battle of Ocha to 478 (479, see above *Not. 1.*) they make the 25 years of *Lugadius* end in 503 (504). Then they allow no interregnum, and immediately introduce *Muchertach* as king in said year.

(22) *AA. SS. p. 690.* (23) *Ib. p. 782.*

(24) *Ib. p. 679* and elsewhere *passim.*

(25) Usher and Ware have A. D. 534; O'Flaherty 533, observing that *Murchertach* did not reign full 21 years, but only somewhat more than 20; so that, counting from A. D. 513, his demise fell within 533. The 4 Masters and Colgan (*Ind. Chron. to Tr. Th.*) beginning his reign in 504 (see *Not. 21*) allows him near 24 years, and so place his death in 528, or as they call it, 527. I believe Usher and O'Flaherty's calculations are more correct.

(26) Usher *Ind. Chron. ad A. 508.* Colgan *AA. SS. p. 190.*

(27) Usher has exerted all his ingenuity to support this hypothesis. He calls the Elder *Gildas Albanus* and the latter *Badonicus.*

(28) *Tr. Th. p. 176.* Concerning *Bron* see *Chap. VII. §. 6.* and *VIII. §. II.*

(29) Usher *Ind. Chron.* Ware, *Bishops*; to whom the sapient Harris adds, that the 4 Masters place Dubtach's death in the year 512. Did he not know, that 512 was the same with them as 513 with others? Colgan mentions (*Tr. Th. p. 293.*), that Dubtach's memory was revered on the 5th of February, or 7th of October. See more above, *Chap. VIII. §. XIV.*

(30) Usher *Ind. Chron.* The 4 Masters have A. 512 (513). Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p. 20*) that in the old Calendars Ercus is treated of at 2d October and 2d November. See more *Chap. VII. §. VII.*

(31) The Annals of Innisfallen have; "506 (507) Quies Macnissime Condire." Ware following these Annals has (*Ant. cap. 29*) the year 507. Harris with his usual sagacity observes (*Bishops at Connor*); that this date does not agree with that of the Innisfallen Annals, which have 506. But Ware knew what Harris did not, *viz.* that said 506 was the same as our 507. Archdall (at *Connor*) left A. 506, as he found it. But Ware (in *Bishops*) adds that, according to some, Macnissime died A. 514. He alluded to the 4 Masters and Colgan, who have (*AA. SS. p. 190*) A. D. 513 (514).

(32) Ware *Ant. cap. 29* and *Bishops*. Here again Harris comes forward with a correction of Ware, and quotes Colgan as saying, that Macnissime died on the 3d of November 513. As to 513, it was the same as Ware's 514; but the variation *November* for *September* was owing to a mere error of the press, (at *AA. SS. p. 190*) a circumstance quite common in Colgan's work. Elsewhere he has *third of September* (*ib. p. 377.*) to which day he refers for the Acts of Macnissime. (See *Chap. VIII. §. 14.*)

(33) Colgan would wish to make us believe, that Fiech lived until about the middle of the sixth century. His argument, were it of any weight, would prolong Fiech's life until the tenth. It is this. In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, which Colgan most strangely imagined to have been written about A. D. 550, there is a passage, (*L. 1. c. 61.*) in which Fiech is spoken of with this addition; "Qui hodie in Ecclesia Sleptensi est." Hence Colgan concluded (*Tr. Th. p. 169*) that Fiech was alive when that work was written, a work not earlier than the 10th century. (See *Chap. III. §. IV.*) But, as I have often observed, phrases of this sort are either to be understood relatively to the mortal remains of the per-

sons mentioned being in the places spoken of, or are to be considered as quotations from older documents. Harris adds to Ware's account of Fiech (*Writers*), that he died early in the sixth century. He has not given, nor could he, any authority for this assertion, although it is not improbable that Fiech lived until about A. D. 500. (See *Chap.* vi. §. 5. and vii. §. 5.)

(34) *Tr. Th.* p. 7.

§. III. Dubtach was succeeded in the see of Armagh by Ailill or Ailild, (35) who is said to have been the son of a chieftain named 'Trichem, the pretended father of Dichuo St. Patrick's first convert, thus making Dichuo and Ailill brothers, as if we could be brought to believe, that a man, who in the year 432 had a settled family (36) and was then, in all probability, not less than 40 years of age, could have a brother capable of undertaking the duties of episcopacy in 513. And as to his princely extraction there is no foundation for it, except the confounding together different persons of the same name; nor is there any reason to make us admit, that even Dichuo was of a princely family. (37) The fact is that Ailill the archbishop was not, at least nearly, connected with Dichuo, and that nothing more can be ascertained concerning his origin than that he was a native of Clanbrassil, (38) a district far distant from Lecale, in which Dichuo's family resided. The mistake now pointed at is blended with another, according to which our Ailill has been confounded with Ailill called of Maghbile; (39) and who is reckoned among the sons of prince 'Trichem. This Ailill was the grandfather of St. Finnian of Maghbile, and remained, I believe, always a layman. From this confusion has been derived the opinion, that Ailill of Armagh had been married before he took holy orders; (40) for which there is no other foundation than the having jumbled together into one two very different persons, and who lived at different periods. Among the distinguished men of these

times we must place St. Sinell or Senchell who has without sufficient foundation, as elsewhere observed, (41) been said to have been St. Patrick's first convert in Ireland. He was the son of Kennfinnain and grandson of Imchad or Finchada of the royal blood of Leinster. (42) It is related that St. Ailbe of Emly presented him with a cell, in which he had lived himself for some time, at Cluain-Damh (Clane co. Kildare). The time of this donation is not mentioned; but it might have been about A. D. 500. (43) Nor is it known how long Sinell remained there. We find him afterwards at Killeigh, (44) where he established a monastery, which, in course of time, became very celebrated. According to some accounts he was raised to the episcopacy. To distinguish him from another Sinell, a relative of his and a priest, who lived with him at Killeigh, he is usually styled *Senior*. (45) Having lived to a good old age he died on the 26th of March, A. D. 549. (46) I find it mentioned, but on no authority, that Luga-dius, an abbot of Drumshallon, who is said to have been son to king Aengus of Cashel, died in the year 515 or 516. (47) There is no certain account of that monastery having existed at this early period; (48) and as to the honour of having been a son of Aengus, it has been paid to so many persons that, unless such a claim be much better authenticated than it is in the present case, we may safely reject it. (49)

(35) Usher, p. 874, Ware, &c. &c. Colgan has at 13 *January* a strange incoherent medley, which he calls the Acts of St Alild.

(36) See *Chap. v. §. 2.*

(37) See *Not. 17 to Chap. v.* Ware has followed Colgan only so far as to call Ailill son of Trichem, a prince of East Ulster, but has nothing about Dichuo, &c. Colgan tells us that Trichem was of the illustrious house of the Dalriatachs. Harris adhering more closely to Colgan, makes Alild one of the six so called sons

of Trichem, of whom Dichuo was said to be one, and in like manner reckons him among the disciples of St. Patrick.

(38) The four Masters have (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 293*) ; “ S. Alildus Ep. Ardmach. de gente de *Hi Bressail* ;” *i. e.* Clanbrassil in the county of Armagh. Colgan (at 13 *January*) strives to reconcile this with his assumption that Alild was son of the great dynast Trichem by saying, that the *Hi Bressail* sept was a branch of the *Dalfiatachs*. This is a pitiful evasion. If Alild was a son of Trichem who was of the great and right line of the *Dalfiatachs*, he would not have been placed in the distant and minor branch of the *Hi Bressail*.

(39) *Tr. Th. p. 110*. Maghbile, now Movill, is in the barony of Ardes, county of Down. It was the residence of said Alild, who must therefore have been different from the bishop Alild as being from Clanbrassil.

(40) Colgan at 13 *January*. Harris has in a most barefaced manner perverted Colgan's meaning on this subject. He makes him say that Ailill put away his wife before his taking holy orders. Now Colgan's statement is that the wife was dead before he became a clergyman. His words are “ *Ab uxoris lege solutus* (Alildus),” &c. He took this phrase from St. Paul, who uses it, (according to the Vulgate translation) where he declares that, in case of the husband's death, a woman may marry again. “ *Nam quae sub viro est mulier vivente viro, alligata est legi ; si autem mortuus fuerit vir ejus, soluta est a lege viri.*” *Rom. vii. 2*. Thus the words used by Colgan necessarily presuppose the death of the wife, and form a scholastic manner of speaking on this point. Harris then goes on to show that the Irish clergy were not bound to celibacy in those times. Whatever may be said as to certain orders of the clergy, of which elsewhere, this much I do assert, that in the whole history of the ancient Irish church there is no instance of any bishop having been exempt from that law. I mean real bishops and regularly consecrated ; for I know that in times of confusion certain persons, not consecrated, had, in consequence of having seized on the church property, got themselves called *bishops*.

(41) *Chap. v. §. 1.*

(42) *Ib. Not. 9. and Tr. Th. p. 18.* I have touched on this genealogy merely to show that the Sinell, who, it was pretended,

had been converted by St. Patrick, was no other than the abbot Sinell, of whom we are now treating. Colgan (*loc. cit.*) represents said Sinell as the son of Kennfinain, who, as all accounts agree, was father of the abbot, and is so spoken of by Colgan himself in Sinell's Acts at 26 *Mart.* But, as it appeared from these Acts that Sinell could scarcely have been born at the time of his pretended conversion by St. Patrick, Colgan *there* studiously omitted any mention of it.

(43) Harris (*Monasteries*) by mere conjecture assigns the foundation of the monastery of Cluain-Damh to the 5th century. As Sinell lived to a great age and died in 549, he might have been in that place before 500. But there was no permanent monastery at Clane; and whatever establishment Sinell had there ceased with his removal elsewhere. Ware, who searched only for permanent monasteries, which he has done with great judgment, does not mention any at Clane. It is not easy to understand, how Ailbe could have resided for any time in that place. Perhaps he had there what we would call a lodge, to serve for occasional retirement from the labours of the episcopacy, or as a resting place in journeys to or from Armagh, or other places where bishops might have occasion to assemble together.

(44) It is in the King's county, and is called, in Irish, *Killachuidh Drumfada*.

(45) Colgan (at 26 *Mart.*) quotes the following passage from the litanies of Aengus Kélideus; "Centum et quinquaginta monachos sanctos cum duodecim peregrinis, qui cum S. Senchello *seniore episcopo*, et S. Senchello *juniore presbytero*—habitarunt in ecclesia de Killachuidh-Drumfoda in Hyfalgia, invoco in auxilium meum, per Jesum Christum, &c."

(46) The Annals of Ulster quoted by Ware (*Ant. cap. 26 at King's co.*) and the 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. loc. cit.*) have; "A 548 S. Senchellus senior filius Cennanuani (Kennfinani) abbas, de Kill-achuidh, &c. obiit die 26 Martii." Their A. D. 548 is the same as 549. Archdall (*at Cláne*) retains 548; but (*at Killeigh*) he makes Sinell live until 550. Where he got this date, or his account of Sinell's having died of the plague I do not know. Ware, whom he refers to, has no such thing.

(47) Archdall at *Drumshallon*. Where he found this piece of information, I cannot discover. Colgan, making mention of this

Lugadius, (*AA. SS. p. 169*) does not tell us at what time he died.

(48) The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick has (*L. 2. c. 12*) the church of Druini-inis-clain (Drumshallon) as erected by him; and hence Harris and Archdall attribute the foundation of the monastery there to St. Patrick. But we have often seen what little reliance is to be placed on that work with regard to the origin of religious establishments. And in the case now before us, were we to receive its authority, it would follow that said church was created soon after the commencement of the saint's mission (see *Chap. v. §. 8.*), and at a time when the number of Christians was quite too small to make us admit the foundation of the many churches, which it assigns to that period. The first abbot of Drumshallon to be met with, concerning whom no doubt can be entertained, was St. Ronan, who died of the great plague in the year 665. (*AA. SS. p. 141.*)

(49) See *Chap. VIII. §. 8.* There have been several distinguished persons of the name of *Lugadius* in the 6th, 7th, and following centuries. One of them might have been at Drumshallon.

§. iv. It is more probable, although far from being certain, that Natalis or Naal, abbot of Kilmanagh, (50) who began to be distinguished about these times, was a son of king Aengus. (51) Little or nothing would be known concerning him, were he not highly praised in the Lives of St. Senan of Inniscatthy, who, when young, was a pupil of his, having been directed to his monastery and school by the abbot Cassidus. (52) Senan's younger days belonged to the early part of the sixth century, and accordingly this was the period, in which Natalis flourished. What time he died I cannot discover, unless we should apply to him what is said of a Naal of Invar-Naal (in Donegal) whose death is assigned to A. D. 564. (53) His memory was revered at Kilmanagh on the 31st of July. (54) Having now made mention of Senan, it will not be amiss to

touch upon in this place the first part of the history of so very eminent a saint. It is related, as already seen, (55) that St. Patrick, being near the Shannon in some part of the now county of Limerick about, it seems, the year 448, foretold the birth and future greatness of Senan. One account, which appears tolerably correct, gives 40 years (56) between the prophecy and Senan's birth. Thus we may suppose that he was born about A. D. 488, a date sufficiently agreeing with the real series of the transactions of his life, but not reconcileable with some unchronological fables concerning him. Not to enlarge on that of his having succeeded, and immediately, St. Patrick in the see of Armagh, (57) this narrative, whether such a prophecy was pronounced or not, proves that, as Senan came into the world late in the 5th century, he could not have founded the abbey of Iniscathy prior to St. Patrick's arrival in Munster, as some of our historians have foolishly stated. (58) It shows also that even Ware was mistaken in assigning the foundation of that abbey to the 5th century. (59) Senan was a native of Corco-baskind, a district in the western part of Thomond. (60) His parents were Christians and noble. Ergind, or Ercan, his father, is said to have been of the royal blood of Conary I. formerly monarch of Ireland. Coemgella, his mother, was likewise of an illustrious Munster family. The very place of his birth is mentioned, *viz.* Magh-lacha, where his father had one of his residences. (61) When arrived at a certain age, he was forced by the dynast of Corco-baskin to join in an expedition undertaken against the territory of Corcomroe for the purpose of carrying off plunder. (62) A proceeding of this sort did not accord with the pious disposition of young Senan; and accordingly he contrived to avoid taking any share in the devastation of that country. God rewarded him for his christian behaviour; for, when the party to

which he belonged, was routed with great loss, and he had fallen into the hands of their opponents, he was allowed to depart without injury, and to go whithersoever he pleased. This, and some other circumstances, which afterwards occurred, induced him to determine on renouncing the world. (63) He therefore placed himself under the abbot Cassidan, and having received from him the monastic habit, became in some time a great proficient in piety and ecclesiastical learning. (64) Next he repaired, as above mentioned, to the monastery of the most holy and learned Natalis, with whom he spent, perhaps, some years. Thence he went to visit other holy persons; but in the account given of these visits some anachronisms occur, which will be inquired into lower down. Let it suffice at present to observe that Senan's establishment at Iniscatthy cannot be placed earlier than about A. D. 534, and that a certain transaction relative to him, attributed to St. Brigid of Kildare, belongs not to her but to another saint of the same name. (65)

(50) In Irish *Killmanach Drochid*, about 8 miles to the West of Kilkenny and not far from the county of Tipperary.

(51) Colgan has endeavoured to give some Acts of Natalis at *January 27* in consequence of his having thought that he was the same as a St. Naal abbot of Kill-naile in Breffny and afterwards of Devenish, and contemporary with St. Maidoc of Ferns. Some of the Irish Calendarists make him a son of king Aengus. This cannot stand; for Molassius founder of Devenish did not die until A. D. 564; and Maidoc belonged to a late part of the 6th century. Who then will believe, that such dates and circumstances are applicable to the son of a prince, who was killed in 490? (*Chap. VIII. §. 8.*) Nor could that St. Naal be the same as Naal of Kilmanagh, who certainly flourished about the year 520. If any abbot Naal was son of Aengus, this was the person. The times agree, and the place of his residence answers very well, as it was not many miles from Cashel.

(52) In the metrical Life of St. Senan we read; "In visione

igitur. Hoc abbati praecipitur—abbati inquam Cassido—hoc jubetur a Domino—ut Senanum novitium—ad abbatem eximium—mittat *Natalum* nomine,—ut sub eius regimine—disciplinis et actibus—instrueretur plenius—fuit enim tunc temporis.—fama Natali celebris,—cum ingens congregatio—in eius contubernio—quingenta videlicet—et centum fratrum degeret.” Then follows various particulars, which it is not necessary to repeat, relative to the proceedings of Natalis and Senan. The abbot Cassidus is called Cassidan in the prose life of Senan, translated from the Irish (*cap.* 11.) and is said to have been a native of the territory *Kierraihe Chuirke* (probably a part of Kerry), and to have then dwelt in *Irras*, which, as appears from said Life. (*cap.* 10.) was a maritime district in Corco-baskind, and lying to the West of Magh-lacha. (See below *Not.* 60, 61.)

(53) 4 Masters (*ap.* Colgan, *AA.* *SS.* *p.* 174 and *Ind. Chron.*) have A. 563 (*i. e.* 564). This Naal is stated to have been the same as Naal of Kilnaile and Devenish, who is said to have succeeded St. Molassius. Strange jumbling; for the death of Naal of Inver-Naal is assigned to the 27th *January* 564, while Molassius lived until the 12th of September in the same year (4 Masters *ib.* *p.* 192.) How then could he have been succeeded by this Naal? Archdall makes a very sorry figure in this matter. He says (at Kilnaile) that Natalis died in 563 (564); at *Inver* he tells us that Natalis, who died in that year, was abbot of Inbher-naile, also of Kilnaile, and of Devenish. Then he informs us (at *Devenish*) that Molaisse having died 12th September same year, was succeeded by St. Natalis son of Aengus king of *Connaught* (he should have said, *Munster*) who was also abbot of Inbhernaile and Kilnaile. Thus Natalis would, when dead, have been created abbot of Devenish. This absurdity, however, is a necessary result of a close adherence to certain old hagiologists, quoted by Colgan, whom Archdall followed implicitly, and to the date 664 of the 4 Masters. Either then this date is wrong; or perhaps Naal of Devenish was a different person from the one of Invernaal. Yet they are usually spoken of as one and the same. I strongly suspect that the date 564 was originally marked for Naal or Natalis of Kilmanagh, and that, through a confusion of names, it was referred to another, who lived at a later period. Natalis of

Kilmanagh, although well known about A. D. 520, might have lived until 564.

(54) *AA. SS. p. 174.* This notation of the festival of Naal of Kilmanagh is an additional proof of his having been different from the Naal of Inver-naal, &c. whose festival was held on the 27th of of January.

(55) *Chap. vi. §. 8.*

(56) Fourth Life of St. Patrick, *cap. 79.* Colgan in a note to the Tripartite (*L. 3. c. 46*) observes that in said chapter 46 there is a various reading as to the number of years, and that one *MS.* has 26. The 40 years of the fourth Life come, I believe, nearer to the truth.

(57) This story was founded on a mistake in having misunderstood some passages in the Lives of Senan. It is to be observed that St. Patrick, having baptized a great number of the people of Thomond, who had crossed the Shannon to be instructed by him (*Chap. vi. §. 8.*) was earnestly requested by them to visit their country. The saint told them that it was out of his power to comply with their wish. On their desiring to know would they have a bishop of their own after his death, and who would be the person, he said that God would provide them with a great bishop and patron from among themselves, whose name would be *Senan*. The metrical Life has; “*Interca ab incolis—Antistes venerabilis—interrogatur saepius—quis post eum episcopus—sit futurus inibi.*” The saint is then introduced saying; “*Nascetur vobis parvulus—futura Dei famulas,—qui et Senanus nomine—in meo stabit ordine,—mihi, Deo propitio,—succedens episcopio.*” From the whole context, and particularly from the second or prose Life (*cap. 3, 4.*) it is clear, that in these passages no more is meant than that instead of St. Patrick, who acted then as universal bishop of all Ireland and accordingly of Thomond, this district would have after some years a bishop of its own, and who might very justly be styled a successor of his. We could, if necessary, recur to the great maxim of the unity of the episcopacy, so well expressed by St. Cyprian; “*Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur;*” and according to which a bishop could be said to succeed other bishops although not attached to the same see. But in the case now under discussion the matter is quite plain. Yet it has been understood by some writers (see *AA. SS.* at 8

Mart. p. 542.) as if Senan had succeeded St. Patrick at Armagh. Usher, while he rejected this fable, fell (*p. 873, seqq.*) into a mistake almost equally unfounded. He supposed that, as Senan was spoken of as a successor of St. Patrick, the latter had been at Iniscatthy, and acted there as bishop for a considerable time. Usher must not have read the second Life of Senan, from which, as well as from the Tripartite, (*L. 3. c. 46.*) it is evident that St. Patrick did not visit the country about Iniscatthy, although he took care to supply the inhabitants with religious teachers. (See *Chap. VIII. §. 1.*)

(58) O Halloran, &c. (59) *Ant. cap. 26.* at co. Limerick.

(60) Harris (*Ant. ch. 7.*) says it was the now barony of Moyarta, in the county of Clare. Although this barony forms a part of it, Corca baskind was, I believe, more extensive.

(61) Second Life, *cap. 1. and 6. seqq.* *Magh-lacha* was probably in the now barony of *Clonderlach*, which lies to the east of Moyarta. There is an affinity between the names *Magh-lacha* and *Clonderlach*.

(62) *Ib. cap. 8.* The metrical Life exhibits this transaction in glowing colours, under the description of a regular war, and represents Senan as a military man by profession. The author seemed to think that there were standing armies then in Ireland.

(63) *Ib. cap. 10.* (64) *Ib. cap. 11.*

(65) We read in the second Life of Senan (*cap. 39.*) that St. Brigid, daughter of Conchraid, of the family of Mactail, who had her cell at Cluan-in-fidi on the bank of the Shannon (Colgan thinks it was near where that river receives the Fergus), had prepared a vestment, which she wished to send to Iniscatthy for St. Senan. Finding no mode of conveyance she wrapped it up in hay and put it into a basket, which she entrusted to the current of the river, after having written on it a proper direction. It is added that it arrived safe to him. In the third Life of St. Brigid of Kildare (*cap. 115.*) and fourth (*L. 1. c. 81.*) this anecdote was transferred to her, with this variation, that the basket or box was entrusted to the ocean, and had to pass over a very great round and extent of sea. Thus a transaction, in which there is nothing improbable, was transformed into a marvellous story, which has helped to give

rise to the opinion (Usher *p.* 874), that Senan was established at Inniscathy before the death of St. Brigid.

§. v. We are now approaching the last days of the great St. Brigid. Her friend Conlaeth, bishop of Kildare, (66) preceded her in his passage to eternity, having died on the 3d of May A. D. 519. (67) We may reasonably suppose, that a successor was appointed, but who he was is not regularly recorded. (68) Meanwhile St. Brigid's institution seems to have spread far and wide throughout Ireland; but from the loose manner, in which the establishments belonging to it are mentioned here and there, and the great neglect of chronological arrangement in her Lives, it is impossible to fix the times either of those establishments, (69) or of the principal part of the transactions of her life, particularly after the foundation of Kildare. She is said to have been at Armagh, and nuns are spoken of as being there with her. (70) Perhaps then we may be allowed to date from her own times the foundation of the Brigidine nunnery of that city. (71) St. Brigid was constantly occupied in promoting the good of others, and some very singular instances of her miraculous powers are related, relative to her exertions for that purpose. The most eminent persons of her times either visited her or corresponded with her. Besides several already mentioned, (72) St. Ailbe of Emly used to confer with her on holy subjects, on occasion of visiting her, which he did more than once. (73) The celebrated Gildas is said to have sent her, as a token of his esteem, a small bell cast by himself. (74) Brendan, called of Clonfert, who afterwards became so renowned, waited upon her to be instructed on a certain religious subject. (75) St. Brigid was attentive to the conduct of young persons not only females, as her station required, but likewise males. Of her watchfulness in this respect an instance is given in the case of Nennidh, surnamed *Lamh-ghlan* (*clean*

hand), son of Ethach and a native of a place called *Muli* or *Mula*. (76) He was a student, perhaps at Kildare, when St. Brigid, happening to be with some of her nuns not far from the monastery, saw him running very fast and in an unbecoming manner. She sent for him, and on his coming up to her, which he seemed loth to do, asked him whither he was running in such haste. He replied, seemingly as if in jest, that he was running to the kingdom of heaven. I wish, said the saint, that I deserved to run along with you to-day to that kingdom; pray for me that I may arrive there. Affected by these words he requested that she would offer up her prayers for his pursuing a steady course towards heaven, and said he would pray for her and many others. She then prayed for him, and the Almighty was pleased to touch his heart, so that he did penance, and ever after led a most religious life. Next she foretold to him that he was the person, from whose hand in due time she would receive the holy viaticum on the day of her death. (77) Some circumstances are then related concerning the care he took to keep clean the hand, which was to be used on that great occasion, and whence he got his surname; and it is added that he afterwards went to Britain, where he remained until near the time that St. Brigid died. (78) The conversation between him and the saint must have occurred several years prior to her death, as he was then only a student and giddy; so that a considerable time must have elapsed before he was qualified, as a priest, to attend so great a saint at her departure from this life. He has been confounded with the celebrated St. Nennidh surnamed *Laobh-dearc* (*part eyed*) abbot and bishop at Inis-mhuigh-Samh (79) (Fermanagh) about the middle of the sixth century. Not only the surnames but several other circumstances plainly show, that they were distinct persons. (80) He is said to have written a Latin hymn in honour of St. Brigid, which is still extant. (81)

(66) See *Chap. VIII. § XI.*

(67) *Tr. Th. p. 629. Ware, Bishops at Kildare.*

(68) Colgan (*loc. cit.*) quotes an author, who calls Natfroich (of whom above *Chap. VIII. §. XI.*) a bishop, and thinks that he might have been bishop of Kildare. If so, he succeeded Conlaéth. Colgans adds that he *flourished* in the year 520. Archdall not only transformed Natfroich into a coachman and abbot, but changed the *flourished* of Colgan into *died*. In case Natfroich was made bishop after Conlaéth, it can scarcely be admitted, that he could have been a priest before St. Patrick's death in 465, or that it was by him he was appointed spiritual director of St. Brigid. (See *Not. 135 to Chap. VIII.*)

(69) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 625*) reckons a heap of churches, monasteries, &c. under the name of St. Brigid. But, with regard to the far greatest part of them, it cannot be ascertained whether they were erected before or after the foundation of Kildare, (See *Chap. VIII. §. 4.*) or even after the saint's death, as, I am sure, very many of them were.

(70) *Fourth Life, L. 2. c. 32.*

(71) This nunnery must not be confounded with another at or near Armagh, established, most probably, by St. Patrick. (See *Chap. VIII. §. 9.*) Harris and Archdall were wrong in attributing to him also the Brigidine nunnery. St. Brigid, as already proved, was not a nun until after his death.

(72) *Chap. VIII. §. IV. and XI.*

(73) *Life of Ailbe.* See *Tr. Th. p. 604.* Compare with what has been said (*Not. 43.*) concerning Ailbe's cell at Clane.

(74) *Tr. Th. p. 605. and AA. SS. p. 183.*

(75) *Tr. Th. p. 605.*

(76) *Fourth Life, L. 2. c. 61.* Colgan, having patched up from various documents the Acts of St. Nennidh at 18 Jan. represents him, without however offering any solid proof, as great grandson, by his father's side, of king Leogaire. For, an Eochad, grandson of Leogaire, is spoken of in Irish history. Colgan, who was wonderfully fond of giving a princely origin to our saints, would fain make him the same as Ethach, the father of Nennidh. Then to mend the matter he says, that Nennidh is supposed to have been a disciple of St. Patrick; as if St. Patrick could have had for scholar a great grandson of a king his cotemporary, who was

most probably a younger man than himself, although he died some, not long, time sooner. Colgan is more rational in calling Nennidh a disciple of St. Fiech, as, supposing the latter to have lived until the beginning of the sixth century, Nennidh might have been at his school. A *Nanned*, (seemingly the same as *Nennidh*) is mentioned (Tripart. L. 3. c. 22) among some of Fiech's disciples. But Colgan (*Not. ad. loc.*) thinks he was different from Nennidh Lamh-ghlan, although in *AA. SS.* (at 18 Jan.) he makes them one and the same, besides contradicting himself also with regard to the genealogy of the latter. As there were in the sixth century several persons so called, no decision can be formed on the mere identity of name. As to the place called *Mula*, Colgan went quite out of his way in imagining that it was the isle of Mull to the west of Scotland, not that he supposed Nennidh to have been born there, but that he thought Nennidh, who is said to have spent some years out of Ireland, might have been in that island. But in the above quoted Life of St. Brigid *Mula* is mentioned in terms plainly indicating his birth-place; "Ninnidius, filius Ethach *de partibus Mula*." There are places enough in Ireland called by that name to this very day, such as Mullagh in Cavan, and Mullagh near Longford, of one or other of which Nennidh might have been a native.

(77) Fourth Life, L. 2. c. 62.

(78) *Ib.* and *AA. SS.* at 18 Jan.

(79) Colgan, *Acts* at 18 Jan. which *Acts* he affixed to that day in consequence of this confusion. For that, or, as others have it, the 16th of January was the festival day of Nennidh *Laobh-dearc*; whereas nothing is known concerning the day assigned to Nennidh Lamh-ghlan. Harris, following this mistake, placed the foundation of the abbey of *Inis-mhuigh-Samh* in the 5th century. Archdall calls it *Inis-mac-saint*. Of this abbey, &c. we will see elsewhere.

(80) The surnamed *Laobh-dearc* was a disciple of Finian of Clonard and contemporary with Columbkille, &c. therefore long after the time of the conversation held with St. Brigid by Lamh-ghlan, who most probably never had a monastery in Ireland, having lived much abroad, and perhaps was not even a monk. At least, there is nothing in any of St. Brigid's Lives to make us believe that he was. Colgan found himself greatly puzzled by the

different surnames, which certainly were given to distinguish one Nennidh from the other.

(81) It has been published by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 542.*) and begins with the words; “*Christus in nostra insula.*” Then after some lines we have, “*Audite virginis laudes, &c.*” There seems to be some misplacement of the strophes, if we are to listen to an old Scholiast on it, quoted by Colgan, (*ib. p. 545.*) who says, that it began with *Audite, &c.* He writes; “*S. Nennidius Lamh-iodan, id est, mundimanus, composuit hunc hymnum in laudem S. Brigidæ, vel S. Fiechus Sleptensis. Audite virginis laudes est ejus initium. Vel S. Ultanus de Ardbreacain composuit, &c. Lamh-iodan is, as Colgan observes, (AA. SS. p. 115.) the same as Lamh-ghlan; for iodan is only another name for clean. As to Fiech’s being the author, it is sufficient to remark that it can scarcely be supposed, that Fiech survived St. Brigid, after whose death that hymn was composed. Colgan was inclined to think that Ultan of Ardracain was the author, because he had written a book on the Acts of St. Brigid. But it does not thence follow that he wrote also the hymn. Ware’s account of this hymn and author, as it appears in the English translation and in Harris, is strangely garbled. He calls him (Writers) Nimidus Lainidan, and conjectures that he was the same as the abbot Nennidh of a place in Lough-Erne, that is, of Inis-mhuigh-Samh. This Nennidh was, as we have just seen, different from Lamh-ghlan or Lamh-iodan corrupted, in the document used by Ware, into Lainidan, in the same manner as Nennidh into Nimid. If Ware, or his English translator, had not been deceived by the authority he followed, he would have known that the person, said to have composed that hymn, was called Nennidh-Lamh-ghlan; nor would he have spoken of two hymns instead of one, or, at least, not given to understand that the part alone beginning with *Audite* was in praise of St. Brigid; whereas the other beginning with *Christus, &c.* is equally relative to her. In Ware’s Latin original Nimidus Lainidan is mentioned only under the article *Fiech*, and incidentally*

§. VI. The time at length arrived, when this extraordinary saint was to receive the reward promised by God to those, who love him as she did. Nothing

particular is recorded as to the nature of her last illness, and it is merely stated that finding her end approaching, she received, a short time before her death, the communion of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ from the hand of St. Nennidh. (82) That she died at Kildare cannot be called in question, as that was her permanent residence; nor are we to listen to a tale of her death having occurred in Ulster, which was patched up on the supposition that she was buried at Down, than which nothing can be more false. (83) It is universally agreed on, that she died on the 1st of February; but in what year it is far from being decided. Some foreign writers have said, in 518; a calculation founded upon having mistaken the year of St. Patrick's death, whence Nennius reckoned sixty years to that of St. Brigid. (84) Others have the year 521; (85) but a greater number of writers maintain that the year of her death was 523. (86) The former of these two dates is solely, and the latter almost chiefly founded on wrong supputations of the year, in which St. Patrick died, and on the admission of an unproved and indeed false assumption that St. Brigid survived him exactly 30 years. (87) It must, however, be allowed that some documents would, if we were certain of their correctness, favour the latter opinion. (88) Some Irish Annals assign it to A. D. 525, a date (89) best agreeing with what Nennius has concerning the birth of Columbkil having been four years prior to the death of St. Brigid. (90) It appears to me better supported than that of 523, which is the only one that can stand any competition with it; and between the two the reader may decide for himself. As to any other dates, that have been proposed, they are scarcely worthy of consideration. With this inquiry is connected that into the number of years that the saint lived. According to some accounts she died in the 70th year of her age; according to others in the 74th. (91) This diversity

affects also the question concerning the year of her birth, which, although for the sake of convenience already supposed (92) to have been A. D. 453, was perhaps 455. (93) On these points, as they are of very little importance and do not affect the truth of St. Brigid's history, every one may follow whichever of the now mentioned calculations he thinks most convenient. This great saint is said to have written some tracts, one of which was a Rule for the members of her institution, and which, we may be sure, was a mere summary of the simple regulations universally observed by holy virgins and nuns before various Rules and different religious Orders were even thought of. (94) A letter, written in Irish, to a St. Aidus, son of Degil, concerning whom I can find no further account, is also attributed to her, besides two small pieces also in Irish. (95) It would be superfluous to enlarge on the extraordinary veneration, with which her memory has been revered not only in Ireland and Great Britain; (96) but in every part of the Western Church; (97) or to undertake a formal refutation of the impudent assertion of that pseudo-antiquary Dr. Ledwich, that St. Brigid was an imaginary saint. (98)

(82) Fourth Life, *L. 2. c. 63.* Nennidh, although he is said to have lived for some years in Britain, and, according to one account, even at Rome, was in all probability a member of the clergy of Kildare, and, it seems, particularly attached to the service of the nunnery. He is called simply *sacerdos* (Fifth Life, *cap. 58*) without any allusion to the monastic state.

(83) The author of the fourth Life, who lived at a time when St. Brigid's remains were supposed to be at Down (see *Not. 18 to Chap. VIII.*) imagined (*L. 2. c. 99.*) that she had been originally buried there, and accordingly that it was there or in the neighbourhood that she died. Hence the story; but it is more than sufficiently refuted by the testimony of Cogitosus, in whose days the body of the saint was still at Kildare, and indeed in a magnificent shrine. (See *Not. cit.*) It is odd that Colgan could have

hesitated (*Tr. Th. p. 618.*) on a matter so very clear. Bollandus did not. (See *Comment. prae v. ad V. S. Br. §. 6-7.*)

(84) It had been said that St. Patrick died A. D. 458, (see *Chap. VII. §. 2.*) to which year if 60 be added we have 518. But, as the antecedent was false, so is the consequent.

(85) Marianus Scotus followed by Baronius, Ware, and many others.

(86) Usher, Colgan, Bollandus, &c.

(87) This story of 30 years intervening between the deaths of the two saints has been taken from the spurious tract called St. Patrick's *Testament* (see *Not. 95 to Chap. VII.*), in which we find the favourite division of our Apostle's years into thirties. To these was added another thirty, at the end of which St. Brigid was to bless Ireland. (Usher, *p. 883.*) Thence it got into the fourth Life of St. Brigid (*L. 2. c. 99.*), and became popular. Marianus Scotus, having assigned St. Patrick's death to A. D. 491, placed, agreeably to this supposition, that of St. Brigid in 521; while the sticklers for A. D. 493, following the same principle, fixed it at 523. One of these was Bollandus (at *St. Brigid*); but his successors Henschenius and Papebrochius rejected (at *S. Patric. 17 Mart.*) these thirty years, and made out another calculation for themselves, which cannot be admitted, placing her death in 506 or 517. Tillemont justly remarks, that they have not adduced any weighty proof for these dates, (*Mem. &c. Tom. XVI. p. 470.*) See *Not. 25 to Chap. VIII.*

(88) An Irish Life of St. Brigid and the Annals of Roscrea, referred to by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 619.*), assign St. Brigid's death to a Wednesday. Now the first of February fell on that day in the year 523. I suspect that this notation of *Wednesday* is only an imitation of the *Wednesdays* marked for St. Patrick. (See *Chap. IV. §. 1.*) To make the parallel still stronger, it has been added that St. Brigid took the veil also on a Wednesday. Colgan builds on this notation, which Usher was either ignorant of or overlooked, and argues that it cannot be applied to any year later than 523, because, according to the fourth Life of St. Brigid (*L. 2. c. 99.*), she died during the pontificate of Pope Hormisdas, and therefore prior to the month of August in said year. Little reliance, however, can be placed on that passage, as we find in it nothing but confusion, St. Brigid's death being said also to have

occurred during the reign of Justinian and in the year 548, periods very different from that of Hormisdas. (See Usher, p. 884.)

(89) Usher observes (*loc. cit.*) that some books referred to in the Annals of *Ulster* mark the death of St. Brigid at 525. This date has been followed by the 4 Masters. (*Tr. Th.* p. 619.). The *Ulster* Annalist himself has A. D. 524.

(90) See *Not.* 12 to *Chap.* vii.

(91) The Annals of *Ulster* and the Martyrologium *Tamlactense* have the 70th; the martyrology of Donegal the 74th. (*Tr. Th.* p. 620.) The author of the 4th *Life* gives her 80 years; but his statements are so contradictory that they are not worth attending to.

(92) *Chap.* viii. §. 2.

(93) In the hypothesis of St. Brigid having died in 523, and in the 70th year of her age as the Annals of *Ulster*, &c. state, Usher's calculation of her birth in 453 is perfectly correct; for, whatever was the year, the day, on which she was born, was later than the first of February (see *Not.* 26 to *Chap.* viii.); and thus, as she did not complete her 70th year, her birth must be assigned to 453. In like manner, still supposing that she died in her 70th year, which seems the best founded opinion, if she lived until A. D. 525, her birth must be placed in 455.

(94) See *Chap.* viii. §. 3. and *Not.* 34 *ib.* A droll controversy has been carried on between the Canons Regular of St. Augustin, and the Augustinian hermits, commonly called Augustinians; each party pretending that St. Brigid belonged to the class of nuns who followed their respective institutions, or that she had taken her Rule from them. Colgan strove (*Tr. Th.* p. 620.) to please both parties. The short mode of silencing the disputants would have been to tell them, that neither of their institutions existed until some hundreds of years after the time of St. Brigid. Yet in a certain sense her Rule may be said to have been somewhat Augustinian, inasmuch as we may reasonably suppose it agreed in substance with the directions drawn up by St. Augustin for the nuns over whom his sister presided. See *Not.* 133 to *Chap.* iv.

(95) One of these two tracts is a poem on the virtues of St. Patrick; the other is entitled, *Quiver of divine love.* Colgan tells us (*Tr. Th.* p. 610) that he had a copy of them and of the letter

to Aidus. As to some works falsely ascribed to her, see *ib.* and Ware (*Writers at St. Brigid*).

(96) Hector Boethius writes (*Hist. Scot. L. 9*); “Effecta est ejusdem Brigidæ virginis ad posteritatem celebris usque adeo memoria, ut Scoti, Picti, Hibernici, et qui illis gentibus vicinas habent sedes Angli eam inter foeminas, quas Christiana ecclesia in Sanctorum numerum retulit, *secundum Deiparam Virginem* præcipua semper habuerint veneratione. Templâ Brigidæ inter hos populos sacra, quot vix alicui Divorūm, hujus rei certa sunt indicia.” Some old Irish writers call her the second Mary, or Mary of the Irish, and, as she had contributed so essentially to the forming of children of God and brethren of Christ, another, as it were, mother of our Saviour, alluding also to his words; *Whosoever shall do the will of my Father, who is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother*; *Matth. XII. 50*. I have mentioned this manner of speaking concerning St. Brigid, because Colgan, who quotes (*Tr. Th. p. 622.*) several passages relative to it, has not sufficiently explained them. Alcuin in one of his short poetical pieces (No. 247.) writes;

“Virginibus sacris præsens hæc ara dicata est,
Quarum clara fuit Scottorum vita per urbes,
Brigida sancta foemina, Christo simul Hafidelis,
Hæc nobis salutem per suffragia sancta,” &c.

(97) See *Tr. Th. p. 623. seqq.*

(98) *Antiq. of Ireland, p. 378*. Can any thing be more presumptuous or intolerable than to throw out such a palpable lie in direct opposition to as clear testimonies and universal consent of critics and historians as ever appeared on any subject? Not to mention the Irish Calendar and other numberless documents, St. Brigid's name is not only in the Roman martyrology, but in that of Bede, Usuardus, &c. and even in the Additions to that called of St. Jerome. It was also in ancient litanies used in the early part of the seventh century. (See *Chap. II. §. 6*) I call this assertion of Ledwich a *lie*; for elsewhere, as it there answered his purpose, he speaks of her as having really existed. Thus Dr. Milner, not having observed the passage above referred to, was induced to suppose (*Tour in Ireland, Letter XI.*) that he did not deny the existence of St. Brigid. It is true that he did not in that part of his rhapsody (*p. 387.*) where he would fain show, in a tone of the

most profane levity and infidel-like spirit of calumny, that she was no other than a sort of Druidess appointed to take care of the holy fire in place of the heathen Druidesses of yore. Where did he find these Irish Druidesses? That the pagan Irish worshipped fire I admit; but the care of it was entrusted not to women but to men. Away then with this nonsense; and as to the Doctor's infamous assumption concerning St. Brigid and her nuns having been established at Kildare merely as preservers of fire, I will tell him that, so far from any such thing, there is not in any of her Lives nor of the very many old documents, in which her transactions are spoken of, the least allusion to such an employment or to perpetual fire. The first author, who has made mention of this fire, is Giraldus Cambrensis; and indeed he has given us stories enough about it. It was kept constantly burning in an inclosure near the monastery for, as Ware says (*Antiq. cap. 17.*), *the benefit of the poor and strangers*; to which Harris (*Ch. 35*) wantonly added, *as was pretended*. When that practice was introduced, we have no means of discovering. It was not observed in St. Brigid's time; nor did the writers of her Lives know any thing about it. On the contrary they relate, that, on an occasion of some strangers coming at night towards the monastery, St. Brigid ordered a fire to be made, and water warmed for washing their feet (*Third Life, cap. 84. and Fourth, L. 2. c. 57.*) Hence it appears that no fire was then kept constantly burning. Whatever was the system of the heathen Irish with regard to the preservation of fire, nothing occurs to prove that the practice of Kildare was in any manner derived from it; although I do not mean to deny that some remnants of Pagan customs have been observed, without however any bad intention, in Ireland as well as in other countries, and that it was sometimes even thought adviseable to allow certain such usages as being harmless in themselves, yet with the precaution of having them directed to the worship and honour of the true and almighty God. (See Gregory the great's Letter to Mellitus *ap. Bede Eccl. Hist. L. 1 c. 30.*)

§. VII. St. Derlugdacha, who had been a favourite scholar of St. Brigid, succeeded her in the government of the institution of Kildare, and is said to have survived her only a year, neither more nor less.

Accordingly her death is assigned to the first of February, (99) and must have occurred either in the year 524 or 526, according as that of St. Brigid's death may be computed. About the same time, *viz.* in the year 526, (100) and on the 13th of January, died Ailill archbishop of Armagh, after having governed that see nearly thirteen years. (101) He was succeeded by a namesake of his own, who is therefore called Ailill or Alild the second, and, like him, of the sept of Hi-Bressail. (102) St. Ailbe of Emly after a long life, the greater part of which was spent in preaching the Gospel, instructing and preparing others for the sacred ministry, (103) and in forwarding by all means in his power the good of religion, (104) was in the following year called out of this world, and his death is assigned in our Annals to the year 527. (105) The day marked for it is the 12th of September. The reputation of this holy and learned man was so great, that he was styled *another Patrick*, (106) and was reckoned among the principal fathers of the Irish church. (107) Of his writings there is still extant a Monastic or Collegiate Rule. (108) With Ailbe is usually joined Declan of Ardmore, who survived him; but how long we are not informed. To what has been already said of him (109) I have nothing to add, except that his festival was held on the 24th of July. (110) He was succeeded at Ardmore by St. Ultan son of Erc, not, it seems, as bishop but only as abbot. (111) Ultan had been a disciple of Declan, and had, before Declan called him to Ardmore, a monastery at Coning, a place apparently near Clonmel. (112) Concerning his transactions little or nothing else is known. (113) Some years prior to the death of Ailbe I find recorded that of two prelates, of whom very little is said in Irish history. One was St. Boetius son of Bronac, bishop of Monaster, or, as called from him, Monaster-boice in the now county of Louth. His death is marked at the 7th of Decem-

ber, A. D. 522. (114) The other was St. Beoadh bishop at Ardcarne in the county of Roscommon, (115) who died on the 8th of March in 524. (116) He was of royal descent, and of a very generous disposition. From the manner in which he is spoken of in the Irish Calendars, &c. it appears that he was held in high estimation.

(99) At said day Colgan has what he calls her Acts, which are meagre enough and not worth making extracts from. She is the saint whom Dempster pretended to have been a sister of St. Gunifort. (See *Not.* 22 to *Chap.* 1.) Her being revered at Trisingen (*ib.*) was probably owing to her connexions with St. Brigid, whose memory was most highly respected in Germany.

(100) Usher *Ind. Chron.* Ware, &c. The Irish Annals quoted by Colgan at 13 Jan. have A. D. 525, which was the same as our 526.

(101) Ailill's incumbency is generally reckoned at 13 years. It is more probable that the 13 years were not complete, unless we should suppose that Dubtach his predecessor died before the 13th of January A. 513. This, however, can scarcely be admitted; and from the days, on which his memory was revered (See *Not.* 29), it would appear that he died later in the year.

(102) In consequence of those two prelates having had the same name and been of the same sept and country (Clanbrassil) some thought they were one and the same person. But Colgan (at 13 *Jan.*) shows that they were carefully distinguished in the Irish Annals, and observes that, while the memory of the former was celebrated on the 13th of January, to that of the latter was assigned the first of July.

(103) The school established by St. Ailbe has been mentioned already (*chap.* VIII. §. 8. 9.). Besides Colman of Dromore (above §. 1.) I find Nesson of Mungret among those, who had received instruction from him. (See Usher, *p.* 961.)

(104) See *Chap.* VIII. §. 6-7.

(105) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* Ware, *Bishops* and *Antiq. cap.* 29. In this latter place Ware says that some have put off Ailbe's death to A. D. 541. I wish he had given us the name of, at least, one of them. No such date is assigned to it, as far as I can discover,

in any of our Annals. Perhaps Ware confounded, as to this point, St. Ailbe of Emly with an Ailbe of Senchua, whose death is marked by the 4 Masters at A. D. 545 (546). See *Not.* 77 to *Chap.* v. Instead of 546, some documents might have had 541.

(106) Usher, *p.* 866.

(107) Cummian in his Paschal Epistle (*Sylloge Ep. Hib. No.* xi.), referring to the Irish fathers, has Ailbe first; "Interrogavi patres meos—successores videlicet nostrorum patrum priorum, Ailbei episcopi, Querani, &c."

(108) Ware, *Writers*, Colgan quotes a part of it, *AA. SS. p.* 328. I do not know, whether it has been as yet published.

(109) *Chap.* 1 § 12. vi. §. 6. viii. §. 6.

(110) *Tr. Th. p.* 269.

(111) In Ultan's Acts at 14 *Mart.* he is spoken of as merely a superior of monks. Hence it appears very probable that, although Declan is generally said to have been a bishop, there was not as yet a permanent see at Ardmore. In many parts of Ireland the bishops presiding over districts had not, in those early times, their residence attached to any particular place. (See *Chap.* viii. §. 2.)

(112) Coning was in the southern part of Magh-femyn. (See *Not.* 61 to *Chap.* vi.)

(113) Colgan's reason for treating of him at 14 *Mart.* was merely his having found mentioned at that day an Ultan Magonighe, who, as appears from the surname, was most probably a different person.

(114) The 4 Masters have 521, *i. e.* 522. *AA. SS. p.* 190. It is odd that Ware and even Harris make no mention of Monasterboice, although frequently spoken of as a monastery in our history. Boetius was a bishop; but the name, Monaster, indicating his place of residence, shows that he governed also a monastery.

(115) Archdall (at *Ardcharn*) has made him also an abbot. Yet in every document relative to him he is called simply *bishop*. Then Archdall most strangely places *Ardcharn* in *Westmeath*, notwithstanding its being well known at this day by the name of *Ardcarne*, and situated in the barony of Boyle near the county of Sligo. Colgan had observed that it was in the district of Maghluirg in *Connaught*; and Archdall might have easily found that this was the same as *Moyleurg*.

(116) 4 Masters, 523, *i. e.* 524, Colgan has at 8 *Mart.* whatever he could collect concerning this saint. He tells us that his real name was Aedh or Aidus, to which *Beo*, meaning *lively* or *vigorous*, was prefixed to mark his character. Accordingly he had no right to latinize it into *Beatus*. The name of Beoadh's father was *Olcan*.

§. 8. About the time of Ailbe's death we may, I believe, place the commencement of St. Finnian's famous school of Clonard. (117) The history of the first years of this most eminent and learned saint is involved in great obscurity, in consequence of anachronisms and stories that can scarcely be unravelled. (118) It is generally admitted that he was a native of Leinster, (119) but of what particular part of it we are not informed. Fintan of the race of Loschain was his father; the mother's name was Talech. They are represented as Christians; and accordingly it is related that, soon after the child was born, they sent him towards the church of Roscor to be there baptized by bishop Fortkern. The women, who were carrying him, were, it is said, met on the way by the priest St. Abban, who, having inquired whither they were going and what was their errand, undertook to baptize him, which he did at a place where two rivers unite into one, (120) Finnian, when arrived at a suitable age, received an ecclesiastical education under the bishop Fortkern. It is then added, that, when 30 years old, wishing to go beyond sea, he took leave of St. Fortkern, and, previously to his embarking for Great Britain, spent some time with the venerable Cayman of Darinis. (121) Then, crossing the Irish sea he went to Killmuine (122) in Britain, and there had interviews with the holy men David, Gildas, and Cathmael, *alias* Cadoc. A king of that country was, we are told, induced to make him a grant of lands and even of a town; so that, having erected three churches, he remained there for 30 years. (123) As to those

pretended donations, we may pass them by; but how can this absence of 30 years be reconciled with the ténour of Finnian's life? It is not to be believed that he was more than sixty years of age when he returned to Ireland, as he would have been according to what we have now seen. (124) How long soever he had been absent, he thought the proper time was arrived for settling in his own country, and accordingly set out for it accompanied, it is said, by some religious Britons (125) who had become very much attached to him. On his passage to Ireland he stopped a while at Darinis to pay a visit to his old friend Caiman; (126) and thence continuing his voyage landed at the port of *Kille-Caireni*. (127) Thence he sent messengers to Muiredeach, (128) sovereign of Hykingsellagh, requesting permission to enter his territory. The prince, highly rejoiced at his arrival, went to visit him and, throwing himself at his feet, told him that, wherever he would wish to erect a church, he should not want ground for that purpose. Finnian then set about his mission, (129) erected some churches, and established a religious community at a place called *Achadh-abhla*. (130) Hence he went to the district of Hy-barche, and formed an establishment at Magna, (131) in which he gave lectures on the holy scriptures for seven years. It is related that on a certain occasion he preached before St. Brigid and her nuns; whence it appears that he had returned to Ireland *some years* before her death; for, according to the series of the narrative, this circumstance is placed after several other transactions of his, subsequent to his return. It is very probable that his return was prior to even A. D. 520, although he did not remove to Clonard (132) until perhaps about 530. Before his settling there, he is said to have been in some other places besides the above-mentioned; but whether truly or not, would be useless to inquire. Clonard was the scene of his greatest exertions and celebrity, and that

renowned school will be often mentioned in the sequel of this history.

(117) Usher assigns it to A. D. 520, (*Ind. Chron.*) but gives no authority for this date.

(118) Colgan acknowledges that none of the various Lives of Finnian, one of which he has at 23 February, can be called genuine. Usher had a different Life, which he has followed, together with the Office of Finnian, published at Paris by Mesingham in 1620, and which Colgan has added to the Life or Acts.

(119) In one of the hymns of the office he is called, *Nativus de Lagenia*.

(120) Acts at 23 Feb. cap. 2. This story of Finnian having been baptized by Abban seems to have been taken from the Life of the latter, a tract full of fables, in which it is mentioned. Yet it is a ridiculous one, whereas Finnian was born many years before Abban. It may, however, help us to discover Finnian's birth place. Abban's principal residence was, as will be seen elsewhere, at Magarnuidhe near New Ross, on the river Barrow. At Ross we have the junction of the two rivers, viz. the Barrow and the Nore. Roscur might have been one or other of the places on either side of the Barrow, of whose names *Ros* forms a part, such as Rosberkon, Camross, &c. I would suspect that it was the same as the place called *Old Ross*, did not Colgan remark, (*AA. SS. p. 623*) that this town was in ancient times called *Ros-glas*, and afterwards *Ros-mac-triun*. As to the bishop Fortkern, if there was such a person when Finnian was born, he must have been different from Fortchern of Trim (see *Chap. VIII. §. 16.*) and was in all appearance the one of Kill-fortchern in the county of Carlow. (*ib. Not. 209.*) One of Harris's unfounded additions to Ware (*Bishops, p. 136.*) is that Finnian's master was Fortchern of Trim. On the whole it seems very probable, that Finnian was born somewhere near the Barrow, not far from New Ross.

(121) *Acts, cap. 4.* St. Cayman has been already spoken of (*Chap. I. §. 12*) as contemporary with Declan. As the Darinis where he lived, is most probably that near Wexford, this circum-

stance forms an additional argument, in corroboration of what has been said in the preceding note.

(122) *Kill-muine* or *Kilmuni*, is the name always given in Irish to Menevia or St. David's in Wales. (Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 402, and Giraldus Cambr. *Life of St. David.*) In the office for Finnian it is said that he first went to Tours, and that it was on his way back that he stopped in Britain. I mention these things just as I find them.

(123) Finnian's Office, *Lect.* 6.

(124) If we add to Finnian's age of 30 years, when he left the school of Fortkern, the time spent with Cayman and the 30 years of his abode in Britain, he must have been above sixty at the time of his departure from that country. Usher, who received as true this story of 30 years absence, (*Ind. Chron. ad A. 520.*) must also have admitted the prior 30 and more years, as being founded on the same authority. Thus then, according to his hypothesis, Finnian was, at least, full sixty years of age in 520, and so must have been born as far back as the year 460. Usher supposed that Finnian began to teach in that year; but, even admitting it, we may observe that the age of sixty is rather late in life for a man to open a school. The Acts of Finnian exhibit him as not proceeding to Clonard until several years after his return from Britain; Usher, misled by a fable (below *Not.* 132) says, not until A. D. 544. Thus Finnian would have been 84 years old when he formed the school of Clonard. The fact is, that there is no sufficient authority for the account of the 30 years absence. Colgan writes, in the margin of *Chap. XI.* of the Acts that Finnian returned to Ireland after an absence of *eight* years. It is true that in said chapter, as edited by him, we read *thirty*; but perhaps this number was taken from the Office, whence Usher also took it, *pr. p.* 912.

(125) Two of them are particularly mentioned, Biteus and Genoc.

(126) *Acts, cap.* 12. Hence it is clear, that Finnian was not absent for 30 years, nor perhaps ten. For Caiman was already old (see *ib. cap.* 4.) when Finnian was with him before he set out for Britain. Are we then to believe, that he lived 30 years, or even half this number after that time?

(127) *Kille-Caireni* signifies the church, &c. of Cairen. I am

sure it is the church town of the parish of Carn (co. Wexford) near Carnsore point, and where Mr. Fraser says a good harbour might be formed. (See *Statistical Survey of Co. Wexford*, p. 24.)

(128) Muiredeach was grandfather to the celebrated Brandedubh, who was king of Leinster in the latter part of the 6th century.

(129) In Finnian's Office we find a flourish in favour of him, where it is said that an angel ordered him to return to Ireland for the purpose of restoring the faith, which had been neglected after St. Patrick's death. In the Acts there is nothing about this neglect of religion, or of Finnian reforming the clergy, &c. as hinted in one of the hymns. He is spoken of as active in forwarding the interests of religion. As to a reform, there was no need of it at that period. St. Ailbe was still alive, as also St. Brigid, besides Enda, Mochus, Naal, Sinell, &c. &c. Such flourishes are but too frequent in compositions of that kind.

(130) Colgan, in his loose topographical manner tells us (*AA. SS.* p. 398) that this place was in Hykinselagh, and that it was anciently called *Cro-saileach*. Archdall has it in the county of Wexford, and, I believe, justly. Colgan refers to some Irish document for a story about Finnian having lived for 16 years in that place. The Acts, however, without mentioning any number of years, seem to give us to understand that Finnian remained there no longer time than was necessary to form the establishment.

(131) Archdall places Mugna and Hy-barche in the King's county. I believe *Hy-barche* or *Bairreche* was rather the country about Carlow. Fiech, a native of this tract, was of the sept of Hy-bairreche (See *Chap.* vi. §. 5.)

(132) Usher quotes (p. 909) without any animadversion (which I think really strange) from some register of the diocese of Meath a fable concerning Finnian having got the domaine of Clonard with its farm-houses and other appurtenances from Kieran of Clonmacnois. How could Kieran, the son of a carpenter, have had possession of Clonard, &c.? This story is akin with the nonsense of the book of Navan mentioned by Usher (p. 957) concerning Kieran having got above 100 monasteries, &c. from Diernit king of Ireland, one of which, I dare say, was supposed to include a grant to him of Clonard, which, according to this notable docu-

ment, he might have made over to Finnian. But whatever grants Diermit might have made to Kieran, they could not have been prior to A. D. 544, the first year of his reign. Now the school of Clonard had been established long before that year, and Kieran himself had been a scholar there prior to his having any monastery of his own. Usher, to prop up that fable, places the grant of Clonard in 544 (*Ind. Chron.*), yet at A. 540 he has Kieran among Finnian's scholars. But it was, as will be seen, at Clonard that Kieran studied under Finnian. This stuff is not mentioned in the Acts of Finnian or Kieran. In the former (*cap.* 18) Clonard is represented as a sort of a desert, and the habitation of a huge wild boar, when Finnian arrived to take up his abode there. Harris, although an humble follower of Usher, omitted that silly tale, but Archdall, more faithful, has given it to the public at *Clonard*.

§. IX. In the Acts of Finnian are mentioned, as now seen, three eminent Britons, David, Gildas, and Cadocus, who, particularly the two first, are also much spoken of in the accounts of other distinguished Irishmen belonging to the period, on which we are now entering. It becomes therefore necessary to inquire into such part of their history as may help us to discover the times, in which they flourished, and to guard against various anachronisms affecting the transactions of our Irish saints. To begin with St. David, (133) I need not tell the reader that he was the celebrated bishop or archbishop of Menevia, (134) or, as now called from him, St. David's in Wales. He is said to have been grandson by the mother's side to the Irish prince Bracon or Brecon, and nephew of St. Canoc of Gallen. (135) If so, he could not have been born in the year 462, as some writers state upon an unproved supposition, that he came into the world 39 years after St. Patrick was on the point of arriving in Ireland on his mission. (136) Next we are told that, soon after his birth, he was baptized by St. Helvacus (Ailbe) bishop of Munster. (137) It will hardly be believed that Ailbe was already a bishop in 462; and we have a further indi-

cation of David not having been born so early from what is mentioned concerning his birth having been predicted by Ailbe, (138) who is said also to have superintended for some time his education. (139) Were we to believe certain rather modern writers, he would have been a bishop before A. D. 519, the year to which they assign the synod of Brevy, (140) in which David acted a conspicuous part, and his see of Menevia was declared metropolitanical. But there is better authority for supposing that he did not become a bishop until about 540, (141) a date agreeing with such accounts of him as appear most worthy of credit. This date cannot be made to agree with Usher's hypothesis, which many others have followed, *viz.* that he died in or about A. D. 544. (142) For it is certain that David governed the see of Menevia for many years, although the precise number of them cannot be ascertained. (143) That he was alive after the year 560, we may justly conclude from his having died during the reign of Maelgwn or Maglocun, by whose order he was buried in his own church of Menevia. Maelgwn, from his having been prince of North Wales, was raised to the rank of king of all the Britons about said year 560; (144) and it must have been after his being advanced to this dignity that he interfered with regard to the interment of St. David. While he remained chieftain or king of only North Wales, he had no jurisdiction or power at Menevia. (145) At what period of the reign of Maelgwn, which lasted until the year 593, (146) St. David died, cannot be determined, but that it was towards the latter end of it appears from his having had for many years under his tuition St. Aidan or Maidoc of Ferns, who was only a boy in the reign of Ainmireus, king of Ireland, which began at the earliest, in the year 566, (147) and who became distinguished before David's death. On the other hand it cannot be placed after the reign of Maelgwn, *i. e.* after 593. (148) If it be true that Tuesday was the

day of his death, (149) we may, I think, with great probability suppose that the year was 589. From what has been now said concerning the time that St. David flourished it follows that St. Finnian, (150) although he might have been a companion of his in Britain, could not have been his disciple, as David was then too young to be the master of a man, who had returned to Ireland before A. D. 520. Finnian was in all probability older than David; yet I am very much inclined to think, that they studied together, at least during a part of their scholarship, in some eminent school in Britain. (151)

(133) Colgan has (at 1 *Mart.*) a Life of St. David copied from a MS. of the monastery of All Saints in Lough-ree (Co. Longford). Some writers imagined that it might be the same as that mentioned by Usher (*p.* 843.) as written by Ricemarchus. But they are evidently different; for the passage, and a long one it is, quoted by Usher, is not given by Colgan. Perhaps the author was Augustin Magraidin a member of that monastery, who wrote many Lives of saints. It differs but little from a Life published by the Bollandists, from a MS. of Utrecht: There are other Lives of St. David, concerning which the reader may consult Stillingfleet, *Antiquities, &c.* Chap. v.

(134) It is not my business to treat of the origin of the see of Menevia or rather the removal thither of the old see of Caer-leon in the time of David's incumbency, and which was ratified by the famous synod of Brevy. Usher (*p.* 81) and Stillingfleet (*loc. cit.*) have treated these points with much accuracy.

(135) *AA. SS.* *p.* 311. Of Bracan and Canoc we have seen above. (*Chap.* VIII. §. 15.) The daughter of Bracan, who was mother to St. David, is stated to have been called *Melari*, and surnamed *Nonnita*.

(136) In the Acts of St. David it is said that, when St. Patrick happened to be in the *Vallis Rosina*, in which Menevia was situated, an Angel foretold to him, that after 30 years a child would be born of the name of David, who at a proper time would have the care of that place. As St. Patrick soon after set out for Ireland, where he arrived in the year 432, Usher has hence concluded that St. David was born in 462. (*Ind. Chron.* and *p.*

443.) This calculation would answer very well, if it could be proved that the angel spoke in that manner. For as to the opinion of the writers of the Acts, viz. that David was born in 462, if, however they thought so, their authority is of little weight. I say, *if they thought so*; because we do not know whether they were rightly informed of the year of St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland. (See *Not.* 129 to *Chap.* iv.) Thus then the notation of 30 intermediate years cannot form a correct chronological datum. I do not know how it came to pass that the compilers of the Acts of our saints were so fond of the number *thirty*, as we have seen in the accounts of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, St. Finnian, &c. Jocelin gives a different turn to that prophecy, and attributing one somewhat like it to St. Patrick himself, who, he says (*cap.* 167), happening to be in Britain some years after the commencement of his mission, foretold the sanctity of St. David then in his mother's womb.

(137) *Acts*, *cap.* 6. Giraldus Cambrensis in his Life of St. David has, (according to the old edition) instead of Ailbe, *Relveus* bishop of *Menevia*, who, he says, had just arrived in Britain from Ireland. But, as Usher observes, *p.* 871, there was no bishop of *Menevia* before David himself. Yet there is no necessity for this observation, if we follow Wharton's edition in *Anglia Sacra*, *Tom.* 2. Giraldus' text is here *Aelveo Muveniensiū episcopi*, which plainly refers to Ailbe bishop of Munster.

(138) Life of Ailbe. (See *AA. SS.* *p.* 431.) Ailbe's reputation was not, until about A. D. 490, so generally established as to attribute predictions of this sort to him. If then we may be allowed to build upon traditions of this kind, David's birth must be brought down to the latter end of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth. Meanwhile the 30 years, above treated of, (*Not.* 136) must be thrown out of the calculation.

(139) Usher, *p.* 871. from Ailbe's Life.

(140) Bale (poor authority indeed) quoted by Usher (*p.* 81) and followed by him (*Ind. Chron.*) places the synod in that year. Gibson, in an addition to Camden (*col.* 768) says it was held about 522. Wilkins treating of it (*Concil. M. B. &c.* *Tom.* 1. *p.* 7.) does not venture to decide on the time.

(141) Ranulph of Chester, as quoted by Usher, (*p.* 82) says that David was made bishop of *Menevia* in the year that Pope Silverius died, *i. e.* A. D. 540: In Gale's edition of Ranulph (*xv.*

Scriptores) I find no mention of St. David. Yet this notation, even if proceeding from an interpolator, is of old standing. The year 543 is that marked for David's promotion by the interpolator of Marianus Scotus. Others have 565, owing to a mistake in not understanding certain chronological terms. (See Usher, *ib.*) Some have assigned it to 577. (See LeNeve's *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* p. 510. This is quite too late, and cannot be reconciled with any credible authority concerning his transactions.

(142) Usher, believing that David died about that period, preferred the date 544 to the 546 of William of Malmesbury, and 547 of others (see p. 526) because Giraldus Cambrensis hints that David's death happened on a Tuesday. Now in the year 544 the first of March fell on Tuesday. This is a good argument against any other year about that time, but not against our being allowed to suppose that David died several years later than 544; whereas the first of March fell also on Tuesday in the years 550, 561, 567, 578, 589, 595, 600, &c. Passing by Cressy and other copyists of Usher, the Bollandists, and the minor writers of Lives of Saints, and even the author of *L'art de verifier les dates* (at *Chronologie des Saints*) have adopted his computation, as if the question had been decided.

(143) It has been said, that his incumbency lasted 65 years. (See Godwin, *De praesulibus Angliae, ad Episc. Menev.*) Were there any foundation for this statement, it would overturn Usher's hypothesis, according to which, counting from 462 to 544 St. David died at the age of eighty two (*Pr.* p. 526). Now if he was a bishop for 65 years, he should have been consecrated, when only 17 years old, which no one will admit.

(144) Humph. Lhuyd *ap.* Usher (p. 75). Rowland (*Mona Ant.*) has A. D. 560. In Lewis' *History of Britaine* (p. 204) the year of this elevation of Maclawn is mentioned as, according to Vitus, the year 552, and, according to Powel, 580. Usher himself has it from Matthew Florilegus at 581. (*Ind. Chron.*) As to 552, the date is certainly too early. Lhuyd's computation is the one usually followed, and seems well founded.

(145) Usher speaks (p. 75 and 525) of Maglocun as still prince of North Wales, when David died. His hypothesis required this caution. And, lest it might be objected that Maglocun was not sovereign even of N. Wales as early as A. D. 544, he has affixed his accession to that year. (*Ind. Chron.*). He must also have sup-

posed that Maglocun obtained that sovereignty very early in said year, whereas St. David died on the first of March. But how could he explain that prince's issuing orders as to the burial of a person, who lived and died in South Wales? If it be said that he issued them during a certain predatory incursion (see Usher, *p.* 528) surely we are not to suppose that incursion took place in the first year of his sovereignty, nor much less prior to the first of March in said year. On the whole Usher's calculation on these dates are too much forced; and the simplest method of reconciling all the circumstances is to admit that Maglocun was king not only of North but likewise of South Wales, &c. at the time of David's death.

(146) Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) Others place the death of Maelgwn somewhat earlier. Gibson (on Camden, *col.* 825.) has *about* 586 from a *MS.* note by Vaughan on Powel.

(147) Usher, *p.* 947 and *Ind. Chron.* O'Flaherty says in 568. Of this more elsewhere. Aidan is spoken of over and over as a disciple of St. David not only in his own Life (at 31 *Jan.*) but likewise in those of David. And from the former it appears that he was already grown up when he went to study under St. David. Usher was greatly staggered by these authorities, some of which he quotes (*p.* 965). He endeavoured in vain to shake them off (*Ind. Chron.* at A. 566), first by saying that the king Ainmireus, with whom Aidan had been a hostage, was perhaps an older one of that name; and secondly by observing that what is said of Aidan's having been with St. David might be understood of his having studied in David's monastery after his death. The former evasion is truly pitiful. Where could be found in the sixth century a king of all Ireland called Ainmireus different from him, who began to reign in 566? Besides, Usher well knew that Aidan flourished in the latter end of that century, and during no small part of the seventh. The latter explanation cannot be reconciled with the passages of the Lives. They are too numerous and too clear to be got over in this manner. St. David is introduced several times as speaking to or of Aidan when in his monastery. In the Life of the former we read (*cap.* 17) that Aidan, after he returned to Ireland, sent a person to David for the purpose of guarding him against a plan formed to poison him. But Usher says, that he could not *as yet* be persuaded that David lived to the age of 147 years, or until the year 604. As to the 147 years he was right;

but had he rejected the hypothesis of David having been born in the year 462, he would have found matters easy enough. In fact that story of so great an age was patched up to reconcile the supposition of David's birth at that early period, with the real circumstance of his having lived until towards the latter end of the sixth century. As to his death being placed in 604, see the following note.

(148) Ranulph of Chester, as quoted by Usher (*p.* 82), says that David died in the same year with Gregory the great, *i. e.* A. D. 604. This date cannot agree with his having died during the reign of Maelgwn, nor with the notation of Tuesday as the day of his death. Yet it indicates a belief that he did not die until towards the time of that Pope, and very many years after 544. Others have said that his death was in the same year with that of St. Senan. This is very doubtful as will be seen hereafter. Meanwhile I shall merely observe that Senan lived to a later period than 544. Some writers have an extravagant calculation of David having lived until A. D. 642, founded upon the supposition that he did not take possession of the see of Menevia until 577, (which I find adopted by Sir R. C. Hoare, *Annot. to Itinerary, &c. Vol. 2. p.* 13) and that he held it for 65 years. According to this strange hypothesis he would have survived not only Maelgwn but likewise his disciple Aidan, who, it is well known, lived for several years after him. The truth is that St. David belonged wholly to the sixth century, being contemporary with the Irish saints of the second order, as will be seen lower down. As for certain biographical writers, who make him a bishop in the fifth, they are not worth attending to.

(149) Giraldus (*Life of St. David, lect.* 10.) relates that the saint foretold on a Sunday, that he would die on the third feria, *i. e.* the Tuesday following; and that so it came to pass. The same circumstances are stated in the *Life* published by Colgan, *cap.* 27.

(150) Finnian is not mentioned in the *Lives of David*; and, where in his own Acts he is spoken of as connected with him, he does not appear as a disciple of his.

(151) The school of Iltutus at Laniltult or Lantwitt in Glamorganshire was very famous in the beginning of the 6th century. (See Usher, *Ind. Chron.* at A. 508 and Stillingfleet, *Ant. ch.* 5.) There was the school of Paulinus at Withland or Whiteland in

Caermarthen, not the isle of Wight as some have made it (see Stillingfleet *ib.*) in which St. David spent some of his early years. (*Acts at 1 Mart. cap. 8.*) Paulinus had been a disciple of Iltutus (Usher *p.* 472), and, considering the period, at which Iltutus' school was in vogue, could scarcely have opened his before A. D. 512. Hence we have an additional proof that David was very young about that time. In a Life of Iltutus David is mentioned, by mistake, as a scholar of his ; but, as the Bollandists and Stillingfleet observe, instead of David we must read Daniel, who studied under Iltutus and afterwards became the first bishop of Bangor.

§. x. Next comes the celebrated Gildas, who, although contemporary with St. David, was, I dare say, born some years before him. His history is extremely confused, and on this account several writers assert (152) that there were two distinct persons of that name, whom they distinguish by different surnames, and one of whom died before the other was born. The elder Gildas is called by them *Albanius*, and the younger *Badonicus* from *Badon* or Bath, not that he was a native of that place, but because he was born in the year of the famous battle of Bath, in which the Britons defeated the Saxons. There would have been no necessity for this distinction, had not certain story-tellers spoken of him as being more ancient than he really was, in the same manner as they did of St. David. Thus they have told us, that Gildas was preaching in a church at a time when St. David was in his mother's womb, and, that on her entering the church, he became suddenly incapable of continuing his sermon. (153) Now, as St. David was supposed to have been born in the year 462, it was calculated that Gildas, being then a priest and a preacher, must have been born above 30 years sooner ; and thus the year 425 was guessed at for his birth, and an older Gildas, different from him who was born in the year of the battle of Bath, was ushered into the world. (154) Upon this sort of foundation, the solidity of which the reader will be able to appre-

ciate, has been erected the superstructure of the two Gildases. To support this baseless fabric it became necessary to derange the history of the times, and particularly to place the battle of (155) Bath about 30 years later than it was really fought. A heap of useless calculations and conjectures has been the consequence of the attempts made to prop up the hypothesis; while after all it is quite plain, that only one Gildas is the subject of the tracts called his lives, and that there is no necessity to suppose that the Acts of two different persons have been jumbled together. (156) These lives agree as to the name of his father, *Can*, or *Coun*, (157) who, it is said, was king or chieftain of the part of N. Britain called *Arecluta* or *Alcluid*, a part of Roman Britain near the Clyde. (158) Gildas was a younger son, and brother to Hoel who succeeded his father in the principality. As to the time of his birth, it is not marked in the lives; but I find it assigned on respectable authority to the year 490, (159) a date nearly agreeing with what is said concerning the time of the battle of Bath. When a small boy he was sent to the school of *Iltutus*, (160) which was celebrated about the beginning of the sixth century. Having spent some years at said school, and wishing to improve himself still more both in philosophy and theology, he went to Ireland, (161) and there frequenting several schools (162) acquired a great variety and extent of learning, so as to become eminently qualified for preaching the word of God. His proficiency was such that, according to *Caradoc*, he was employed for some time as a teacher in the school of *Armagh*. (163) He remained in Ireland until he heard of the death of his brother *Hoel*, a most promising brave young man, who fighting against the renowned king *Arthur*, was killed by him in a battle fought in *Anglesey*. This battle, in all probability, did not take place until about A. D. 517. (164) Gildas, on his return to Britain, became soon after reconciled with *Arthur*, who had a great esteem

for him, and declared his sorrow for the death of Hoel. Next we find him superintending, by Cadoc's request, the school of Lancarvan for one year, (165) at the expiration of which he is said to have retired, together with Cadoc, to some small islands in the Severn or rather Severn sea, now called the *Holmes*. His reputation was then very great, and it was probably about this time, viz. about A. D. 520, that he sent, as we are told, a small bell to St. Brigid, who had expressed a wish for some token of his friendship. (166) How or where he afterwards passed his days it is not my business to inquire; (167) and it will here be sufficient to observe that all the lives agree in stating, that several years after his return from Ireland he wrote, when in retirement, those tracts of his, which are still extant. (168) In one of his lives we are told that, in compliance with an invitation from king Ainmireus, he went over to Ireland and there was employed in making certain ecclesiastical regulations. (169) The Annals of Ulster assign his death to the year 570. (170)

(152) Usher may be placed at the head of those, who distinguish two Gildases, as he has supported this hypothesis with great ingenuity. He has been followed, by Colgan, Ware, Cressy, &c. Bollandus maintains (at 29 *Jan.*) that they were one and the same person. Bale and Pits had preceded Usher; but Leland, a far better authority, has only one Gildas.

(153) This story is to be found in Capgrave's Life of Gildas, cap. 3. (*ap. Colgan ad 29 Jan.*) and in Giraldus' Life of David. See Usher, p. 443). In the Life of David, published by Colgan, the clergyman, to whom that accident is said to have happened, is not called Gildas, but simply *quidam vir sanctus*; and in the Life of Ailbe, who is said to have been present, and in which the miracle is referred to the inability not of preaching, but of offering the holy sacrifice, the person thus struck is called merely *Sacerdos*. (Usher, p. 871.) In course of time some legendary writer, wishing to enhance still more the greatness of David, said that the priest was Gildas.

(154) Usher, who was very apt to throw out chronological conjectures, assigns the birth of Gildas Albanus to A. D. 425. (*Ind. Chron.*)

(155) The battle of Bath is expressly assigned by Bede (*L. 1. c. 16*) to *about* the 44th year after the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, which he placed (*ib. cap. 15.*) in the year of our Lord 449. Thus then it was fought in 492 (as marked by Smith at *cap. 16*) or, as others calculate, in 493, or in some year about that time. Whichever was the precise year, it was also that of the birth of Gildas the historian. But no year about 490 would suit Usher's hypothesis as to the two Gildases; for by placing the birth of said historian in that period, whatever worthy of belief is said of Gildas can be easily reconciled and explained without recurring to two distinct persons of that name. Usher, accordingly affixed, with Matthew Florilegus, the battle to A. D. 520, (*Ind. Chron.*) in opposition to Ranulph of Chester, who placed it in 493. And to get over the authority of Bede he says that he mistook the meaning of Gildas, in whose tract (*De exc. Brit.*) the said 44th year is mentioned not, as Bede thought, relatively to the time of the arrival of the Saxons, but to the number of years that elapsed between the battle and the year, in which Gildas wrote said tract. To understand the question, we must quote the words of Gildas: "Et ex eo tempore nunc cives nunc hostes vincebant—usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis—quique quadragesimus quartus (ut novi) oritur (*al. orditur*) annus mense jam primo (*al. uno*) emenso, qui jam et meae nativitatis est." Gale's *ed.* The latter part of this passage is certainly of a doubtful signification and may, perhaps, be understood in the manner proposed by Usher; although it must be allowed that, if Gildas alluded to the number of years, by which the battle was prior to that in which he wrote, he would probably have applied the number 44th rather to this year than to that of the battle. Bede copied the whole passage almost word for word, except that marking the time of the battle he has, "quadragesimo *circiter* et quarto anno *adventus eorum in Britanniam.*" (*L. 1. c. 16.*) Usher thought that Bede mentioned the year as the 44th, because he found this number in Gildas, and consequently that Bede's chronology ought to be corrected by what he supposed the true meaning of Gildas. But even admitting that Usher has rightly un-

derstood Gildas, how could he prove that Bede founded his assertion of that date merely on the Gildas' text? Surely he could not want documents to direct him in assigning the times of the more remarkable transactions of his countrymen. Might not Bede's *about the 44th year* be relative to one period and Gildas' *positive 44th* to another? so that it would be true that the battle was fought *about* the 44th year after the arrival, and likewise precisely in the 44th before the year in which Gildas wrote, making altogether, until this last date, about 87 years. Besides, Usher's argument is merely negative, and, at most, proves nothing more than that we cannot conclude from Gildas' words that the battle took place about A. D. 392. It does not, however, show that it was not fought about that time, nor help us to fix the precise year of it. If he could have laid down, upon correct authority, the time, in which Gildas wrote, his mode of arguing would be conclusive; but he had no such authority to produce, although he undertook to assign (*p.* 447) said writing to A. D. 564, merely on his unproved hypothesis that 520 was the year of the battle of Bath and consequently of the birth of Gildas.

(156) Colgan has (at 29 *Jan.*) Capgrave's life of Gildas, and another published by John de Bosco from the Bibliotheca Floriacensis, besides extracts from the life by Caradoc of Lancarvan. He calls the life by Capgrave that of Gildas *Albanius*, and the other from J. de Bosco that of Gildas *Badonicus*, of which, however, he says, a great part belongs not to him but to *Albanius*. He might have said the same of the life by Caradoc, which, with Usher, he supposed to have been intended for *Albanius*. The fact is that they were all intended as the Acts of one and the same Gildas, although we meet with, as usual, some strange anachronisms here and there. Stillingfleet was perfectly correct in saying (*Ant. &c. ch.* 4.); "Caradoc's Gildas can be no elder the Gildas *Badonicus*. Although therefore the want of skill may make Caradoc set *his* Gildas elder than he ought to have done, yet whosoever will compare that Life published by *Joh. a Bosco* with the other by *Caradoc* will find, that they were designed for the same person."

(157) Caradoc calls him Nau, but agrees in other points.

(158) Hence Capgrave says that Can was a king of *Albania*, *i. e.* N. Britain; and thus Gildas got the surname *Albanius*.

Caradoc, alluding to his own times, calls that prince, a king of the Scots. But the Scots did not get possession of Arecluta until long after the birth of Gildas. Usher changed (*p.* 676 *Ind. Chron. ad a.* 425). *Arecluta* into *Argathelia*.

(159) The Chronicon Britannicum, published from a manuscript of the church of Nantz by Lobineau (*Hist. de Bretagne, Tom.* 2.) has; "A. 490. Natus est S. Gildas."

(160) In the life published by J. De Bosco we read (*cap.* 3.) "Beatus autem Gildas—a suis parentibus beato Hilduto traditur imbuendus; qui suscipiens sanctum *puerulum*," &c. Usher, well aware that his Gildas *Albanus*, whom he supposed to have been born in 425, could not have been, when a boy, at the school of Iltutus, says, (*p.* 473) that this is to be understood of *Badonicus*. He knew, however, that just before the words now quoted the father of the Gildas, who was sent to that school, is called Caun, the very man whom he himself (*Ind. Chr. ad A.* 425) makes the father of *Albanus*. Strange that Usher could think, that Iltutus was still keeping school about the year 530; for so he must have supposed according to his hypothesis of *Badonicus* having been born in 520, whereas it will be allowed that the pupil could not be less than nine or ten years of age when he was placed under Iltutus. Now he tells us elsewhere (*ib. ad A.* 508) that Iltutus was already an abbot when he baptized Samson, who, according to his own calculation, which he made later than I believe it ought to be, became a bishop in 521. (*ib. ad An.*) Thus Iltutus must have been an abbot, at the lowest, in 491, and then, we may fairly suppose, at least 35 years old. Are we to believe that he continued to keep a school for sixty years after? Usher indeed, to serve his hypothesis, brings the death of Iltutus down to 540 by mere conjecture. Add to this that Samson, although somewhat older than Gildas, was a school-fellow of his, (Life above quoted *cap.* 4. and *Pr. p.* 472). As he was a bishop in 521, how could the pretended *Badonicus*, who, as Usher would have it, was born in 520, have been his school-fellow?

(161) "Valedicens pio magistro—Iren perrexit, ut," &c. (said Life, *cap.* 6.) The editor J. de Bosco, not understanding the name, *Iren*, wrote in the margin that it was an academy in G. Britain, and hence a silly story was patched up about *Iren* having been the same place as Oxford. But Usher (*p.* 909) has

shown that *Iren* was no other than Ireland or Erin. Stillingfleet, who was of the same opinion, has well exposed (*Ant. &c. ch. 4.*) the absurdity of that Oxonian fable. From what follows concerning the proceedings of Gildas it is evident, that he studied in Ireland.

(162) “*Cum plurimorum scholas peragrasset.*” (Said Life, *ib.*) Who would be fool enough to believe that there were many schools then at Oxford? In those times there were in Ireland, besides the school of Armagh, those of Ailbe, Mochtheus, Enda, Naal, &c. &c. Usher, in pursuance of his hypothesis, mentions (*p. 907*) among the schools, which Gildas might have frequented, that of Finnian at Clonard; imagining that it was his *Badonicus*, who is said to have come to *Iren*, and, according to him, in the year 540. (*Ind. Chron.*) But, as will be seen presently, the Gildas, who came to *Iren*, was the same identical person, who taught for some time at Armagh, and therefore not different from him, whom Usher calls *Albanius*.

(163) Caradoc has; “*Gildas Britonum historiographus tunc remanens in Hibernia, studium regens et praedicans in civitate Ardmaca.*” It is extraordinary that Usher, having quoted this passage (*p. 859*), still persisted in his hypothesis. He says (*ib.*) that the teacher at Armagh was Gildas *Albanius*. Now Caradoc makes him the same as the historian of the Britons, alluding, as Usher well knew, to his History or treatise *De excidio Britanniae*, which, being written about the middle of the sixth century, could not have been the work of the pretended *Albanius*, and is by Usher himself attributed to *Badonicus*. Thus then the Gildas, whom Caradoc so plainly describes as the one only person, is split into two by Usher.

(164) Caradoc describes Hoel as refusing to obey king Arthur, and invading various parts of South Britain. Arthur, therefore, to secure himself on the throne, found it necessary to attack him with vigour and, having overtaken him, killed him at a place now called *Carrig-Howel*, in the isle of Anglesey. The battle ought, considering these circumstances, to be placed in the beginning of Arthur's reign, which, according to Matthew of Westminster, or Florilegus, commenced in the year 516, or, as others say, 517. That it began in one or other of these years, seems generally admitted at present. (See Warrington, *Hist of Wales*, p. 69,

Rowland, *Mona Atiqua*, 2d ed. p. 180. *Biogr. Brit. &c.* Usher, in compliance with his system, assigns (*Ind. Chron.*) the commencement of Arthur's reign and the death of Hoel to A. D. 508; whereas he supposed that Hoel was brother to Gildas *Albanus*, whose death he places in 512. Now as Hoel was killed before Gildas died, Usher was obliged to antedate the reign of Arthur. But even admitting that it began in 508, it is truly strange that he did not at last give up his whole hypothesis. For in that year his *Albanus* was, according to him, 83 years of age, and Hoel, whom he allowed to be the elder brother, must have been still more. It is not easy to believe that a man, about 85 years old, would have volunteered on predatory excursions. Then we have the clear testimony of Caradoc to prove that Hoel was a vigorous *young man*, *magnanimus victoriosissimus juvenis*, at the time of the battle. Usher (*Ind. Chr. ad A. 508*) desires us not to believe Caradoc, as, says he, "we have shown that Hoel's brother Gildas was born in 425." Usher indeed has often said so, but has not *shown* it any where. Why thus abuse poor Caradoc, whose account of Gildas is, on the whole, very consistent, and which is so often followed by Usher himself? Why not also reject Caradoc's assertion, that Gildas was contemporary with king Arthur, who, according to Usher, was born in 493? Who would say that a man born in said year was contemporary with another born in 425? Stillingfleet has rightly observed (*ch. 4*) on Usher's hypothesis; "that when he comes to fix the times in his *chronological index*, he doth overthrow his own supposition: for Caradoc, by *his own confession*, makes Gildas contemporary with king Arthur, and he (Arthur) is said by him (Usher) to be born A. D. 493." Rowland, who also admitted two Gildases, pretends that Arthur was not as yet king, when he killed Hoel or Howel, and that the battle was fought in 505. But even this supposition will not explain, how the pretended *Albanus*, a man born in 425, could have been brother, and a younger one, to Hoel. The fact is, that Caradoc repeatedly calls Arthur *king of Britain*, where he treats of the cause of the quarrel, battle, &c. Capgrave likewise calls him *king* on that occasion. It would be going too much out of my way to enter into an investigation of the perplexed history of Arthur; and I will only observe that, as the Welsh bards made him their hero on every occasion against the Saxons,

it came to be believed that he commanded at the battle of Bath. Next it was supposed that he commanded there as king. Hence Matthew of Westminster, having assigned the beginning of his reign to A. D. 516, placed the battle in 520. Thus Gildas' birth was placed in that year, and so he came to be born after his brother's death, and after he had been teaching in Ireland. To get over these absurdities recourse was had to the paradox of the two Gildases. The true method, however, would have been to reject the story of Arthur having commanded as king in that battle; in which several writers with much greater appearance of probability assert that the general in chief was his uncle Ambrosius Aurelianus, who reigned in Britain until very near the end of the fifth century (Usher, *p.* 447) and consequently might have been present at the battle of Bath. And, if any one choose to maintain, that Arthur fought in that battle, nothing more is requisite than to assign, as I believe ought to be done, his birth to some years prior to 493, the one laid down by Usher; and to say, with William of Malmesbury (*De gest. reg. L. 1. c. 1.*) that Arthur was a warlike young prince before the death of Ambrosius. Nennius (*Hist. Brit. cap. 62, 63*) has Arthur at the battle of Bath as a *general* not king. "Arthur pugnabat contra illos in illis diebus, videlicet Saxonés, cum *regibus* Britonum; sed ipse *dux* erat bellorum." And the *Chronicon Britannicum* quoted above (*Not. 159*) mentions Arthur as a brave man about 490, at which year we read; "His diebus fuit Arthurus fortis." According to these statements, which are, at least, as worthy of credit as those followed by Usher, it will follow that he has placed Arthur's birth too late; and it is not easy to believe that, as Ambrosius was old enough in the year 455 (*Ind. Chr.*) to be a general, Arthur the eldest son of his brother Uther was not born until 493. In whatsoever manner the history of this champion may be arranged, it is certain that the real and only Gildas was born many years prior to 520; a fact, which cannot be weakened by the entangled and contradictory statements concerning the times and feats of Arthur.

(165) Usher, still persisting in his hypothesis, makes his Gildas *Albanus* the person thus superintending Cadoc's school, and assigns this circumstance to A. D. 508 (*Ind. Chron.*) so as to find room for that year and some other transactions before 512, in

which he places the death of *Albanus*. To prepare us for this calculation he had previously stated that Cadoc flourished in the year 500 (*ib.*) But it will be soon seen that Cadoc could not have flourished so early, nor scarcely have had a school in 503. Even admitting that Cadoc's school existed in that year, it is odd that Usher would fain make us believe that a man 83 years old, as his *Albanus* must have been at that time, would have undertaken such a troublesome task.

(166) See above §. 5. Usher, sticking as usual to Gildas *Albanus*, assigns this affair of the bell to the year 484. (*Ind. Chron.*) But the Life (J. de Bosco) which mentions this transaction, and which Usher himself quotes (p. 905), has it *after* the return of Gildas from Ireland, and therefore, according to Usher's own calculation, later than 508. Now, if it had taken place in 484, it should have been *prior* to the arrival of said *Albanus* in Ireland, whom Usher does not bring among us until about 498. (*Ind. Chron.*)

(167) Caradoc says that he went to Glastonbury, and that he spent the remainder of his days partly there, and partly in the neighbourhood. Capgrave also sends him to that place, after, however, a previous tour to Rome. The life (*ed.* J. de Bosco) makes him go to Brittany, when thirty years of age, and the Chronicon Britannicum, published by Lobineau, assigns his arrival in that country to A. D. 520, a date, according to which, compared with that of his birth (See *Not.* 159) he would have been in said year exactly of that age. In the life (J. de Bosco), a thorough huge chronological blunder, Childeric son of Meroveus, is mentioned as king of the Franks, when Gildas repaired to Brittany. As Childeric reigned about the middle of the fifth century, Usher seized upon this anachronism, and tells us (p. 444) that it was his *Albanus* who went, at the age of thirty, to that country. But elsewhere it is his *Badonicus*, whom he often exhibits as passing several years in Brittany. Thus, when we read in said Life, immediately after the account of Gildas' arrival there, that ten years afterwards he, being still in Brittany, wrote his *querulous epistle* against the British kings, &c. Usher (*ib.*) exclaims that the author of the Life confounded the two Gildases together, whereas it was his *Badonicus* that wrote the epistle. Instead of recurring to this charge against that author, as he and

Colgan often do, it would have been more fair to impute to him a chronological mistake with regard to Childeric than to accuse him of having confounded in the same breath two distinct persons. And observe that this is the author, on whom Usher mainly depends for *Badonicus*, notwithstanding his agreement in so many points with Caradoc, the biographer, as he thought, of *Albanus*. The British Chronicle has no allusion to the arrival in Brittany of any Gildas but one, or to any circumstances indicating a second person of that name.

(168) We have just seen, that in the Life (J. de Bosco) Gildas is said to have written his *Querulous epistle* ten years after his arrival in Brittany. Usher, following his explanation of Gildas' 44th year, and his date for the battle of Bath, states that Gildas wrote it in the year 564 (above *Not.* 155). He supposed (of which lower down) that said tract and the history or treatise, *De excidio Britanniae*, are not two distinct works, but only component parts of one and the same. But the Epistle must have been written many years before that time, whereas Gildas, about the beginning of it, informs us that he wrote it in the year in which Constantine, successor to Arthur, murdered the two sons of Modred, or, as others call him, Medrod. This was, according to Matthew of Westminster in the year 543, and must have happened about that time; whereas those young princes had taken up arms to avenge the death of their father, who was killed in the battle of Camlan, A. D. 542. Usher, who admitted that Constantine became chief king of the Britons in 542, and that he reigned only three years, was greatly puzzled by these dates, and has endeavoured (*p.* 537, and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 542) to make out a distinction between this Constantine, and the Constantine whom Gildas inveighs against, and whom (Usher says) he seems to speak of as only king or tyrant of Damnonia (Cornwall). It is not easy to understand Usher's meaning on this point, and it would appear as if he intended to show that Gildas was inconsistent with himself. Now in the first place the Constantine of Cornwall was the very person, who became chief sovereign after the death of Arthur (See Warrington, *p.* 79 and Rowland, *p.* 181). Secondly, Gildas was not inconsistent in alluding to him as the tyrant of Cornwall, or in mentioning other British kings as contemporary with Constantine. For, Constantine's being appointed chief of

the league did not deprive the other princes of their hereditary rights. As then the Epistle was written about the year 543, Usher's hypothesis concerning the battle of Bath in 520, combined with his explanation of the 44th year mentioned by Gildas (See *Not.* 155) falls to the ground. Between 520 and 543 there were only 23 years; and we may be sure that Gildas was of a much greater age than 23 when he penned that terrible epistle. It will also follow, that Gildas did not arrive in Brittany as early as A. D. 520 (See *Not.* 167), if it be true that he wrote the epistle about ten years after. But I strongly suspect that these ten years ought to be taken relatively not to the epistle but to the history or tract *De excidio Britanniae*, which appears to me a complete work in itself, distinct from the Epistle, and, I believe, written several years sooner. What is said of them is founded on Gildas' own words in his preface to the history, where he tells us that for *ten years or more*, previous to his setting about it, he had been silent; "*spatio bilustris temporis vel eo amplius.*" In said preface Gildas gives a summary of its contents, which corresponds exactly with what we find in it alone, without at all alluding to the subject matter of the Epistle, although a larger work than the history. He says that he composed it in a mournful style, suitable to the sad state of his country. Hence it has been entitled, "*De excidio Britanniae Liber querulus,*" that is a *Book of lamentations*, &c. and so it really is. The adjunct, *querulus*, led to the mistake of joining it to the epistle, which was also called *querula*, because it is full of complaints. It should, however, be rather called *Epistola satyrica* or *flagellans*, as it contains most tremendous invectives against the princes and clergy of Britain. Now, referring those ten or more years to the history alone, we may suppose that this tract was written not long after A. D. 530; and so Usher's interpretation of the 44th year may still be adopted, yet with this proviso that the battle of Bath and accordingly Gildas' birth be assigned to about 490. The title of *British historian*, as he is called in *all the lives*, was given to Gildas in consequence of his being the author of these works, particularly that *De Excidio*, &c. which in his preface he calls "*qualemcumque gentis Britannicæ historiolum.*" To get rid of the argument deduced from this title and proving that there was but one Gildas in those days, the sticklers for the pretended *Albanus* invented a fable

concerning his having written a *history of the British kings*, and thus have given us two Gildases historians instead of one. Strange that Ware (*Writers at Gildas*) could have copied this nonsense.

(169) In the Life (J. de Bosco), the only one that has Gildas in Ireland in the reign of Ainmireus, a pompous account is given of his exertions, and of the extraordinary benefits thence derived to the Irish church. The silly author, to enhance the glory of his hero, says that the people of Ireland had lost the Catholic faith, and that Gildas brought them back to it. The falsehood of this ridiculous fable is too palpable to require a refutation. Usher has shown (*p.* 907) the absurdity of it; and Cólgan (*AA. SS. p.* 189 *seqq.*) gives a long succession of saints and eminent ecclesiastics, who were in Ireland at that period, viz. about A. D. 467, as likewise before and after it. It was in Ireland that Gildas himself acquired his chief store of ecclesiastical learning, as that same author has recorded. (See *Not.* 161) Usher has well observed that this flourish in favour of Gildas is as foolish as another in that life, where we are told that Gildas preached throughout the whole country of the Angles or Anglo-Saxons. That Gildas was in Ireland at the time above-mentioned is not improbable, whereas he was contemporary with many Irish saints of the second class, whose times comprized the short period of Ainmireus' reign. And it will be seen that, together with others, he was engaged in regulating the liturgy and some other matters of church discipline in Ireland.

(170) Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) According to the life last referred and the Nantz Breviary (*AA. SS. p.* 176) Gildas died in the small island *Horata* or *Hoata*, now *Houat*, whither he had retired, not long before his death, and when *very old*, from his monastery of Rewisius, now *St. Gildas de Ruys*. This monastery is in the diocese of Vannes, and opposite to the isle Houat. (See *H. Vales. Not. Gall. at Reunvisius.*) The Glastonians, according to their usual mode of robbing other places of their saints, pretended that he died near Glastonbury and was buried in that monastery. Accordingly we find this story in William of Malmesbury (*De Ant. Glaston.*) and in the lives by Caradoc and Capgrave. To this they added that his death occurred in the year 512. Usher and his adherents apply these accounts to their Gildas *Albanus*; but the Glastonians understood them otherwise. For it was the body of

Gildas the *historian*, which they claimed as resting among them; the *Britonum historiographus*, as one of their chroniclers writes (Usher, p. 471); the Gildas *neque insulsus neque infacetus historicus*, as William of Malmesbury calls him; and whom also Caradoc and Capgrave exhibit as the historian. As to the date 512, it was brought forth to add to the antiquity of the monastery. Usher, having unluckily adopted it, bewildered himself in useless and contradictory calculations. In consequence of his distinguishing two Gildasses, and placing the birth of his *Badonicus* in 520 he has induced several writers to lay down that the real Gildas died when only 50 years of age, whereas it is expressly stated, as we have just seen, that he was very old at the time of his death. I shall now conclude this long and tiresome discussion with referring to Gale, the able and accurate editor of Gildas' tracts, who, as appears from his general preface (*ad XV Scriptores*) knew of only one Gildas in those times, however marked by various surnames or epithets, and of whom he writes; "*Gildas historicus, Albanus, Badonicus, Sapiens (tot enim innotuit titulis) Iltuti discipulus,*" &c.

§ XI. The third eminent British saint of those times was Cadoc or Cadocus, or, as he is named in some Irish documents, *Docus*. He was contemporary with St. David and Gildas and a near relative of the former, whereas their mothers were sisters, (171) both daughters of the Irish prince, Bracan, of whom we have treated elsewhere. (172) Accordingly Cadoc was nephew to St. Canoc of Gallen. His father was Gundlaeus son of a king of South Britain, and chieftain of a part of what formed his father's kingdom. (173) As Cadoc was grandson to prince Bracan, his birth cannot be placed earlier than about the latter end of the fifth century. (174) When a boy he was entrusted to the care of St. Tathaeus or Thaddaeus an Irishman, who kept a celebrated school at Caerwent in Monmouthshire. (175) Having completed his studies at that school he went to the district of Glamorgan, and established a religious house, since called the monastery of Lancarvan, near

the Severn and about three miles from Cowbridge. Meanwhile his father Gundlaeus had retired from the world and given up a considerable portion of his lands to Cadoc, whereby he became enabled to maintain a great number of poor students and to exercise hospitality, besides providing for the poor in general. We have seen that Gildas assisted him for one year in the direction of his school or academy, and that they afterwards remained together for some time in a small island. Cadoc must have afterwards resumed the care of his monastery and school, whereas we find that St. Canice, who was born in the year 516, or, as others say, 527, was a pupil of his. (176) He died the same year as Gildas, viz. A. D. 470, in his own monastery of Lancarvan, in the government of which he was succeeded by Ellenius one of his principal disciples. (177)

(171) In the Acts of Cadoc published by Colgan (at 24 *Jan.*) Cadoc's mother is said to have been Gladusa daughter of Bracan and sister of Melari the mother of St. David.

(172) See *Chap.* VIII. §. 15.

(173) *Acts* at 24 *Jan.* and Usher *p.* 464.

(174) See *Chap.* VIII. §. 15. Usher was forced by his hypothesis concerning Gildas Albanus to say that Cadoc flourished in the year 500 (See *Not.* 165). This date cannot be reconciled with what is said of his family connexions, nor with the series of his transactions.

(175) Tathaeus set up that school on the invitation of king Caradoc son of Inirius. Usher seems to place (*Ind. Chron.*) the commencement of it between A. D. 469 and 474. Camden was mistaken in calling (*col.* 741) Tathaeus a British saint, whereas in his *Life*, by Joh. Timmuthensis, quoted by Usher (*p.* 92) he is expressly called an Irishman.

(176) The venerable British abbot, under whom St. Canice studied, is called *Docus*. (See Usher, *p.* 952.) I believe there can be no doubt that he was the same as Cadoc of Lancarven. In like manner the contemporary of David and Gildas, as likewise of the Irish saints of the second class, appears under the name of

Docus, and was certainly the same as the master of Canice. Who could this distinguished man have been except Cadoc of Lancarvan? There is no mention in the church history of Britain, as far as I can discover, of any eminent person in those days, called simply *Docus*; and, *vice versa*, our Irish writers do not mention *Cadoc* as celebrated at that period. Hence it is fair to conclude, that *Docus* and *Cadocus* were the same. A person well versed in the old British language might, I dare say, be able to show that the names are in reality not different. Usher has overlooked this point. It would not have suited his system to make *Docus* the same person as *Cadoc*. For he knew that *Docus* flourished in the middle of the sixth century; while, on the other hand, he assigned *Cadoc* to the beginning of it. There is a fable concerning *Cadoc's* having left his monastery and gone to Beneventum in Italy, where he became bishop under the name of *Sopkias*. Usher, true to his hypothesis, assigns this notable occurrence to A. D. 514 (*Ind. Chron.*), while others place it in 567. (*AA. SS. p. 160.*) This foolish story was probably founded on mistaking Beneventum for a place in Britain called *Benaventa*, whither *Cadoc* might have gone on some occasion; or, as Cressy observes (*Church Hist. &c. Book x. ch. 21.*) on the having confounded *Cadoc* of Lancarven with another *Cadoc* or *Sopkias* martyr at Beneventa or *Banaventa*, as Camden calls it, and which he thought (*col. 531*) to be the same as *Wedon* in Northamptonshire. Be this as it may, Usher had no authority for making *Cadoc* quit his monastery in 514. Another story, less silly indeed, is that of *Iltutus* having retired from the world through the exhortation of *Cadoc* (Usher, *p. 472*). *Iltutus* was undoubtedly prior to *Cadoc*, particularly if, as the same authority states, he had been a disciple of St. German of Auxerre. His having been *Gildas's* master is sufficient to show, that *Cadoc* was a junior, compared with him.

(177) Harpsfeld, and Pits, Colgan *ap. AA. SS. p. 159*. Cressy draws (*loc. cit.*) an objection against the date assigned by Harpsfeld from its having been somewhere said that *Dubricius* was present at *Cadoc's* death. This is one of the usual anachronisms relative to those old times, according to which eminent men of different periods are spoken of as contemporaries. Usher (*Ind. Chron. ad A. 514*) mentions *Ellenius* as placed over the monastery

on Cadoc's pretended departure for Beneventum, which he himself considered as fabulous. (See *Pr. p.* 471.)

§. XII. To the account now given of David, Gildas, and Cadoc, we may add that in those times, and for several years previous, a great intercourse was kept up between the religious persons of Ireland and those of both Great Britain and Brittany; so that, while Irishmen repaired to either of the latter countries, many pious Britons used to spend a great part of their time in Ireland. Besides the many instances we have met with already, we find that Petranus, a nobleman of Brittany, and father of the celebrated St. Paternus, retired to Ireland about the beginning of the sixth century and there led a most holy life. (178) Paternus also visited Ireland and remained there for some time. (179) Petrocus a native of G. Britain, from whom Petrock-stow, now *Padstow*, in Cornwall, has got its name, spent twenty years in Ireland applying himself to the study of the scriptures and to the acquirement of general knowledge. (180) On the other hand St. Renan, an Irish bishop, retired to Brittany about the latter end of the fifth century for the purpose of leading a solitary life, which he did chiefly in the forest of Nevet in the territory of Cornouaille then governed by Count Grallo, who held him in very high consideration. (181) St. Sezin or Sezni also a native of Ireland, and a bishop, is said to have died in Brittany A. D. 529. (182) St. Jaova or Jovin studied in G. Britain under his maternal uncle Paul, one of the disciples of Illutus. Having returned to Ireland he embraced the ecclesiastical state. On being informed that his uncle had gone to Brittany, where he became first bishop of St. Pol de Leon, (183) Jaova went over to that country and there spent the remainder of his days, partly in the government of a monastery and partly in the administration of said see. (184) Of the

visits of Brendan of Clonfert and others to either Britain, we shall see hereafter.

(178) Usher, *p.* 528.

(179) *Ib.*

(180) "In Hiberniam proficiscens, litterarum disciplinis et sacrae scripturae viginti annis se mancipavit—praeceptores eximie doctos excoluit—Hibernicas gazas in Coriniam seu Cornubium transtulit, et videndas omnibus exhibuit. (See Usher, *p.* 564 and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 518.)

(181) Lobineau, *Hist. de Bretagne, Tom. 1. p.* 73 Grallo must have lived about the latter end of the 5th century, as he was the founder of the abbey of Landevenec, the first abbot of which was St. Winwaloe or Winwalloc, who was born not long after the arrival of the Britons in Armorica, and therefore, according to Lobineau's calculation about A. D. 458; and whose death Usher, (*p.* 464 and *Ind. Chron.*) assigns to A. D. 504. St. Renan was most probably the same as Renan the monk, who has, through mistake, been said to have been contemporary with St. Martin of Tours. (See Usher, *p.* 1043.)

(182) See *Not. 5 to Chap. vi.*

(183) Usher places (*Ind. Chron.*) the accession of Paul to that see in the year 529.

(184) Colgan has (at 2 *Mart.*) the Acts of St. Jaova from Albert Le Grande. In them a St. Kenan is mentioned as appointed by Jaova to administer the parish of Plou-kernan in that diocese. He was perhaps the Kenan spoken of by Usher, as we have seen elsewhere. (*Chap. vii. §. 6.*) Lobineau merely touches upon (*p.* 76) a St. Euflam, supposed to have lived about those times in Brittany, son of an Irish king, of whom, he says, incredible things are told.

§. XIII. Colgan assigns to the year 522 (185) the death of an Irish hermit named Paul, who is said to have been a disciple of St. Patrick or rather of Fiech of Sletty. That there was a person of that name at Fiech's school I do not mean to deny; but the prodigious stories concerning his manner of subsisting in a certain island, and the great age, to which he has been made to live, exceed all bounds of probability,

and render any inquiry into his history useless. (186) St. Carnech, who, according to Colgan, died about 530, is better known in Irish history, although no detailed account remains of his transactions. (187) He was of the princely house of Orgiel and maternal grandson of Loarn the first chief of the Irish or Scottish settlers in N. Britain. As his mother was sister to Ercá, he was therefore first cousin to the then king of Ireland Murchertach. (188) He was abbot, and bishop, somewhere to the West of Lough-foyle and not far from Lifford. (189) Little more is known about him. Yet his memory has been held in high veneration; (190) and two brothers of his, Ronan and Breacan, are likewise reckoned among the Irish saints. The king Murchertach did not long survive his cousin St. Carnech, having been put to death, in a most cruel manner, in the year 533, or 534. (191) He was succeeded by Tuathal the second, a great grandson of Neill Neigilliach by his son Corpreus. Tuathal reigned for 10, or, as some say, 11 years. (192) At the time of Tuathal's accession to the throne the archbishop of Armagh was Alild the second, of the same family as his immediate predecessor likewise called Alild, (193) who died on the 13th Jan. A. D. 526 after an incumbency of 13 years. (194) Of other bishops then in Ireland we have scarcely any authentic account, although it is certain that there were many. Tigernach of Clones was still alive. Lugadius was, in all probability, already bishop of Connor, as he died as early as the year 538. (195) Of some others, who might have been bishops in those days, we will see lower down. I will now conclude this chapter with reminding the reader that St. Moctheus of Louth, most probably the last surviving disciple of St. Patrick, and whom we have often met with, (196) died in the year 535, and, it seems, on the 19th of August. (197)

(185) *Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.*

(186) Colgan has (at 25 *Jan.*) what he calls the Acts of this Paul. The greater part of them is nothing else than a corrupt and ridiculous imitation of the history of St. Paul of Egypt, the first hermit; with this difference that, instead of a continental desert, the Irish Paul is made to pass his lonely days in a desert island.

(187) Colgan gives (at 28 *Mart.*) whatever he could collect concerning St. Carnech.

(188) See above §. 2.

(189) Colgan thinks that his monastery and residence was at a place called *Cruachan-ligean*, or near it, on the western bank of Lough foyle. He adds that it was perhaps at Cluain-laodh, now now *Clonleigh*, in that neighbourhood, which has at present a parish church. But elsewhere (*Tr. Th. p. 495*) he reckons the monastery of Cluain-loadh among the foundations of Columb-kill, and places there Lugadius one of his disciples. Archdall (at *Clonleigh*) imagined that it might be the same as *Cruachan-ligean*. Colgan, however, speaks of them as two distinct places not far from each other.

(190) Besides the mention made of him by our Hagiologists, his name occurs in the old Anglican litany published by Mabillon. (See *Chap. 11. §. 7.*) Colgan observes, that he must not be confounded with a British saint Carantoc, *alias* Cernach, who lived chiefly in Ireland. (See *Cressy, B. ix. ch. 8.*)

(191) Above *Not. 25.* See O'Flaherty, *Carm. Chronograph.*

(192) Usher, (*p. 947*) and Ware *Ant. cap. 4.*) O'Flaherty, in consequence of his calculations (*Ogyg. Part. 3. c. 93*) gives him eleven. The 4 Masters and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 447*) agree with Usher and Ware as to the number of years, but, adhering to their dates, make his reign begin in 527 (528).

(193) See above §. 3.

(194) Ware, *Bishops, &c.* He assigns the death of Ailild to A. D. 526, as does Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 293*) who, however, following the old Irish mode of anticipating the vulgar era, calls that year 525. Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) agrees with Ware, although he seems elsewhere (*p. 874*) to place it in 527. As Ailild (the first) died so early in the year as the 13th of January, it is very probable that his incumbency, which had begun in 513, did not last full 13 years.

(195) *AA. SS. p. 191.* It is a sad consideration that of many

of our prelates little else has come down to us than the dates of their death. And concerning many more we do not know even that much. This, however, is a misfortune not peculiar to the history of the Irish church.

(196) *Chap. vi. §. 12. vii. 7. viii. 8.*

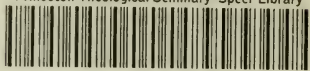
(197) Colgan states (*AA. SS. p. 732*) that the memory of St. Moctheus was celebrated on, at least, two days in the year, viz. March 24 and August 19. The latter day is that, to which the Annals of Ulster and the 4 Masters affix his death. Archdall (at *Louth*) has A. D. 534, not reflecting that, although this number appears in the Annals, it was the same as 535 of the Vulgar era. Allemand fell (*Hist. Mon. &c. Introd. p. 19.*) into a huge mistake with regard to Moctheus, placing him at Ferns and thus confounding him with Moedoc or Aidan, who was not born until after Moctheus' death.

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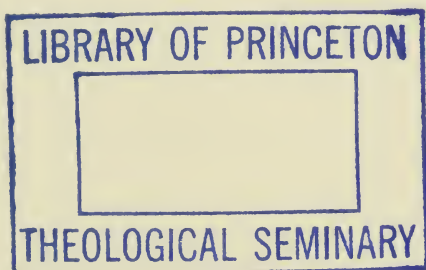
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF IRE
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John Mulcahy

AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF
IRELAND,

FROM THE
FIRST INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY
AMONG THE IRISH,
TO
THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

COMPILED

FROM THE WORKS OF THE MOST ESTEEMED AUTHORS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC,
WHO HAVE WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED ON MATTERS CONNECTED WITH

THE IRISH CHURCH ;

AND FROM IRISH ANNALS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS,
STILL EXISTING IN MANUSCRIPT.

By THE REV. JOHN LANIGAN, D. D.,

FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, THE SACRED SCRIPTURES, AND
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PAVIA.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

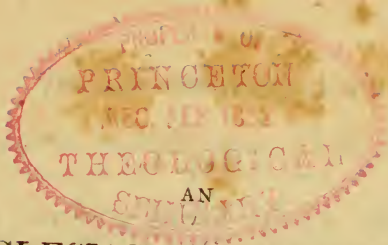
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

IRELAND, &c.

CHAPTER X.

Ailild the second, bishop of Armagh—Succeeded by Dubhtach or Duach—St. Senan—Erects the Church at Inniscarra—and of Innislunge—and of Innistuaisceart—Monastery of Inis-cathaig, now Inniscatthy—Kieran of Clonmacnois—St. Kieran of Saigir—St. Diermit abbot of Inis-clothran—St. Fedlimid of Kilmore—Bishop Illandus—St. Rioch, bishop of Innisbofinde—Tuathal monarch of Ireland killed—succeeded by Diermit—St. Finnian of Clonard—Finnian bishop of Maghbile—St. Frigidean—The two Brendans—Briga sister of St. Brendan of Clonfert—St. Iarlath of Tuam—SS. Comgall, Coemgen, and Kieran—Clonmacnois founded—St. Fintan of Clonenagh—Monastery of Benchor—St. Columbkil—David bishop of Armagh—succeeded by Feidlimid-fionn—St. Tegernach of Clones—Death of St. Senell or Sechnell—and of St. Odran—Columba son of Crimthan—Monastery of Tir-daglas—St. Mobhy Clairineach—St. Diermit of Glean-ussen—St. Dagaëus, bishop of Iniscaoin—Corpreus or Carbreus of Coleraine—St. Regnach sister of St. Finnian—St. Lasra.

SECT. I.

ALILD the second, having governed the see of Armagh for ten years, died in the year 536. (1) I have nothing to add concerning him except that his anniversary was kept on the first of July, which was probably the day of his death. He was succeeded by Dubtach or Duach, usually called Dubtach the second, relatively to a former Dubtach predecessor of Alild the first. (2) The second Dubtach is said to have been a descendant of Colla-Huas, an ancient king of Ireland, and from whom was derived a family powerful in part of the territory now called Tyrone, to which family Dubtach, perhaps, belonged. He held the see for twelve years. The loss, which the church sustained in the Southern parts of Ireland by the death of Ailbe, and, it seems not long after, of Declan, (3) was soon repaired by the exertions of some persons distinguished for their sanctity and zeal. St. Senan, whose early history has been already sketched, (4) was among the foremost in this pious work and in setting an example of Christian penance and mortification. After he had left St. Naal's monastery, it is said that he went to foreign parts, and having visited Rome and Tours spent, on his return towards Ireland, some time with St. David of Menevia, (5) with whom he continued very intimate until his death. (6) Senan's first establishment was at Iniscarra, (7) where he erected a church. While he was in that place, a vessel arrived in Cork harbour, bringing fifty religious persons passengers from the Continent, who came to Ireland either for the purpose of leading a life of stricter discipline or of improving themselves in the study of the Scriptures. (8) Senan, with the greatest civility and kindness, retained ten of them with himself, while the others were distributed in various establishments. (9) He was not long at Iniscarra, when Lugadius, prince of that country, insisted on his submitting to certain exactions, which

Senan refused to comply with. The dispute was soon settled through the interference of two young noblemen, (10) who were then at the court of Lugadius. Not long after Senan, having left eight of his disciples at Iniscárta, (11) went to Inisluinge, (12) where, having erected a church, he gave the veil to some daughters of Brendan the dynast of Hyfiginte. Thence setting out by water for Inis-mor, he was driven by adverse winds to an island called *Inis-tuaiscert*. (13) Thinking that it was by a special providence he was driven thither, he erected a church which he left the care of to some of his disciples. He then made his way to Inis-mor, (14) and there founded a monastery, which he governed for some time. We are then told that, having left St. Libern or Liberius, with some others, at Inis-mor, he went to the island of Inis-caorach, (15) where also he is said to have constructed an oratory, over which he placed some of his disciples. After some other transactions (16) we find him at length settled in the island of Inis-cathaig, now Iniscatthy, or, as some call it, Iniscattery in the mouth of the Shannon. We have already seen, (17) that this monastery was not established as early as some writers imagined; yet it existed about the year 540, and before the time, in which Kieran of Clonmacnois is said to have repaired thither to place himself under the direction of Senan. (18) To the erection of this monastery much opposition is said to have been made by a dynast of Hyfiginte, Mactalius, who claimed the island as part of his territory, and, being a pagan, endeavoured, together with his *magus*, to expel the saint. Through the interposition of the Almighty he got over these difficulties, and formed a religious community highly distinguished for the strictness of its discipline. One of its rules was that females should not be admitted into the island. (19) Senan was a bishop, when he founded this establishment, and probably some time earlier; (20) but when

or by whom he was consecrated, we are not informed.

(1) *Tr. Th.* p. 293. Usher, *Ind. Chron.* Ware, *Bishops*. Harris throws in a blundering observation, that some Irish Martyrologists place his death a year earlier; as if their A. D. 535 were not the same as our 536.

(2) See *Chap.* ix. §. 2. (3) See *ib.* §. 7. (4) *Ib.* §. 4.

(5) Whatever we may think of Senan's continental excursions, his visit to St. David must be understood as having taken place before the latter became bishop of Menevia, as his accession to that see was, most probably, not prior to about A. D. 540, at which time Senan was certainly established at Inniscatthy. Just before the account of that visit, &c. (Senan's second life *cap.* 18) it is said that Senan went directly from Naal's monastery to visit St. Maidoc of Ferns. But St. Maidoc was not as yet born at that time. It may be that in his latter days he was acquainted with Maidoc when young.

(6) The great friendship between David and Senan is mentioned also in the first or Metrical Life, *cap.* 25; but nothing is said of his having visited David in Britain, or of his having ever left Ireland. And indeed it is probable that he did not. They might have kept up an intimacy and correspondence without having seen each other. Senan is not spoken of in any of David's lives, whereas Brendan, Aidan, and other Irishmen are, as having been personally acquainted with him. What bewitched Harris (*Bishops*, p. 502) to make Senan a disciple of David? Was it because it is said in the second life (the only authority Harris could have) that Senan, after having completed his studies and travels, paid a visit to him? David was, I am sure, the younger man of the two.

(7) This place is five miles from Cork, near the river Lee, in the barony of Barrets.

(8) In the second life (*cap.* 20) they are called *Romans*, that is, natives of a country where the Roman laws were still in force, such as, according to an observation of the Bollandists, "*Aquitani Romanis legibus etiam sub Francorum dominatu utentas.*" The whole passage is worth transcribing; "*Dum autem ibi ageret (Senan), appellit ibi navis monachos adhevens peregrinos. In ea namque navi de ferebantur 50 monachi patria Romani, quos vel arctioris*

vitae vel scripturarum peritiae, tunc in ea multum florentis, desiderium in Hiberniam traxerat, ut ibi vivant sub magisterio quorundam sanctorum patrum, quos vitae sanctitate et monasticae disciplinae rigore intellexerant esse conspicuos."

(9) One of these other establishments is said to have been that of Finnian, in which we find no anachronism; but one occurs in reckoning that of Kieran among them, if, as appears most probable, the Kieran meant was he of Clonmacnois. For, this Kieran had no religious house of his own until after the foundation of Inniscatthy, which was later than that of Inniscarra. There is also another palpable one in reckoning among them that of Barr of Cork.

(10) Their names were Aidus and Lugadius, whose history was written in verse (second life, *cap.* 22.) by Colman, son of Lenine, who died in the year 601. Aidus was father to Cathald, king of Munster, who died in 625. (*AA. SS.* p. 149). Hence we may suppose that Senan was at Inniscarra about A. D. 532; whereas Aidus was young at that time.

(11) Neither Ware nor Harris have a monastery at Inniscarra. Yet Archdall refers to them, as if they had.

(12) This was either an island in the Shannon, or a place near that river, along which lies the country anciently called *Hyfiginte*. In the same second life (*cap.* 43) is mentioned *Inisluaidhe* now *Inisula*, where it appears there was some religious establishment. It is one of the islands of the Shannon between Limerick and Inniscatthy. Archdall, following some foolish authorities, says, (at *Inisula*) that Senan founded a monastery there before St. Patrick's arrival in Munster. Harris' position, although not so absurd, is equally wrong. He assigns it (*Monas.* under *Clare*) to the 5th century. Whether *Inisluinge* and *Inisluaidhe* were the same place or not, I will not stop to inquire.

(13) Could this be *Inistusker* an island off the coast of Kerry, barony of *Corcaguinny*?

(14) A great number of islands went formerly by the name of *Inis-mor* or *Great island*. The one here mentioned is usually supposed to be *Inchmore*, alias *Deer island*, in the river *Fergus* where this river joins the Shannon. (See *Dutton, Statis. Survey of Clare*, p. 330.) Archdall (at *Inchmore* under *Clare*) places it in *Loughrea* in the Shannon, meaning I suppose, the expanse or lake formed by the junction of this river and the *Fergus*. *Colgan*, (*AA. SS.* p. 539) thought,

and I dare say justly, that the Inis-mor, in which Senan founded a monastery, lay further to the West, and near the Atlantic. Ware (*Ant. cap. 26 at Roscommon*) has a monastery of Inchmore in Lough-ree, the lake between the counties of Roscommon and Longford, and adds that it was founded perhaps by St. Liberius son of Lossenus. I suspect that he confounded the accounts of the two Inismors or Inchmores. For, one of the persons, and apparently the principal, whom Senan left at Inismore (in Clare) is said to have been Liborn or Liberius, who, according to Colgan, was the son of Lawcen or Loscen. Ware has not the Inchmore in Clare, nor has Harris; Archdall has both it and the one in Roscommon, jumbling together the accounts of them in a manner, which is not worth unravelling.

(15) One of the Enniskerry islands off the barony of Ibrickan, co. Clare. Mr. Dutton (*Stat. &c. p. 329*) says that is now called *Mutton-island*.

(16) An island or place, called *Iniscunla*, is mentioned among those, where he is said to have formed establishments. It is probable that some of these religious houses and churches were of later institution, and branches from the great monastery of Iniscatthy.

(17) *Chap. ix. §. 4.* To what has been there observed we may add, that in Senan's second Life Iniscatthy is represented as uninhabited until he took possession of it. This is a further proof of Usher's having been mistaken in supposing that St. Patrick had spent some time in that island.

(18) See below, §. 11. *Not. 175.*

(19) This regulation was observed even with regard to the most holy virgins. St. Cannera a nun from Bentraighe, a district near Bantry bay, wished to receive the holy viaticum from the hands of Senan and to be buried in Iniscatthy. Accordingly she set out for that island and, when arrived just close to it, was met by Senan who obstinately refused to allow her to land, and requested of her to go to the house of his mother, who lived not far distant and was related to Cannera. At length, however, on understanding that she was near her end, and that she wished to receive the holy Eucharist, he complied with her desire. As she died very soon after, her wish to be interred in that holy place was also fulfilled. *Second Life, cap. 40.* The dialogue between them is

thus given in the Metrical life ; “ Cui praesul, quid foeminis—commune est cum monachis?—nec te nec ullam aliam—admittemus in insulam—Tunc illa ad episcopum ;—si meum credis spiritum—posse Christum suscipere,—quid me repellis corpore ?—Credo, inquit, hoc optime ; sed nulli unquam foeminae—huc ingressum concedimus—esto, salvet te Dominus—Redi iterum ad seculum—ne sis nobis in scandalum ;—etsi et casta pectore,—habes sexum in corpore.—Spero, ait, in Dominum—quod prius meum spiritum—de hac carne ejiciat—quam reverti faciat—Nec mora reddit spiritum,” &c. Concerning St. Cannera little else is known. Colgan has her Acts at 28 January. She was of a distinguished family of the ancient Carberry (See Smith, *History of Co. Cork, Chap. 1.*) ; and her mermory was revered in some churches, particularly in that territory.

(20) If it be true that he gave, as above mentioned, the veil to the dynast Brendan's daughters, when at Inisluinge, we must suppose that he was then a bishop.

§. 2. It may, perhaps, be allowed that St. Kieran of Saigir, concerning whom much has been said already, (21) became a bishop about the time we are now treating of, *viz.* about A. D. 538. His having been at Finnian's school of Clonard can be easily reconciled with his promotion at that period, as he was one of Finnian's first scholars, (22) and might have been above 20 years old when he went to study under him. Kieran, having retired to a lonesome spot, since called Saigir, in the territory of Hele and province of Munster, (23) there led at first the life of a hermit, and after some time erected a monastery, around which a city gradually grew up. (24) Next he established a nunnery in the neighbourhood for his mother Liadania and some pious virgins her companions, (25) whence the church of Killiadhwin has got its name. Besides the care of his monastery, Kieran was assiduously employed in preaching the Gospel in Ossory and elsewhere, and converted a great number of Pagans. (26) He is usually considered as the first bishop of Ossory and founder of

that see. (27) It is rather singular that, notwithstanding all that is said in the tracts, called his lives, in praise of Kieran, he is not much spoken of in the accounts of our saints, who were his contemporaries, and that none of our annalists or Hagiologists have marked the year of his death. (28) Hence Colgan was inclined to think that he died in Cornwall, as some English writers have said, and where he was known by the name of Piron. (29) But, according to other accounts, he not only lived but died at Saigir amidst his disciples and the people of his diocese. (30) Although the year of his death is unknown, there can be little doubt of his having been alive after the year 550. (31) His memory has been revered particularly in the diocese of Ossory, on the 5th of March, the anniversary of his death. (32)

(21) *Chap. i. §. 14.*

(22) In the list of illustrious men mentioned in Finnian's Acts (*cap. 19*) as having studied under him the two Kierans are placed first. I allow that this may not be considered as a conclusive argument. Nor do I pretend to state as certain that Kieran was a bishop at the time above given. Yet it is more than probable that he was not, prior to it. But, as he is not named in the second class of Irish saints, who flourished after the year 544, we may suppose that he had become distinguished some years earlier.

(23) "In Australi plaga et regione Mumeniae, videlicet in plebe, quae vocatur Hele." (First Life of Kieran, *cap. 6*) This is the district, called *Ely O'Carrol*, and now comprized in the King's county.

(24) After the words now quoted we read ; "Et coepit B. Pontifex Kieranus ibi quasi eremita habitare ; quia eremus lata densa sylvis per circuitum erat, et de vila materia cellam suam incepit, et inde monasterium ; et postea civitas crevit Dei dono per gratiam S. Kierani ; quae omnia vocantur uno nomine *Sayghir*." Archdall (at *Seirkeran*), after saying that Kieran founded this abbey in 402, adds, that the monastery was founded in *succeeding ages*. For this nonsense he refers to Ware, who has it not.

(25) Harris, adhering to the stories about Kieran's great anti-

tiquity, assigns this nunnery to the 5th century. Archdall goes further, placing it about the beginning of said century.

(26) First life, *cap.* 40.

(27) Ware, *Bishops*, and *Ant. cap.* 29. The see, says Ware, was afterwards translated to Aghaboe, but when it is not certain. Harris follows Ware. It is doubtful whether Saigir and Aghaboe were not distinct sees ; but of this hereafter.

(28) Ware (*Bishops*, at *Ossory*) places his death in 549, confounding him with Kieran of Clonmacnois, who died in that year. Yet elsewhere he supposed that he might have been alive at a much later period. See *Not.* 124 to *Chap.* i.

(29) Some English martyrologists, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 470), have at the 5th of March the commemoration of St. Piran, *alias* Kieran at Padstow in Cornwall. John Timmuthensis says that he was buried in that country after having spent there the latter part of his life. (See Usher, *p.* 791.) Camden makes mention (*col.* 22) of a chapel dedicated in the name of St. Piran, an Irish saint, on the way between Padstow and St. Iies. The Britons, says Colgan, (*ib. p.* 463) changed the Irish *C* or *K* into *P*, and so for *Cieran* or *Kieran* read *Piran*.

(30) First Life, *cap.* 40. Second, *lect.* 12. Colgan observes (*p.* 470) that Saigir is not expressly mentioned in these passages as the place of his death. The context, however, shows that it was meant by the authors ; whereas they tell us that, a little time before his death, he called together his people, *populum suum*, and gave them his benediction. Add that in the first Life (*cap.* 5.) it is said that his honour and *resurrection* would be at Saigir.

(31) St. Ruadan, who died A. D. 584 (Usher, *Ind. Chron.*) is spoken of in the first Life (*cap.* 36) as abbot of Lothra (Lorrah) in Kieran's life time.

(32) To this day Dempster (*Hist. Scot. L. x. No.* 774) assigns the festival of a St. Kieran, who, he pretends, lived chiefly in the Western isles of Scotland. But the St. Kieran so much respected in that country, and to whom Dempster alluded, was, as will be seen lower down, Kieran of Clonmacnois, and his festival was kept on the 9th of September.

§. 3. St. Diermit, abbot of Inisclothran, (33) was contemporary with Senan, and a particular friend of

his. (34) He is said to have been of the illustrious house of the Hy-fiachri of Connaught, (35) and is supposed to have founded his monastery about A. D. 540. (36) He is generally styled only priest and abbot. (37) A book of prayers and litanies in verse is attributed to him, which, unless we suppose it to have been interpolated, must have been composed by an author of a later period. (38) The year of his death is unknown; but the day marked for it is the 10th of January. St. Fedlimid of Kilmore (co. Cavan) is said to have been a brother of his. This saint is called by some bishop of Kilmore; but there does not appear to have been any episcopal see in that place until the 15th century. (39) Nor have we any certain account of even a monastery having been erected at Kilmore by St. Fedlimid or any other person. (40) St. Fedlimid was perhaps no more than parish priest, or perhaps had there led a recluse life. Ware imagined that he might have been the same as a Fedlimid bishop of Clogher or Clones, whom he places third in succession after St. Tigernach. This is a mere conjecture, (41) for which he could not adduce any argument; and why should that prelate of Clones, who was also buried there, have been called Fedlimid of Kilmore? Among the many persons of that name it is easy to find room for one Fedlimid bishop at Clones, and for another, perhaps only a priest, at Kilmore. Concerning this saint I can find no further account than that he died on the 9th of August, but in what year we are not informed. (119) To this period, *viz.* about A. D. 540, (42) we may assign the monastery of the holy bishop Illandus at Rathlibhthen, (43) in which St. Aidus, son of Brée, of whom hereafter, had been educated. Illandus is said to have been a descendant, in the fourth generation, of the monarch Leogaire. His memory was revered on the 10th of June. (44) It may also be admitted that St. Rioch of Inisbofinde, who, as we have seen, (45) could not have been a disciple of St.

Patrick, or brother to St. Mel of Ardagh, (46) had by this time formed his establishment. For although St. Aidus, above mentioned, was himself an abbot, when he visited St. Rioch in his monastery, yet there is no anachronism in supposing that it might have existed in or about 540. St. Rioch, although usually styled *abbot*, was also a bishop. His monastery continued for several centuries. The year of his death is not recorded; but it seems the day of it was the first of August. (47)

(33) In Lough-ree, county of Longford. Colgan has at 10th January the best account he could find of St. Diermit.

(34) See Senan's metrical life, *cap.* 23.

(35) One of the districts, called *Hy-fiachra*, was the present barony of Tiereragh, Sligo.

(36) Colgan says that Diermit flourished about that year. Ware places (*Ant. cap.* 26 at *Longford*) the foundation of Inisclothran in the first times of the Irish church. Harris assigns it to the 5th century. But according to what Colgan has collected concerning this saint, it must have been much later; for he is said to have been descended in the seventh generation from Dathias, king of Ireland, who was killed about the year 427. This and some other circumstances, would lead us to believe, that Diermit flourished later than even 540. But his being said to be contemporary with Senan, and with Kieran of Clonmacnois, has induced me to treat of him in this place.

(37) Marian Gorman has given him the title of *bishop*.

(38) Colgan had a copy of that tract. Among other saints Adamnan, who lived until the eighth century, is mentioned in it.

(39) Ware (*Bishops at Kilmore*) says, that the bishops of the diocese, known by this name, were called bishops of Breffny (the name of the territory) or of Triburna, an obscure village where they resided, until in the year 1454 Andrew Mc. Brady, bishop of Triburna erected, with the consent of Pope Nicholas V. the parish church of St. Fedlimid at Kilmore into a cathedral. He adds, that there seems not to have been any episcopal see in that district until a late period, and that the first bishop he had met with

there was Flan O'Conacty, called the bishop of Breffny, who died in 1231.

(40) Neither Ware, Harris, nor De Burgo have any old monastery at Kilmore (Cavan). St. Columba founded one at a place called *Kilmore deathreib* which Colgan (*AA. SS. Ind. Topogr.*) distinguishes from the episcopal town of Kilmore. Yet in the *Trias Th.* (p. 381.) he speaks of them as one and the same place, but corrects himself (*ib.* p. 494.) by telling us that Kilmore deathreib was in Connaught, and consequently different from the Kilmore of Cavan. Archdall, following Colgan where he was wrong, confounds (at *Kilmore, Cavan*) both places together.

(41) Harris (*Bishops at Kilmore*) has strangely misrepresented Ware's text. Instead of *Fedlimid bishop of Clones*, Harris makes him say, *Diermit* or *Dermod* (viz. of Inisclothran) *bishop*, &c. And yet (at *Clogher*) Harris himself, following Ware, has not Dermod but Fedlimid bishop at Clones.

(42) See Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(43) This place was in the part of the ancient Meath, called Fearcall, and now comprizing the baronies of Ballycowen and Ballyboy in the King's county.

(44) (*AA. SS.* p. 422.

(45) *Chap.* VIII. §. 13.)

(46) So far from having been a brother of Mel and a Briton I find him called *Mac-Hualaing*, son of Hualaing, or of the family of Laing. (*Rioch's Acts* at 6 *Mart.*)

(47) This is the day on which his name appears in the Irish Calendars. In consequence of the story of his having been a brother of St. Mel, he is placed at the 6th of February in the martyrology of Salisbury; and hence Colgan has him at that day.

§. IV. We are now near the time, which until the first class of saints in Ireland, partly foreigners, partly natives, is stated to have continued. (48) This class is brought down to the latter years of Tuathal's reign, and accordingly to above A. D. 542. (49) From St. Patrick's arrival in 432 until this period it comprehended 350 holy bishops, (50) who were all either *Romans, Franks, Britons, or Scots.* (51) They observed one and the same discipline, viz. that introduced by St. Patrick, (52) one mass, and one celebration, that is,

one uniform liturgy, (53) one tonsure, and one Easter or paschal cycle. (54) They did not reject the attendance and society of women; because, *being founded upon the rock Christ, they did not fear the wind of temptation.* (55) This class, which is represented as the holiest of all, was succeeded by another, which began in the latter end of the reign of Tuathal and continued until the close of that of Aidus son of Ainmereich, or Ainmireus, viz. until A.D. 598, or 599. (56) It consisted of 300 saints, few of whom were bishops, the greatest part having been priests. (57) Their paschal computation and tonsure were the same as those of the former class; but they admitted a diversity of Masses, or liturgies, and of monastic regulations. (58) They received a Mass from the Britons, David, Gildas, and Docus or Cadoc. (59) In the times of this class a rule was established, that women should not be allowed to serve in monasteries. (60) To it belonged, besides many others, two Finnians, two Brendans, Iarlath of Tuam, Comgall, Coemgen, Cieran (or Kieran) Columba, Cainech, Eogan mac Laisre, Lugeus, Ludeus, Moditeus, Cormac, Colman, Nessian, Laisrean, Berrindeus, Coeman, Ceman, Conan, Endeus, Aedeus, and Byrchin. It now becomes requisite to give some account of these distinguished persons, following, as nearly as we can, the order of the time, (61) without, however, forgetting others their contemporaries, or omitting to record such remarkable occurrences as took place in their times.

(48) This catalogue of the Irish saints, divided into three classes, and distinguished according to the order of time, has been published by Usher, (*p.* 913, *seqq.*) and is a very interesting document, throwing great light on our ancient ecclesiastical history. Even Ledwich admits (*Antiq.* *p.* 415) that it is extremely valuable. And yet he says (*ib.*) that the author lived about the 12th century. Why so? Because St. Patrick is mentioned in it. This is criticism! If this catalogue were written so late, would it end

at the year of the great plague, A. D. 665? The fact is that it bears every mark of high antiquity, and was most probably drawn up some time before the disputes about the Paschal cycle and the tonsure had totally subsided, which was not until about the year 716. In the account of the third class mention is made of the various observances with regard to these matters; but we find no allusion to the time when uniformity became prevalent. The mighty Doctor adds; "It is to be lamented, that Usher did not take more pains in illustrating it." What an impudent observation! Usher dedicated full 57 pages (not including the *Addenda*, &c.) to the illustration of it, which he has executed in a superior manner far beyond the Doctor's comprehension. He has not, indeed, misrepresented the author's meaning, or given us a farrago of lying polemics, as the Doctor has done in four or five dull pages concerning it. This catalogue may also be seen in Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra*, or the Works and Acts of St. Columbanus of Luxeu, besides other tracts. It is in the *Dissertatio de Monastica St. Columbani professione*, *Articul. 3. p. 430. seqq.* and was taken from a very ancient Life of St. Patrick. Fleming says, that part of it was likewise in an old Life of St. Finnian. His edition differs in some immaterial points from Usher's, which is evidently more correct.

(49) Ledwich (*ib.*) reckons down to the year 534; but that was not one of the last, but the very first year of Tuathal's reign. The poor Doctor can never count right.

(50) See *Not. 30 to Chap. VII.* If the number be correct, it must be accounted for on the principle of including the *chorepiscopi* under the name of *bishops*, and on the practice of granting episcopal consecration to the superiors of religious houses. On this subject more elsewhere.

(51) As the author of the catalogue lived at a time, when the Franks were Christians and completely settled in Gaul, he gave that name to the Gallic missionaries, who accompanied St. Patrick to Ireland. The Irish were still called *Scots*, when he wrote. What then becomes of Ledwich's 12th century? Under *Romans* he included, I dare say, besides St. Patrick himself *Chap. III. §. 17.*) the companions of Palladius, who remained in Ireland.

(52) "Unum ducem Patricium habebant." The meaning of these words is, as appears from what follows, that there was no

variety of monastic or religious regulations during the period assigned to the first class, whereas divers rules, &c. were introduced in the times of the second and third classes. Ledvich remarks, that the author was not devoted to Rome because, while he speaks of Christ as the head and St. Patrick as the leader, he does not mention the Pope. What a mighty theologian! The author had no occasion to mention the Pope, as his object was merely to touch upon the discipline observed by the Irish church, which was then no other than that established by St. Patrick. There was no question concerning the state and nature of the universal church, or the rights, and privileges of particular sees. Suppose a Protestant author were to write; "The clergy of London acknowledge one head Christ and the bishop as their leader;" would it follow that he did not allow the King's supremacy, or the canonical subordination of the bishop of London to the archbishop of Canterbury? One would imagine that our great Doctor would, to vex the Pope, have kept a fast hold of St. Patrick's leadership. But he was determined, at all hazards, on not allowing St. Patrick even a corner in this world, and accordingly asks (p. 406); "If St. Patrick had lived at the time it is pretended, and if he founded monasteries, would not the monks of St. Patrick have been mentioned, and would not his rule have been universal throughout Ireland?" That St. Patrick drew up a monastic rule is asserted by Ware (*Opusc. St. Patr.* p. 117) and others. (See *Chap. VII. §. 15.*) Supposing even that he did not, it is, however, certain that there were monks in Ireland, viz. such as those of Lerins and Tours, in his time. (See his *Confession* and *Canons* passim). Now these monks, and their successors down to the end of the first class of saints, observed the discipline laid down by St. Patrick, and thus his rule was, for at least 100 years, *universal throughout Ireland*, and so one of the Doctor's queries is answered. As to the other about the name of *Monks of St. Patrick*, it is one which any man of middling ecclesiastical reading would be ashamed to propose. The more ancient monks had no distinct appellations derived from the authors of monastic rules or from their superiors. Sometimes, indeed, they were distinguished by the names of the places where they lived, such as Nitria, Lerins, &c. Even the Benedictines did not assume this name until long after the death of St. Benedict. While he lived,

they were merely *monachi*, or, at most, *monachi Cassinates*. Marsham has (*propyl. ad Monastic Anglican.*) well observed; “Schisma monachatus fuit origo Ordinum. Succrescentibus novorum monachorum sectis, qui Benedictinae regulae tenaciores fuerunt, distinctionis gratia, Benedictini nuncapara, coeperunt. Antea enim quum non erant a quibus distinguerentur, non erat opus discretivi nominis; *simplex monachi sufficebat vocabulum.*”

(53) What this liturgy was, will be inquired into elsewhere. The author's meaning is as clear as day-light. He tells us, that, whereas a diversity of liturgies, &c. was introduced after the times of the first class of saints, no such diversity existed during the period that it lasted. Out of this plain statement the mountebank polemic Ledwich squeezes out (*p.* 417) this nonsenical conclusion; “Our orthodox author saw and lamented the corruptions of popery in her numberless masses for saints, the dead and the like,” &c. Does this stupid quibbler mean to say, that the one mass and one celebration are to be so understood as if divine service had been celebrated only once during the whole time of the first class of saints? If this be not his meaning, he has uttered downright nonsense. What has the celebration of mass, or, in other words, of the public service of the church, on various occasions, such as the festivals of saints, to do with the nature of the liturgy? The mass and the substance of the liturgy are still the same, whatsoever be the day or occasion, on which it is celebrated. The Latin mass, strictly speaking, is the same every day; and so is the Doctor's favourite Greek mass. So are the Syriac, Slavonic masses, &c. And in the church of England service is not the essential part of the liturgy the same on holidays as on Sundays? Perhaps the Doctor disapproves of the practice of his church with regard to the observance of holidays. His manner of treating these subjects is very different from that of Usher, Stillingfleet, and Bingham, who well knew what is meant by a *variety of masses or liturgies*, which the author of the catalogue alluded to. Usher says of him (*p.* 916); “*Et Missae quidem sive publicae liturgiae unum et eundem ritum initio a Patrio huc introductum, et a discipulis illius ipsius observatum ille notat.*” And with regard to the variety afterwards introduced he adds (*p.* 917); “*in quo (secundo ordine) ut et in tertio diversas Missas, sive dissimiles Liturgias formulas, in Hibernia receptas*

fuisse idem indicat." Here we see the man of learning, without ranting against popery. But where are such men to be found in our days? We have Ledwiches enough but no Usher. The unfortunate Doctor has, by his stumbling on this subject, overturned the fabric which he was striving to raise. One of the chief objects of his book is to shew, that the Irish had no connection with Rome, and that they detested the *Romish corruptions*, for more than ten centuries (See *p.* 360.) He meant to say, I suppose, until later than the tenth century of the Christian era; for were the ten centuries to be reckoned from the time at which they first became Christians, the detestation of Rome would have continued to a late period indeed. According to his explanation of our author's text every thing was right and free from *Romish corruptions*, as long as there was but one Mass; consequently the *corruptions* crept in together with the variety of Masses. Thus then they began as early as about the year 542, when the second class of saints made its appearance; for this class celebrated not one, but divers Masses. Hence it follows that the Finnians, Kierans, Columbkil, &c. were, as the Doctor must allow, staunch Romanists, and that the detestation of Popery ceased about 500 years sooner than he would elsewhere fain make us believe. It is a true saying that *liars ought to have good memories*.

(54) The paschal and tonsural questions will be treated of hereafter.

(55) "Mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant; quia super petram Christum fundati, ventum tentationis non timebant." Nothing can be plainer than the meaning of this passage. Those holy bishops did not scruple to be attended occasionally by females, or even to employ them as servants; nor did they refuse to converse with or sit in the company of women in the same manner as our Saviour had done. Ware says (*Opusc. S. Patr. p.* 124.) that the author was wrong in this assertion; because, as Jocelin relates, St. Patrick had decreed, that religious persons of different sexes should not be allowed to live together in one house; which was certainly ordered, as to monks and nuns, in the 9th canon of the Synod of Patrick, Auxilius, &c. as also that they should not drive in one curricule, nor hold frequent conversations with each other. Yet there is no contradiction between this canon and the words above quoted. The author of the catalogue was speaking of bishops, persons of a mature age and long habituated in the rules of exemplary conduct. The regulations relative to monks and

nuns, many of whom were young and merely in a state of training unto a virtuous life, do not apply to bishops, who, by their very station, are obliged to mix with the world, and consequently to converse often with females. The situation of monks and nuns, on the contrary, requires a great degree of seclusion from the world, and there is seldom any necessity for such religious persons of both sexes to hold conversations together; but when any just cause might occur for such conversations, St. Patrick did not prohibit them, whereas the canon refers to *frequent* ones, held *assiduc*. Ledwich comes forward, (*p.* 418) with an explanation of that passage, which is so ridiculous, that it is strange how it could have come into any man's head. He says the meaning of it is that those bishops were *married and not subject to temptation*. Another opportunity will occur for demonstrating that our bishops were not married in those days; but let us now examine a little this shameful perversion of the text. It states that the bishops did not shun the society of women because, *being founded on Christ, they did not fear the blasts of temptation*. Surely any one of common sense would conclude from these words that they were not married, and that, notwithstanding, they were not afraid to converse with women, or to be attended by them, owing to the strength of their virtue. According to the Doctor's interpretation the passage would run thus; "They did not shun the company of women, because, being *founded on the rock Christ*, that is, *married*, they did not fear, &c. Thus then our Saviour, the rock, is transformed in matrimony. Or the Doctor meant to say, that they got themselves married, *because they did not fear the wind of temptation!!!* How would Sancho have startled, had he heard his master assign such a reason for entering into the married state? But our Doctor's flights exceed those of Don Quixote. We all know that very many persons marry because they are in dread of temptation; and I believe that this is the motive, which induces the far greater part of good Christians, according to the advice of St. Paul (1 *Cor.* VII. 9.), to embrace that state. It was reserved for Ledwich to let the world know, that in old times even bishops used to take wives to themselves, because they *did not fear the wind of temptation*. *Apage!*

(56) See below *Not.* 62 to *Chap.* XII.

(57) Ledwich (*p.* 419) distorts this plain statement into a fiction of his making, viz. that bishops were less honoured than abbots.

(58) As religious houses were multiplied, and the members of them became more numerous, some new regulations were added to the primitive simple system of rules. These additional statutes varied according to the discretion of the founders or superiors of the establishments, or as particular circumstances required, whereas every religious community, with few exceptions, was governed within itself; which system continued in Ireland later than in many other countries. While the rule of St. Basil was generally adopted by the Greek monks, and that of St. Benedict was received in the greatest part of the Western church, the founders of our monasteries were at liberty to make peculiar regulations, without confining themselves to any rule already established by others. Yet on the whole they adhered to the original plan introduced by St. Patrick, according to which the religious houses in Ireland were both monasteries and colleges, in which the sciences, particularly theological, were taught, and young men educated for the active service of the church, and in this respect the monastic system of Ireland differed from that of Egypt, and from the Benedictine institution as originally formed and formerly observed.

(59) Having treated at large of these three eminent men, I will now merely observe that from this passage it is clear that they were contemporaries with the second class of Irish saints, and with each other. Thus then St. David must have lived for several years later than 544, otherwise he would have been dead about the very time that this class was beginning to appear. Gildas, or, as our author calls him, Gilla must have been in high repute with the saints of that class, and looked up to by them as a senior, and experienced teacher. How can this be understood in the system of Usher, who makes him (*p.* 953) his Gildas Badonicus? For, this pretended Badonicus, who, he says, was born in 520, would have been a stripling, compared with the Finnians and some others of that class. The Gildas, so much respected by those saints, must have been he who had taught at Armagh, and whom Usher calls *Albanus*. But *Albanus*, according to him, had died in 512. The only way to get rid of these difficulties is to admit that there was but one Gildas, as, I think, has been sufficiently proved already. As to *Docus*, whom Usher passes over very slightly, who could he have been except *Cadoc* of *Lancarvan*, the contemporary and intimate friend of Gildas? (*See Not.* 176 to *Chap.* ix.)

When it is said that our saints received a mass, or liturgy, from St. David, &c. this must be understood only of some of them, whereas it is known that others followed that, which had been introduced by St. Patrick, for instance Comgall of Bangor. (See Usher, *p.* 917.) Cressey has mistranslated (*B. xi. ch.* 19) the passage, and makes the author say that those saints received the rite of celebrating Mass from David, &c. as if the Irish had no Mass before. Was this a wilful mistranslation?

(60) “*Abnegabant mulierum administrationem, separantes eas a monasteriis.*” This regulation was considered adviseable and necessary, after the monasteries or colleges became crowded with young students. We have seen that St. Senan, who lived in the times of the second class, had introduced it into his establishment of Iniscatthy. It was enforced also in those of St. Carthag at Lismore, St. Molua, St. Fechin, and others. (See Usher, *p.* 943. *seqq.*) until at length it became a general rule, which is observed to this very day in all the monasteries and convents of men, episcopal seminaries, and very many colleges in the Continent. Some of the superiors of our Irish communities would not allow women to enter even the churches or chapels belonging to them. This was not doing them any injury, whereas such churches or chapels were originally intended for the use of the monks alone, while the laity of both sexes had the parish churches to resort to. The mighty Ledwich sneers (*p.* 420) at the practice of excluding females from the monasteries. How would he like to see boarding schools composed indiscriminately of grown up boys and girls? He says that the separation of the sexes took place in consequence of “*matrimony being interdicted the clergy.*” Thus he allows that ecclesiastical celibacy was enjoined as early as the period of the second class of saints. He tells us that a *manly* religion does not want these sorts of regulations. *Manly religion* is a favourite phrase of his, and matrimony a subject which he recurs to with delight. I hope he does not consider matrimony as the quintessence of Christianity, and that he does not hold the future joys, to which he may aspire, in the same light as those of the Mahometan paradise.

(61) The author, in arranging the names of these saints, seems to have had in view, at least partly, the order of seniority. Yet there appear some exceptions to this rule. Nesson, *ex. c.* is

named after others, than whom he was older. Endeus, if however he was Enda of Arran, should have been placed in the foremost part of the list, if seniority was the only rule, which the author intended to follow.

§. v. Before we enter into this detail, it will not be amiss to observe that Tuathal, towards the end of whose reign the second class of saints began, was killed in the year 544 by Moelmor, who was soon after put to death by Tuathal's friends. (62) He was succeeded in the monarchy by Diermit (the first) son of Cervail or Kerrbheoil, and a prince of the royal house of Neill Neigilliach. The reign of Diermit lasted until the year 565. (63) To come to the saints of the second class the first mentioned are two Finnians, the more distinguished of whom was the great teacher at Clonard. The history of this illustrious man has been already (64) brought down to the time, that he formed his establishment in that place, which was probably about A. D. 530. His reputation was so great for learning and sanctity, (65) that crowds of students and distinguished persons flocked to his school and monastery, among whom are mentioned (66) the two Kierans, Columkill, Colum of Tirdaglas, &c. Yet there is, I dare say, some exaggeration in what is said of his having had, in the course of his teaching, three thousand scholars. (67) Several writers speak of him as not only abbot but bishop of Clonard; (68) yet it is rather odd that, neither in his Acts nor in the Irish Calendars, is he called a bishop. We find him thus designated in one or two lives of other saints; (69) and Senachus, his successor in the government of the house of Clonard, was certainly one. (70) That Clonard was an ancient episcopal see, cannot be called in question; (71) but I confess I entertain a doubt whether Finnian or Senachus was its first bishop. Be this as it may, Finnian was distinguished not only for his extraordinary learning and knowledge of the holy

scriptures, but likewise for his great sanctity and austere mode of living. His usual food was bread and herbs ; his drink water. On festival days he used to indulge himself with a little fish and a cup of beer or whey. He slept on the bare ground, and a stone served him as a pillow. (72) He was attended in his last illness by St. Columb son of Crimthan, (73) or, as otherwise known, St. Columb of Tirdaglas, and died at Clonard in the year 552, on, as some accounts state, the 12th of December. (74)

(62) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 4.* O'Flaherty agrees with Ware and Usher as to A. D. 544, being the year of Tuathal's death, although he supposed his reign to have lasted 11 years. (See *Not. 192 to Chap. ix.*) Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p. 447.*) that Tuathal was killed in the 11th year of his reign, which, following the 4 Masters, he makes the same as A. D. 538 (539). There can be little doubt that O'Flaherty's calculation is more correct.

(63) Ware, *loc. cit.* and Usher *Ind. Chron.*

(64) *Chap. ix. §. 8.*

(65) He was called Finnian the *Wise* ; and one of the writers of his Life, quoted by Usher, (*p. 1046*) says that he was chief among the saints of the second class, alluding to his name appearing at the head of the list.

(66) Finnian's *Acts at 23 Feb. cap. 19.* See also Usher, *p. 909.* Among the persons mentioned here and there as having attended Finnian's lectures, we find some, *ex. c.* Brendan of Clonfert, who, if it be true that they did so, must have been rather advanced in life at that time.

(67) In the Lauds for Finnian's office we read ; " *Trium viro- rum millium—Sorte fit doctor humilis.*" This passage is not to be understood as if he had all that number of scholars at one time, but of the whole of those, whom he taught at Clonard from his commencement there until the time of his death.

(68) Ware (Bishops at *Meath*) calls Finnian the first bishop of Clonard. Harris adds that he was promoted in the year 520. For this date he had no authority, except Usher's assigning to that year Finnian's return to Ireland. But Usher does not bring him

to Clonard until 544. It is true that Usher was wrong in this date, (See *Not.* 132 to *Chap.* ix.) but Harris had no right to place Finnian bishop at Clonard until he was settled there; which, although not so late as 544, was certainly later than 520. Ledwich (*Antiq.* p. 401) refers to Harris for this date of the see of Clonard, and throws out of his own what Harris has not, *viz.* that Clonard was the oldest see in Meath. On the contrary Harris (*Bishops at Meath*) and Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 29.) makes express mention of older sees in that country, such as that of Secundinus at Dunshaughlin, Kenan at Duleek, and Erc at Slane, of which we have treated already.

(69) On this point Adamnan would be an unexceptionable witness, if the holy bishop Findbarr, Finnio, or Vinnian, with whom he tells us more than once that St. Columba had spent some time, were the same as Finnian of Clonard. But there is every reason to think, that he was Finnian of Maghbile, whom we find called by other writers *Findbarr* or *Finnbarr*, that is, *White-haired*; which name, as far as I can discover, does not occur where Finnian of Clonard is undoubtedly spoken of. There is indeed an affinity between the names, and a person of the name of *Findbarr* might be called *Finnian* or *Finnio*, that is, *whitish* or *fair*, as Adamnan himself has shown; but it does not follow, that every Finnian could be called *Findbarr*, whereas a person might be of a fair complexion without having white hair. It is certain that Columba studied under Finnian of Maghbile, although he might have been also at the school of Clonard. In the life of St. Columb of Tirdaglass quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 404) Finnian of Clonard is expressly called bishop. He seems to be also the bishop Finnian mentioned in the life of St. Colmanel or Colman, son of Beogni. (*Ib.* p. 405.)

(70) Hence, as likewise from some successors of Senachus at Clonard, having been bishops, Colgan argues (*AA. SS.* p. 402.), that Finnian had been one also. This, however, is not a necessary consequent; and it deserves to be remarked that in the list of the superiors of that establishment given by the 4 Masters (*ib.* p. 406.) Finnian, who appears first, is styled simply *abbot*, whereas Senachus, who is placed next after him, is marked as *bishop*, and then some abbots, after whom again some named bishops.

(71) As Clonard was an episcopal see since, at least, the times

of Senachus, who died in the year 588, and as the prelates of that place were, at a later period, sometimes called the Comarbans or successors of Finnian, it became natural to suppose, that he had been bishop there. Thus we may account for his being called by that title in some tracts written long after his death. And hence perhaps the mention of his episcopal dignity in the prayer for his Office, although there is not the least allusion to it in the lessons. The prayer, as it now appears, is certainly a later composition than the other part of that Office.

(72) Finnian's Acts, *cap.* 31.

(73) *Ib.* *cap.* 20.

(74) The Annals of Innisfallen have; "A. 551 (552) *Quies Finin Cluainard.*" They are followed by Usher and Ware, and their authority is, I believe, (See below, *Not.* 236.) preferable to that of the 4 Masters, who place his death in 548 (549) on no better authority, I suspect, than the supposition that he was swept away by the plague, that raged in that year. (See *AA. SS.* p. 150.) In the Acts of St. Columb of Tirdaglas, quoted by Colgan (*ib.* p. 404) we read that Finnian, finding *his end approaching*, sent for him; but no allusion is made to any plague or great mortality. Archdall thought fit (at *Clonard*) to follow the 4 Masters. Colgan pretends (*ib.* p. 406.) that Finnian must have been alive in 563, the year in which Columbkil left Ireland; because Adamnan relates (*Vit. S. Col. L. 3. c. 2.* Messingham's *ed.* or *c. 4.* Colgan's *ed.*) that just before his departure for Britain he paid a visit to his old master the bishop Finnio. For the same purpose Colgan refers also to some silly stories concerning the cause of Columbkil's quitting Ireland and his applying for penance to bishop Finnio; which stories Usher has given (*p.* 902 *seqq.*), and Harris copied in part (*Bishops*, p. 136). It is odd that Usher did not animadvert on those fables, particularly as he thought (*p.* 954) that said bishop Finnio was Finnian of Clonard. As to said fables, we will see elsewhere. Meanwhile I allow that bishop Finnio, mentioned by Adamnan, was alive in 563, a circumstance which Usher must have overlooked when he lays down as the same with our Finnian, whose death he assigns to 552. The fact is that the bishop Finnio of Adamnan was Finnian of Maghbile, as Colgan himself states elsewhere (*Tr. Th.* p. 372 and *AA. SS.* p. 644.). The memory of Finnian of Clonard was celebrated on, at least, three days in the year, one of which was the 23d of

February. On this account Colgan has given one of his lives at this day, having intended to publish another at December 12, which, he says, seems to have been his *Natalis* or day of his death. (See *AA. SS.* p. 402. and compare with *Not.* 237, to this chapter.)

§. VI. The second Finnian was the bishop and abbot of Maghbile (Moville) in the now county of Down. (75) This saint, who is often called Findbarr, was son of Corpreus of the princely house of the Dalfiatach; and his mother's name was Lassara. (76) They were undoubtedly Christians; for Finnian was, as we have seen, (77) when very young, placed under the care of St. Colman of Dromore, by whom he was afterwards recommended to the abbot Caylan. This holy man directed him to the great school of Nennis in Britain, (78) concerning which we have treated already. (79) From Finnian's having been a pupil of Colman it may be safely deduced that he was born about the beginning of the sixth century. Having spent some time at Nennio's school, it is said that for his further improvement he went to Rome, where, he studied for seven years and was raised to the priesthood. (80) At what precise time he formed his establishment at Maghbile I do not find recorded; but most probably it was not later than the year 540, whereas Columbkil was young at the time of his studying there under Finnian. (81) On what occasion or when he was raised to the episcopal rank we are not informed; yet no doubt can be entertained of his having been a bishop. (82) He was not, however, the same as St. Frigidianus, bishop of Lucca in Italy, as some writers have imagined. (83) Not to enlarge upon what is said of St. Frigidian's parents having been pagans, and his stealing away from them, which by no means accords with what we know concerning the early years of Finnian, it is sufficient to observe that Frigidian, after an episcopacy of 28 years, died at Lucca, where his remains were disco-

vered in the reign of Charlemagne (84); whereas it is certain that Finnian was buried at Maghbile, where his tomb used to be resorted to as distinguished by miracles. (85) Add that the *Natalis* of Frigidian, or the day of his death, was constantly marked the 18th of March, while that of Finnian was the 10th of September. (86) The confusion now alluded to has given rise to useless questions concerning the year of Finnian's death; (87) which, according to very respectable authority, occurred in the year 576. (88) I pass over some very uncertain anecdotes relative to proceedings of his, (89) and shall only conclude his history with observing, that his memory was highly revered in the territory properly called *Ullagh* or *Ulidia*, and that he was considered the peculiar patron saint of the people of that country. (90)

(75) Besides Maghbile in Down another place of the same name in Donegal is spoken of, where it is said, there was also a monastery. On this obscure and confused subject I have nothing to add to what has been said already. (*Not.* 17 to *Chap.* vi.)

(76) *AA. SS.* p. 649. (77) *Chap.* ix. §. 1.

(78) See *Not.* 189 to *Chap.* viii.

(79) *Not.* 17 to *Chap.* ix. (80) Usher p. 954.

(81) It is an undoubted fact that Columbkil studied in the monastery of Maghbile. According to his Life by O'Donnel (*L.* 1. c. 39) this was the first high school, to which he repaired after his boyhood. In the account of the miracle of water changed into wine for the service of the altar, the officiating bishop, whom Adamnan (*L.* 2. c. 1) calls *Findbarr*, is in this Life (*loc. cit.*) said to have been Finnian of Maghbile. Keating also (*B.* 2.) speaks of him as the master of Columbkil when young, and tells us that it was at his school that the latter got this name instead of his original one *Crimthan*.

(82) Besides the testimony of Adamnan (See *Not.* 69.) we have the authority of various Irish hagiologists (*AA. SS.* p. 643), who call him *bishop of Maghbile*. And in the Life of St. Comgall of Bangor he is thus spoken of; "Vir vita venerabilis, S.

Findbarrus episcopus, qui jacet in multis miraculis in suæ civitate Maghbile."

(83) Colgan undertook to support this hypothesis at March 18, where he has two so called lives of St. Frigidian or Fridian, bishop of Lucca. These lives were patched up, as Colgan admits, at a very late period, and are much like each other. Some circumstances are mentioned, which seem to show that the authors had confounded Frigidian with Finnian; *ex. c.* his having been at the school of Candida (*Candida casa*) in Britain, on which occasion they relate a story of his master Mugentius having, through envy, made an attempt to take away his life. They mention also his having been at Maghbile. In the second life the analogy is carried still further; for it is there stated that Fridian's first name was *Findbarr*. Hence it appears probable, that the traditions concerning Fridian and Finnian were jumbled together as if they had been relative to one person. It may perhaps be allowed that St. Fridian or Frigidian of Lucca, who was certainly a native of Ireland, had been educated at Maghbile under Finnian. The time, in which he lived, and his having been an Ulster man, agree very well, as will be seen elsewhere, with this supposition.

(84) See the Office for St. Frigidian, 18 *Mart*.

(85) See *Not.* 82 and *AA. SS.* p. 643. (86) *AA. SS. ibid.*

(87) Colgan endeavoured to show that St. Frigidian, whom he confounded with Finnian, died about A. D. 595. His conjectures are founded, in great part, on this confusion. But as they were distinct persons, it would be a waste of time to examine Colgan's calculations, some of which are quite wrong and others very doubtful. Archdall not only followed them (at *Moville* in Down), but amidst other trash has stated in a positive manner, that Finnian was buried at Lucca in 595. Ughalli (*Italia Sacr. ad Ep. Luccases*) places the death of St. Frigidian in 588.

(88) The Annals of Innisfallen have; "A. 576. Quies Finin Maghbile." Perhaps this must be understood of the year 577, whereas under the same date they place the death of Brendan of Clonfert, who died in 577.

(89) One of the most remarkable is a pretended dispute between him and Columbkil concerning the right to a copy of some part of the Scriptures. In O'Donnel's Life of the latter, (*L. 2. c. 1.*) a great repository of doubtful traditions, this dispute

is said to have begun at a place called Droimfionn, where Finnian then happened to be. Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p. 451*) that the church of Droim-fionn is in the county of Louth and diocese of Armagh. What Colgan calls a Church Archdall has transformed into a monastery, and tells us that Finnian was bishop and abbot there. In several Irish Calendars there is not the least allusion to any such monastery as belonging to Finnian. He is constantly called Finnian of Maghfile, without the addition of any other place. Droimfionn, whoever erected a church there, was perhaps the same as Dromyn in the barony of Ardee, county Louth.

(90) Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 646*) quotes to this purpose the *Sal-tair-na-rann* of Aengus Kelideus. We have already seen that Ulidia comprized only some of the Eastern parts of modern Ulster and chiefly of the now county of Down.

§. 7. Next come the two Brendans, one of whom, *viz.* Brendan, commonly called *of Clonfert*, was more celebrated than the other. The accounts, which are to be met with here and there concerning this great man are extremely confused. In the first place opinions are different as to the place of his birth. Some writers make him a native of Connaught; (91) but this is a mistake founded on his having erected a monastery at Clonfert, in which he spent the latter part of his life, and whence he got the name, *Brendan of Clonfert*. According to the more ancient and consistent authorities he was born in Kerry. (92) His father was Finloga, of the distinguished family of Hua Alta. (93) Brendan came into the world in the year 484, (94) and is said to have received the first rudiments of his education under a bishop Ercus, (95) who was, perhaps, the celebrated bishop of Slane, and who, being of a Munster family, (96) might have been connected with that of Brendan. But, as more than one bishop Ercus is spoken of as being in those early times, and particularly in Munster, (97) no decisive opinion can be formed on this subject. How long Brendan remained under the

care of that bishop I cannot discover. (98) Next we are told that, when a *young* man, he studied theology under St. Iarlath of Tuam, who was then *old*, and *infirm*. This statement cannot be reconciled with what is known concerning the times, in which Iarlath flourished, and nothing more can be allowed than that these two saints, being contemporaries, used to confer with each other on religious and theological subjects, or that Brendan, although about the same age with Iarlath, had perhaps attended to his lectures for some time. (99) In somewhat like manner must be understood what is said of Brendan's having been at the school of Clonard; (100) whereas it is very probable that he was not younger than Finnian, who taught there. To atone for the death of a person who had been drowned in the sea, and to which Brendan feared he had involuntarily contributed, he is said to have gone, by the advice of St. Ita, (101) to Britain, by which is to be understood not Great Britain, but Brittany. (102) Having paid a visit to Gildas, who was then living in that country, and advanced in years, (103) he went to another part of Brittany and formed a monastery or school at Ailech. (104) It is added, that he erected a church in a place, called *Heth*, somewhere in the same province. The famous voyages of St. Brendan would, were we to admit one account of them, have taken place after his arrival in Brittany, as if it were thence he set out on his wonderful expedition in search of the *land of promise*. (105) But, according to the Irish accounts, they were undertaken from a port in Kerry, and had been terminated before he set out for Brittany. (106) Although the narrative of these voyages abounds with fables, (107) yet it may be admitted that Brendan sailed, in company with some other persons, towards the West, in search of some island or country, the existence of which he had heard of. (108) As to the result of the expedition, whether real or not, its duration, and the wonderful ad-

ventures said to have occurred, the reader will not expect any inquiry in this place. (109) How long St. Brendan remained in Brittany we are not informed; but it seems that he founded the great monastery of Clonfert (110) not long after his return thence to Ireland. For this monastery and several others connected with it he drew up a particular rule, which was so highly esteemed that it has been supposed to have been dictated by an Angel. (111) He is said to have presided over three thousand monks, partly at Clonfert, and partly in other houses of his institution in various parts of Ireland, (112) all of whom maintained themselves by the labour of their hands. (113) He established a nunnery at Enach-duin, over which he placed his sister Briga. (114). He is said also to have erected a cell in an island in that neighbourhood, called *Inis-mac-hua-Cuinn*, or Inisquin. (115) According to some writers Brendan was a bishop and the first at Clonfert; but it is more probable that he was not; (116) nor do any of our old writers give him that title, while they usually call him only *abbot*. (117) At a late period of his life he paid a visit to Columbkil in one of the Western isles off Scotland. (118) There is reason to think that, some years prior to his death, St. Brendan retired from Clonfert to a place of less bustle and care, perhaps to Inisquin. (119) This much is certain that he died in his sister's monastery at Enach-duin on the 16th of May in the year 577, and 94th of his age. (120) From that place his remains were conveyed to Clonfert, and there interred. (121) Besides the Monastic rule, some writings have been attributed to this saint, with an account of which, as they rest on very doubtful authority, (122) I shall not trouble the reader.

(91) Hanmer, *Chronicle*, &c. p. 107. *New Ed.* Usher seems to have thought that he was born at Clonfert; for he says (p. 533) that Brendan died there in *his own country*; “ Clonafartae in pa-

tria sua obiit." Yet elsewhere (p. 955), when expressly treating of him, he does not call Clonfert the place of his birth, but merely of his residence, and tells us that he died at Enachduin in Connaught.

(92) A passage of the Tripartite life of St. Patrick (*L. 3. c. 47*), already referred to, (*Chap. vi. §. 8*) is decisive on this point. In it we are informed, that St. Patrick being in the South of Ireland, foretold that the great Brendan would be born in West Munster, that is, Kerry. Hence Ware was right (*Antiq. cap. 29* at *Ardfert* and *Writers* at Brandon) in making him a native of that country. (See also Harris, *Bishops at Ardfert*.) A very old tradition confirms this statement; and we find that the church of Ardfert was dedicated under his name. Keating (Book 2) calls him *Brendan Ardfeartha*. A writer of his life, quoted by Harris (*Writers ch. 15*) says that he was born in *Stagnili regione Mimenensium* (Mumonansium). Brandon hill has been so called from this saint. (See Smith's *History of Kerry*, p. 26.)

(93) Tripart. *loc. cit.* and *AA. SS. p. 89*.

(94) Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(95) Ware having read *Ertus* for *Ercus*, was inclined to think that the prelate, who took Brendan under his care, was a bishop of Ardfert, particularly as Brendan was a native of Kerry. Harris imagined that the name *Ardfert* might have been derived from this bishop Ert, as if signifying the *High place of Ert*. But the bishop's real name was *Erc*, *Ercus*, or *Hercus*, as we find it more than once in the Acts of Brendan. (See *AA. SS. p. 74*) Hanmen calls him *Hercus*.

(96) See *Chap. VIII. §. 4*. Ercus of Slane occasionally visited his relatives in Munster.

(97) In the Acts of Senan of Inniscatthy a bishop Ercus is mentioned as having been a disciple of his. But a disciple of Senan could not have been a bishop when Brendan was a boy. Colgan has (*AA. SS. p. 540*) Ercus a bishop at Domnach-mor-muighe Luadhat in Hy-Faolain (the territory of the O'Phelans and part of the Decies in the county of Waterford); and (*Tr. Th. p. 544*) reckons among the relatives of St. Ercus of Slane a bishop Ercus of the noble house of Corb, which, as appears from other circumstances, resided in the Decies or Nandesi country. In Colgan's *Index* to *AA. SS.* Ercus the master of Brendan is

distinguished from Ercus of Slane; and yet (*p.* 309, *ib.*) he identifies them by making Brendan's master the same as the Ercus, who died A. D. 512 (513), viz. Ercus of Slane. (See *Not.* 30 to *Chap.* ix.)

(98) According to a Life of Brendan, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS.* *p.* 74) he was only about six years old when Ercus took him under his care. If this be true, we must suppose that he spent several years with him, as many at least, as were requisite for completing his elementary studies.

(99) Iarlath of Tuam is reckoned, as has been seen, among the saints of the second class, and accordingly began to be distinguished after the year 540. Now, if we were to admit the above mentioned story, it would follow that he was dead by that time. Usher was so led astray by it that he made Iarlath flourish in the year 500 (*Ind. Chron.*) as indeed must have been the case if Brendan had, in his youth, been a scholar of his. In like manner that story induced Ware to state (*Bishops at Tuam*), that Iarlath flourished about the beginning of the sixth century. To this Harris added that Iarlath died about A. D. 540; because honest Colgan, in endeavouring to reconcile the story of Iarlath having been old, when Brendan was young, with the fact of his having belonged to the second class of saints, threw out a conjecture that he might have lived until that year. But, if he died so early, how could he have been placed among men, who began to be eminent about and after that very time? Or, if he was old and feeble at the beginning of the sixth century, are we to suppose that he was alive 40 years later? Ware was more correct, (*Writers at Iarlath*) where he says that he flourished in the year 550, as his Latin original has it; although (owing perhaps to an error of the press) the English translation, which has been followed by Harris, has 540. There is nothing more usual, nor at the same time more perplexing, at least to me, in many of the acts of our saints, than their making them either masters or pupils of certain eminent men in spite of the clearest chronological data.

(100) Acts of Finnian, *cap.* 19. (See *Not.* 66.)

(101) This celebrated virgin, of whom more will be seen hereafter, was greatly attached to St. Brendan, and seems to have been a

relation of his. Her nunnery of Cluain-credhail, in the West of the county of Limerick, was near the place where Brendan was born. It is said that, when he was a year old, bishop Ercus placed him under her care, and that he was reared by her for five years. If there be any truth in this narrative, it must be understood of some time when St. Ita was still young and before she was old enough to preside over a nunnery. For, if we are to suppose that she was governing it, when Brendan was only a year old, viz. in the year 485, it will follow that she must have been born as far back as, at least, 460; whereas it will be admitted that, as abbess, she could not have been less than 25 years of age. Now, as St. Ita died in 570, it would follow, that she lived to the extraordinary age of 110, for which we have no authority. Accordingly what is said of the infant Brendan having been reared in her nunnery cannot stand; and indeed the whole matter, however explained, is very doubtful, although it is certain that a great intimacy existed between those two saints.

(102) Usher says (*p.* 532) that Brendan became abbot of Lhancarvan, having succeeded Cadoc. This cannot be reconciled with the history of Cadoc's transactions (See *Chap.* ix. §. 11.) nor with what Usher himself admits, viz. that Cadoc's successor was Ellenius. (*Ind. Chron.* ad A. 514.) What he adds about Brendan having baptized St. Machut or Maclovius, who afterwards came bishop of Alectum or Aletha (near St. Malo) in Brittany, is very doubtful. Usher tells us that the child Machut was baptized in the country of Glamorgan and afterwards educated by Brendan. Now Lobineau states (*Hist. de Bretagne, Tom.* 11. *p.* 75.) that he was born in Brittany, as appears also from his Life by Sigebert of Gemblours (in Surius at November 15), in which we read that he was born "*citra oram Britannici maris,*" that is, on the French side of the British sea, or of the sea of Brittany, this being the country meant throughout the whole Life, by Britannia. Then we are told that his father was a Count of the name of *Guent*, who founded the town called *Gimicastrum*. This was the same as *Giemum castrum*, *alias* *Giemacum*, now *Gien*, a town on the Loire in the diocese of Auxerre. (See *H. Vales. Not. Gall. at Giemum.*) If Maclovius was baptized by Brendan (of which, by the bye, there is nothing in the Life now referred to), it must have been, I believe, in that country, and in or near

Alectum; whereas, according to Lobineau, he was a native of the very district, of which he was afterwards bishop. That he was a disciple of Brendan is generally admitted. (See Mabillon *Sec. Bened. Tom. 1. p. 217.*) The Bollandists (at *Brendan 16th May*) ask, was there perhaps an Armorican Brendan? There is no necessity for searching for such a person; and it is to be observed that, among several other corresponding circumstances, the famous voyages, so much spoken of as performed by our Brendan, are ascribed to the master of St. Maclovius. Cressy (*B. xi. ch. 30.*) has confounded him with Brendan of Birr.

(103) Gildas retired to Brittany between, as seems most probable, the years 520 and 530, (See *Notes 167 and 168 to Chap. ix.*) and does not appear to have ever after returned to Great Britain. Brendan's departure from Brittany may be placed between 540 and 550. It was prior to the foundation of the monastery of Clonfert; and Brendan was residing somewhere near the ocean, seemingly in Kerry, when he determined on going to that country. The title of *father*, by which he is spoken of on that occasion, indicates that he was then far from being young. Gildas also was at that time a senior, although not yet very old. Add that Maclovius, who died, according to Lobineau, in 630, cannot be supposed to have been a pupil of Brendan earlier than not long before 550.

(104) Usher, *p. 955.* Ailech is evidently the ancient Alectum, of which St. Maclovius became bishop, and which was the episcopal see of that district, until it was removed to the present town of St. Malo. (See *Not. 75 to Chap. iv.*) Hence it is clear how Maclovius became a pupil of St. Brendan, as above. *Not. 102.*

(105) In St. Maclovius' life by Sigebert these voyages are placed after he had become a pupil of Brendan; and he is represented as having been one of the party of navigators.

(106) In the Acts of Brendan quoted by Colgan, (*AA. SS. p. 74*) we are told that Brendan, having returned from that expedition, used to entertain St. Ita with relating to her his adventures, &c. Then lower down an account is given of the circumstances, which induced that saint to advise him to withdraw to a foreign country and spend some time there; and how, in obedience to that advice he went to Brittany. In Brendan's Acts he

is said to have set out in quest of the land of promise from the foot of the mountain, now called Brandon-hill, that is, I suppose from Brandon bay. (See Colgan, *AA. SS.* at 22 *Mart.*)

(107) Colgan (*loc. cit.*) admits that some parts of the history of that expedition are fabulous, but observe that it is spoken of in Irish documents of the eighth century.

(108) St. Barrinthus, and Mernoc a disciple of his, are said to have been in that country, and it is added that it was the account given of it by Barrinthus that induced Brendan to undertake his voyage. In that account it is represented as a Western country or island, but yet so large that, although they traversed it for 15 days they could not reach the end of it. The direction of Brendan's voyage is said to have been at first *contra solstitium aestivale*, by which, I dare say, was meant the North West point, alluding to the setting of the sun in summer. After 15 days sailing the wind ceased, and the navigators, although there was wind now and then, left the vessel to itself without minding or knowing its course. It might certainly have thus arrived in some part of America; and one would be almost inclined to think, that an idea was then entertained of the existence of a great Western tract of country, far distant from Ireland. It is said that Brendan laid in provisions for 50 days, which shows that the voyage was considered a long one.

(109) The voyages are said to have continued for seven years. Colgan (*Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.*) places the commencement of them in 545. But if they were ever undertaken, Brendan must have set out some years earlier, whereas they were prior to his going to Brittany. And in his Acts it is related that, when arranging matters for the expedition, he paid a visit to St. Enda in Arran and received his benediction. Enda was, most probably, dead before that year. It is natural to suppose that Brendan was, at the time of undertaking such a perilous task, in the vigour of his age, and not yet sixty years old, as he was in the year 545.

(110) *Clonfert* or *Cluainfearta* signifies the *valley of miracles*. Ware (*Bishops and Antiq. cap. 26.*) assigns the foundation of this monastery to A. D. 558. The 4 Masters place it in 553 (554.) The Annals of Innisfallen have A. 562.

(111) Colgan writes (*AA. SS. p. 192*); "Erat hic celebratissimae sanctitatis vir tam in hoc monasterio, quam in aliis plurimis sibi subjectis, trium millium monachorum pater, et Regulæ

monasticæ ab Angelo dictatæ conditor, ut habent Acta et de numero monachorum testantur Petrus de Natalibus," &c. St. Brendan's rule was observed for many centuries by his successors, according to what we read in his Life; "Illa usque hodie manet apud successores S. Brendani." The law or rule of Kieran and Brendan is mentioned more than once in the Ulster Annals, for this reason, it seems, as Nicholson remarks (*Irish Histor. Library, ch. 3.*) that a copy of both their rules was contained in one volume. Concerning the nature of those Irish rules see above *Not. 58.*

(112) See *Not. prec.* Usher, p. 910. Ware, *Ant. cap. 26.* &c.

(113) Ware, *loc. cit.*

(114) Ware, *loc. cit.* Enach-duin, since called *Enaghduine*, was in the district of Huabrain. (Usher, p. 955.) It is now called Annadown, and is situated near Lough Corrib in the county of Galway. In course of time it became a bishop's see but is now united to Tuam. (Usher *ib.* and Harris, *Bishops at Tuam.*) In opposition to a fact so well known Archdall says it was united to Clonfert.

(115) This island is in Lough Corrib, and was famous in the seventh century on account of its monastery, over which St. Meldan presided, and which might have been a continuation of Brendan's establishment.

(116) Ware (*Bishops at Clonfert*) has Moena first bishop of that see. The Ulster Annals, which he quotes, and those of the 4 Masters, place his death in the year, 571, and on the first of March; "Anno 570 (571) S. Moennius episcopus de Cluain-ferta S. Brendani obiit die 1. Marti." (See *AA. SS. p. 489.*) We have already seen (*Not. 17 to Chap. ix.*) how much Colgan was mistaken in thinking that he was the same as the abbot Monennus or Nennio master of Tigernach of Clones. Harris, having followed Colgan, added (at *Clonfert*) some stuff, as usual, to Ware's correct account of Moena. He says Moena's real name was Nennio, and then tells the reader that Colgan has published his life. But the greatest part of this so called *life* or *Acts* (at 1 *Mart.*) belongs not to bishop Moena but to the abbot Monennus, who was a very different person. Colgan has elsewhere (at 26 *Feb.* a bishop Moen or Moena a Briton, who had come from Brittany with St. Brendan on his return to Ireland. It is very probable that he was the bishop of Clonfert. Yet a difficulty occurs from his festival being marked not at the 1st of March but 26th of February. Whether they were the same or not, neither

of them is to be confounded with an abbot Mainus, who is said (*AA. SS. p. 414*) to have lived and died in Brittany.

(117) The only passage of our ancient documents, in which I find any thing seeming to indicate that Brendan was a bishop, is one of the Calendar of Cashel (*ap AA. SS. p. 439*), where Moena is called bishop of Clonfert, and *Comorban* of St. Brendan. Now, as *Comorban* means *successor*, it would seem as if Brendan had been bishop there before Moena. Colgan, who was of this opinion, endeavoured to explain the matter by saying that Brendan resigned the see to Moena, reserving to himself the care of his monasteries. But it is very odd that, while our Annalists and hagiologists make mention of Moena as a bishop, they do not give that title to the far more celebrated Brendan. I suspect there is some mistake in that passage, and that the author's meaning was that Moena was a cooperator with Brendan in the ecclesiastical government of the establishment of Clonfert, and that he had been consecrated bishop for that purpose through his recommendation. Such a great institution, and in which a vast number of young men was educated for the service of the Church, required the assistance and presence of a bishop, in the same manner as there used to be a bishop in Columbkil's monastery of Hy. Or, taking the passage as it now stands, it may be understood of Moena's having succeeded Brendan not as bishop but as abbot; in which case we must suppose that Brendan retired, some years before his death, from the administration of Clonfert, leaving it to Moena, who thus, besides the care of the see, became charged with that of the monastery. And it must be recollected, that the name *Comorban* used to be given to the successors not only of bishops, but likewise of abbots. I find indeed Brendan expressly called a bishop in a *Life of St. Fursa* (*16 Jan.*): but as it was patched up at a very late period, as Colgan admits, probably about the 12th century, its authority is of little weight. As Clonfert was an episcopal see and had been one since St. Brendan's time, it might have thence, through mistake, been concluded that he had been bishop there. In the *Life of St. Ita* (*15 Jan.*) which is really ancient, and in which his name occurs several times, he is called by no higher title than Brendan *abbot in Connaught*.

(118) Adamnan (*Vit. S. Col. L. 3. c. 17. Colgan's ed. and 12. Messingham*.) writes; "Alio in tempore quatuor ad sanctum visitandum Columbam monasteriorum sancti fundatores de

Scotia transmeantes in Hymba eum invenerunt insula, quorum illustria vocabula Comgellus Mocu-Aridi, Cahinnechus Mocu-Dalon, Brendenus Mocu-alti, Cormac nepos Liethain. Brendenus was the Brendan not of Birr, but of Clonfert, whereas, besides Brendan of Birr, the particular friend of Columbkil, being already (*ib. cap. II. al. 8.*) mentioned as dead, he is surnamed *Mocualti*, i. e. of the family of Hua Alta, to which he belonged. And O'Donnel in a parallel passage (*L. 2. c. 106*) calls him Brendan of Clonfert. This visit must have taken place after the year 563. It may be here observed that Adamnan, who is very particular in giving persons their proper titles, does not call Brendan a bishop either in the passage now quoted, or where he speaks of him again in the same chapter.

(119) See *Not.* 117 and *AA. SS. p. 271.*

(120) Usher, *p. 955* and *Ind. Chron.* The Annals of Innisfallen and 4 Masters have A. 576, (*AA. SS. p. 193*) which comes to the same point. Poor Archdall, who seems never to have understood their mode of computation, retained (at *Clonfert*) the 576.

(121) Usher, *ib.*

(122) Such authors as Bale and Dempster are not worth attending to. If any one choose, let him consult Ware and Harris (Writers) and Nicholson (*Ir. H. Libr. ch. 4*). An Irish hymn in praise of St. Brigid was supposed to have been composed by St. Brendan. Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 609*) holds that the author of it was Columbkil.

§. VIII. The other Brendan, who, from the place of his monastery is known by the name of *Brendan of Birr*, was probably born later than the former, although he died before him. He is usually called son of Luaigene, (123) and is stated to have been of a distinguished family of Munster. (124) Concerning his younger days I can discover no particulars, (125) prior to his name appearing among those of the chief disciples of Finnian of Clonard, and in a manner which shews that he was highly esteemed for his sanctity and supernatural gifts. (126) He was intimate with the two Kierans, (127) Brendan

of Clonfert, and chiefly with Columbkil, to whom, as will be seen hereafter, he was very serviceable on a certain important occasion. At what precise time he founded his monastery at Birr (128) is not recorded; but there can be no doubt of its having been established some years prior to A. D. 563, the year in which Columbkil left Ireland, (129) and perhaps before 550. (130) He died on the 29th of November A. D. 571; (131) and his exit was revealed to Columbkil, then in Hy, at the very time it happened. (132) In one of the lives of the latter it is said that St. Brendan had composed some verses concerning his virtues and exemplary conduct. (133) It is certain that those two saints had a great esteem for each other.

(123) Usher having, with Ware and others, so called him (*p.* 955) corrects himself (*p.* 1064) by saying; "For *Luaigne* read *Neim* or *Nemaind* a famous poet." Archdall (at *Birr*) jumbling the whole together calls him "Brendan Luagneus son of Neim, or Nemaind, and a favourite poet," thus making Brendan himself the poet. Yet Usher in his *Ind. Chron.* (ad *A.* 571) again calls him son of *Luaigne*, and even refers to *p.* 1064.

(124) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 544) reckons him among the relations of St. Ercus of Slane and the descendants of prince Corb, who resided in Munster, and in that part of it called the Decies. (See *Not.* 97.)

(125) His Acts, which Colgan intended to publish at the 29th of November, have not, as far as I know, appeared as yet. And the scraps from them, which he has given here and there, are so few and insignificant that scarcely any thing worth while can be gleaned from them. Usher has left us but four or five lines concerning this saint; and, what is very singular, Ware makes no mention of him except at *Writers*.

(126) In the list of Finnian's principal disciples (*Acts of Finnian, cap.* 19.) he is thus characterized; "Brandanus Biorra, qui *pròpheta* in scholis illis et etiam sanctorum Hiberniensium habebatur."

(127) In the first life of Kieran of Saigir (*cap.* 33) Brendan is

spoken of as a friend of his. Hence Colgan drew a most strange conclusion, that he had been a disciple of St. Patrick, and has put him down as such in *Tr. Th.* p. 268; as if, because the story tellers had made Kieran contemporary with our Apostle, Brendan likewise must have been so. Colgan might with equal justice have argued, that Brendan of Clonfert, and even Kieran of Clonmacnois, who was born very many years after St. Patrick's death, had been disciples of his; for in the very same chapter they also are mentioned as friends of Kieran of Saigir, as likewise of Brendan of Birr.

(128) The reader need not be informed that Birr is a town now in the King's county. It was formerly considered to be in Munster; and hence Colgan has (*Ind. Topogr. ad AA. SS.*); "Birra monasterium in Elia in Mumonia."

(129) St. Brendan was a distinguished abbot, when a circumstance occurred relative to Columbkil's proceedings in Ireland. (See Adamnan *L. 3. c. 2. M.'s ed.*) In said chapter we read; "Brendanus illius monasterii fundator, quod Scotice *Birra* nuncupatur," &c.

(130) It is very probable that Brendan was an abbot before the death of his friend Kieran of Clonmacnois, who died in 549. (See below *Not. 28 to Chap. xi.*) The 4 Masters (*AA. SS. p. 192.*) relate that Brendan surnamed *Biorra* was seen rising into the air in the year 553 (554). Hence it would appear, that he was supposed to be at Birr by that time. This anecdote, which is similar to many others mentioned in the lives of saints, has been embellished by Archdall, who makes the saint ascend in a chariot.

(131) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* and Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 193.* Ware (at *Writers*) has 572, from, I suppose, the Annals of Innisfallen, which have A. 571. Ware thought that in this case, as in some others, they anticipated the vulgar era by one year. But it does not appear, that this mode of computation is regularly observed in those annals. Archdall (at *Birr*) has, from what he calls the Munster annals, a story concerning Brendan having lived 300 years, derived, I believe, from his having been confounded with Kieran of Saigir, whose father was, as well as Brendan's, called *Lugneus* or *Luaigne*. (See *Chap. 1. §. 14.*)

(132) Adamnan, *L. 3. c. 8.*

(133) O'Donnel, *Life of St. Columba*, L. 3. c. 41. See also Ware, *Writers*, at *Brendan*.

§. IX. Contemporary with the two Brendans was St. Iarlath of Tuam, who is placed next after them in the second class of saints. (134) He was son of Loga or Lughus of the noble house of Conmacnie, (135) and was born probably about the beginning of the sixth century. He is said to have been a disciple of St. Benignus of Armagh, and even to have received holy orders from him; (136) but this is a palpable mistake and quite irreconcilable with the periods, in which they lived. (137) From this mistake flowed another, viz. that of representing him as old when Brendan of Clonfert was young, (138) as indeed would have been the case had he been ordained priest by Benignus. His first establishment is supposed to have been at Cluanfois, (139) where he formed a monastery and a school, which was resorted to by several students, among whom is reckoned Colman son of Lenine. (140) Thence, by the advice it seems of St. Brendan of Clonfert, (141) he removed to Tuam, where being a bishop, he established his see. Whether he was consecrated before or after his settling there cannot be decided; but it is certain, that he was the first bishop of Tuam, (142) where his memory has been ever since highly venerated, and the cathedral dedicated in his name. (143) Certain prophecies concerning his successors have been attributed to this saint, but they do not bear sufficient marks of genuineness. (144) The year of his death is not known. The day marked for it in several of our Calenders is the 26th of December. (145) He was buried at Tuam, not in the cathedral but in a chapel called *Scrin*, or Shrine.

(134) He is there called *Iairlaithea Tuama*.

(135) Several districts in the Western parts of Ireland went under the name of *Conmacnie*. Harris (*Antiq. ch. 7.*) has among

them a Connacne de Kinel Dubhain, since called *Connacne de Dunmor* in the county of Galway, now the barony of Downamore. As Tuam is in this barony, the Connacne, in which Iarlath's family resided, was probably that now mentioned.

(136) Colgan (*Iarluth's Acts*, 11 February) refers for these stories to the Life of Benignus, and has been followed by Harris, (*Bishops at Tuam.*)

(137) Benignus died in the year 468. How could Iarlath, who, as belonging to the second class of saints, did not become distinguished until about 540, have been a disciple of his? Or are we to believe what is said in said Life of his having received holy orders from Benignus, and being placed over a church by him? In this supposition we should admit that he was born, at the latest, in 438; whereas he must have been, at least, 30 years old, when ordained priest and appointed to the care of a congregation. This fable was built upon its having been recorded that Benignus had preached in Connacne, and other parts of the West. (See *Chap. VIII. §. 1.*) Now as Iarlath was a native of that country, it was thought not wrong to throw him into the number of the disciples of Benignus.

(138) See *Not. 99.*

(139) There was a place of that name not far from Tuam, and Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 308*) says it was *thought* to be that of Iarlath's first monastery. Harris and Archdall have a monastery there, as if the matter were certain. As to the time of said monastery Harris was quite mistaken in assigning it to the 5th century; Archdall comes nearer the truth, placing it about A. D. 540. If it was founded at that time, it is probable that it continued for many years later.

(140) Colman is represented (*AA. SS. p. 309*) as a grown up man, when he went to Iarlath's school. He lived, as will be seen elsewhere, until, at least, the year 601. Now if it be true that he studied under Iarlath, we must bring down that school to, at least, 550, the year in which Ware (*Writers*) says that Iarlath flourished. (See *Not. 99.*)

(141) It is thus, I believe, we are to understand what is said of Brendan directing him to go somewhat to the East, and foretelling that his resurrection would be at Tuam.

(142) I call him merely *bishop* of Tuam, because that see did

not become archiepiscopal until some centuries after the death of St. Iarlath.

(143) Colgan quotes (*AA. SS. p. 310*) the following passage from the Catalogue of the churches of the diocese of Tuam; “*Ecclesia cathedralis Tuamensis, sita Tuamiae, vocatur Tempull Iarlaithe, dicata S. Hierlatio primo episcopo Tuamensi, antequam haec sedes in archiepiscopalem erigeretur.*”

(144) Even Colgan has his doubts concerning them. See *A. A. SS. p. 309.* and Ware and Harris (*Writers.*)

(145) The festival of St. Iarlath was and is still observed in the diocese of Tuam on the 6th of June. Colgan justly remarks that this might be owing to its having been transferred to that day, to prevent its clashing with the feast of St. Stephen. He has given Iarlath's Acts at the 11th of February, not that he thought this was the day of his death, but because Marian Gorman has a St. Iarlath at said day. It is plain that this calendarist, who mentions only one Iarlath, meant St Iarlath archbishop of Armagh.

§. x. In the list of the saints of the second class Comgall, Coemgen, and Kieran are placed next after Iarlath. The order of time requires our treating first of Coemgen, then of Kieran, and thirdly of Comgall, if it be true that St. Coemgen lived to the great age of 120 years; whereas, in this supposition, he should have been born in the year 498. Be this as it may, (146) Coemgen or, as his name is written at present, *Kevin*, (147) was of an illustrious family in the territory of Tirtuathal, the country of the O'Tooles. His father's name was *Coemlog*; and his mother, who was of the princely house of Dal Messincorb, was called *Coemella*. (148) They were Christians, whereas we find it related that Coemgen was, when a child, baptized by Cronan a priest. (149) At the age of seven years he was placed under Petrocus a learned and holy Briton, with whom he remained for five years. (150) Being now twelve years old his parents consigned him to the care of three holy elders Eogan, Lochan, and

Enna, to be educated by them in their monastery or school, in which he applied himself diligently to his studies during three years. (151) Next it is said that he became a disciple of Beonanus a hermit, and afterwards of a bishop Ligidus, who ordained him priest. (152) By the advice of this bishop he is said to have founded a monastery for himself at a place called *Cluain-duach*. (153) Then leaving some of his monks there he repaired to his own country, and formed his chief establishment at Glendaloch, (154) whence in his time or afterwards were derived several other religious houses in Leinster. At what time that monastery was founded is not recorded; but it must have been before A. D. 549, if it be true that he was abbot there when he went to pay a visit to Kieran at Clonmacnois, where he did not arrive until three days after Kieran's death. (155) It is related that on a certain occasion he visited also the three holy abbots Columb, Comgal, and Cainnich, then assembled at Usneach in Meath. (156) Having well arranged the order and discipline of this institution at Glendaloch, he retired (at what period of his life is not mentioned) to the upper part of the valley about a mile from the monastery, and there in a small place, beset with thick trees and refreshed by rivulets, led the life of a hermit for four years, practising the greatest austerities, until at length his monks prevailed on him to return to the monastery. (157) It is said, that when far advanced in years he intended to undertake a long journey, but was dissuaded from so doing by Garbhan a hermit, (158) who told him "that it was more becoming for him to fix himself in one place than to ramble here and there in his old age, as he could not but know that no bird could hatch her eggs while flying." On his end approaching he received the holy viaticum from St. Mochuorog a Briton, who had a cell to the east of Glendaloch. (159) St. Coemgen died on the 3d of June A. D. 618. (160) Although this saint was

most probably not a bishop, yet Glendaloch became not long, it seems, after his death an episcopal see, in consequence of a city having soon grown up near the monastery. (161) Some writings have been attributed to him, but except perhaps a monastic rule, without sufficient authority. (162) How great the reputation of St. Coemgen has been appears from the vast concourse of persons, who for many centuries have continued to repair on the anniversary of his death to Glendaloch, there to celebrate his festival. (163)

(146) The only reason I can discover for placing this saint's birth in 498 is, that he is said to have lived 120 years. As he died in 618, it became necessary to go back for his birth to that year. Yet there are strong motives for doubting of his having been born so early. A brother of his St. Mocuemin, (See *AA. SS.* p. 586) was a disciple of Columba son of Crimthann (*ib.* p. 350) and abbot of Tirdaglas. Now this Columba had been a disciple of Finnian at Clonard and probably did not found his monastery until about A. D. 540. Next, among some nephews of St. Coemgen, by his sister Coeltigerna, or, as some call her, Coemaca, we find St. Dagan of Inverdaoile, who lived until 640, and who does not appear to have reached a very great age. Supposing Dagan to have been born in 565, it is not easy to believe that he was the nephew of a man who was then 67 years old, unless we are to admit a very uncommon disparity between the ages of the saint and his sister. Now it is certain, that Dagan was really a nephew of Coemgen. In the Irish metrical acts of St. Brigid there is a very obscure passage concerning Coemgen, which Colgan has thus translated; "Accesserat ad praelium Coemginus celebris; nivem per tempestatem agitat ventus: Glinndalachae sustinuit crucem, ita ut repererit requiem post tribulationes." This passage has no apparent connexion with what we find in the context as to St. Brigid, unless it should be considered as a sort of comparison between the watchfulness of the two saints. If the author alluded to a transaction in St. Brigid's life time, Coemgen would, according to him, have been a grown up man before her death, and so might justly be supposed to have been born in 498. The

whole matter, however, is so obscure, that I shall say no more about it.

(147) *Coemgen* or *Coemhgen*, which signifies *Pulcher genitus* or *Fair begotten* (Usher p. 956) is the same name as *Kevin*, being thus pronounced in Irish. The letter *M* with the aspirate annexed (either *H* or a point) sounds like *V*. The diphthong *OE* has been generally modified into the single sound *E*. The letter *G* aspirated in the middle of a word almost loses its sound, as in *Tighearna* which becomes *Tierna*. (Vallancey, *Irish grammar*, at *G*.) It is scarcely necessary to add that the Irish *C* was always the same as *K*. I would not trouble the reader with these petty remarks, were I not forced to do so by the impudent and ridiculous quibbles of Ledwich, who in a sort of chapter, full of lies and ignorance, has entered into some details concerning St. Coemhgen and Glendaloch. He says (p. 35) that the name *Coemhgen* was unknown until after the 13th century, and would fain make us believe that it meant not a man but a mountain. And why? Because Giraldus Cambrensis, instead of that name, writes *Keiwin* or *Keivin*, and because in the life of St. Berachus it is spelled not *Coemgen* but *Koemin*, *Coemin*, and even *Caymin*. But are not these in reality all one and the same name, and applied by the authors, to whom Ledwich refers, to the celebrated abbot of Glendaloch? Suppose a person, treating of our mighty antiquary, should write his name *Leadwich*, as an ingenious author, who conceals himself under the signature *Anonymous*, has done; or that even it were written *Leadwig*, it would be immediately understood as the name of the antiquary; unless some one should be so foolish as to think that it was not the name of a man, but of a compound of lead and wig, taking, agreeably to a very usual trope, *wig* for what is contained under it. Similar to this folly is the Doctor's mode of arguing. He was striving to show, that St. Coemgen was neither a saint nor a man, but a mere mountain in the county of Wicklow. And thus he proceeds; "*Keun* is the name of many mountains in Wales noticed by Camden." Then he refers us to Lhuyd (*Adversar.*) who reckons *Ceun*, a Welsh word meaning *back*, among those that enter in the names of mountains. Pray what has this to do with St. Coemgen? It has, says the antiquary, "because the mountain *Keun* at Glendaloch was metamorphosed into St. Kevin." But

where is the mountain Keuin at Glendaloch? And is it thus that this barefaced quack has the effrontery to substitute his lies for history! Or is an accidental likeness between the Welsh word *Ceun* and the name *Kevin* to be received as a proof of the non-existence of a person of the highest reputation, and who is mentioned over and over in numberless documents long prior to the Doctor's 13th century.

(148) *AA. SS. p. 584–586.* Harris, *Writers at St. Coemgen.* Ledwich takes fire (*p. 35*) at the account given by our genealogists of the family, whence this saint was sprung. He says that “to believe that a barbarous people, *naked and ignorant as American Indians*, should have preserved the pedigree of St. Kevin, is too much for the most stupid credulity.” The audacity of this pseudo-antiquary is intolerable. So then in the latter end of the fifth century and in the sixth, when St. Kevin's relatives lived, the Irish were still savages. How then did he forget himself so much as to give a pompous account (*p. 159. seqq.*) of the Irish schools and studies not only in the sixth century, but as far back as the middle of the fifth? Or how could he reconcile that barbarous state of Ireland with his praises of the Asiatic and Greek missionaries, whom he brings at a very early period to Ireland. (See *Chap. 1. §. 5.*) and with his telling us (*p. 357*) that there was certainly a Christian church in Ireland in the fourth and beginning of the fifth century, and that letters were then known and cultivated here? This incoherent charlatan changes his positions according as suits his convenience. When he wishes to keep out Rome and Palladius, and, above all, St. Patrick from any interference with the early christianity of Ireland, he represents the Irish as Christians and civilized long before any one from Rome came among us; but when he takes it into his head to drive a saint, *ex. c.* Kevin, not only out of the calendar but likewise out of existence, he describes them as naked and the greatest of savages even in the sixth century. As to the recording of genealogies, it did not require any great degree of learning, but was practised by the most ancient nations chiefly of the East, from some of whom, together with many other practices, it was derived to the Irish, with whom, as none but an incorrigible sceptic will dare to deny, it was a favourite sort of study. Strange that Ledwich, who is so fond of the Asiatics, could express a disbelief of it, and did not rather use

it as an argument to prove, that we had been instructed by Eastern missionaries. The English translator of Ware's *Writers* has (at *ch.* 13) by a huge blunder made Coemlog a plebeian, because it is said that he lived "in *plebe viz. Dalmoehocael*," that is in the district called by that name.

(149) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* ad A. 498

(150) Usher, *ib.* ad A. 505. and *p.* 10. 8. We have already met with Petrocus (*Chap.* ix. §. 12.), and Usher reckons the 20 years, which he is said to have spent in Ireland, from 498 to 518. His reason for assigning them to this period was, I believe, its being said that Coemgen had been a scholar of his. But, as we have seen, (*Not.* 146) it may be justly doubted whether Coemgen was born as early as 498.

(151) Usher, *p.* 958, and *Ind. Chron.* ad A. 510. Instead of *Eogan*, one of those elders, Harris has (*Bishops at Glendaloch p.* 373) *Dogain*, owing probably to an error of the press. Hence Archdall also has the same name (at *Glendaloch.*) Concerning him and the other two masters of Coemgen nothing further is known; but it may be fairly supposed that they lived not far distant from the residence of his family.

(152) Harris, *Writers at Coemgen*, from a *MS.* Life, which he had got from Louvain. Supposing St. Coemgen to have been born in 498, I know of no bishop Lugidus, by whom he could have been ordained, when arrived at the proper age for priesthood, except Lugadius (same name, I dare say, as *Lugidus*) bishop of Connor. (See *Chap.* ix. §. 13.) But how account for Coemgen's going so far from his own country as the diocese of Connor? There might have been a Leinster bishop Lugidus in the days of Coemgen's youth; and that name was formerly very common in Ireland.

(153) Harris (*loc. cit.*) distinguishes this place from Glendaloch; but Hanmer, who also had a Life of St. Coemgen makes it the same and tells us, (*Chronicle, &c.* *p.* 126. *New Ed.*) that Glendaloch was of old called *Cluayn-duach*.

(154) Harris, *loc. cit.* Ledwich, to make a display of his learning, says (*Ant.* *p.* 33) that *Glendalough* or rather *Glendalough* seems to be an Anglo-Saxon compound, and that the name was derived from the first Firbolgian possessors of the valley, *viz.* the Tuathals or O'Tooles. So then those Firbolgians were Anglo-

Saxons! Oh! mighty antiquary! On this stupid statement it is sufficient to observe, that *Glendalough* is, both as a compound word and in its parts, downright Irish, consisting of *Glen*, valley, *da* two, and *lough* lake. The Doctor need not have gone further than Johnson's dictionary to learn that *glen* and *lough* are originally Irish words, which as well as very many others, have crept into the English language. The place has very appropriately been so called from there being two lakes in the valley. From this circumstance Hoveden (as Harris observes, *Bishops* p. 371) latinized the name of the see, afterwards established there, into *Episcopatus Bistagniensis*.

(155) Harris *loc. cit.* Usher p. 956 and *Ind. Chron.* ad A. 549. I suspect that Coemgen was not an abbot at that time. Yet, not having his Life, I cannot decide on this point.

(156) This visit is placed by Harris (*loc. cit.*) prior to Coemgen's going to Clonmacnois. But it is plain that it must have been some years later, whereas Comgall, as will be seen lower down, was not an abbot, until, at the earliest, A. D. 555.

(157) Harris, *loc. cit.*

(158) This Garbhan, who is called the son of Lugadius to distinguish him from other persons of the same name, had been a disciple of Coemgen and lived near where Dublin is now situated. His memory was revered on the 9th of July. *AA. SS.* p. 751.

(159) It can scarcely be doubted that this was the St. Mogoroc of Delgany mentioned above, *Not.* 202 to *Chap.* VIII. And hence we see that this saint lived in the 7th century.

(160) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* The Four masters have A. 617, which, according to their mode of computation, was the same year. Usher, (p. 956) adds *or the year 622*. If this was the real year of St. Coemgen's death, it will follow that he was born in 502 or late in 501, supposing that he lived unto the age of 120 years. (See *Not.* 146.)

(161) In Coemgen's life we read; "In ipso loco clara et religiosa civitas in honore S. Coemgeni crevit, quae nomine praedictae vallis, in qua ipsa est, *Gleandaloch* vocatur." (See Usher, p. 956.) Colgan treats (at 8 *Mart.*) of St. Libba or Molibba a nephew of St. Coemgen, and calls him bishop of Glendaloch. If he was really such, the antiquity of that see can be traced to the early part of the 7th century; nor do I find any sufficient reason

to controvert Colgan's assertion. As to St. Coemgen, there is nothing in his Life to induce us to think that he also belonged to the episcopal order; but, as the see was ancient, and he the founder of the monastery that gave rise to it, some writers thought that he had been bishop there.

(162) See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Coemgen*. Archdall says (at *Glendalough*) that he wrote a Life of St. Patrick. Where he got his information I cannot discover.

(163) The mighty Ledwich says (*Antiq. p. 46*) that the 9th century was the era of the saintship of St. Kevin. He had already told us that St. Coemgen was not known until after the thirteenth. (See *Not. 147.*) Then he strives to amuse the reader with some legendary stories concerning the saint, as if to prove that, because said stories are unworthy of belief, he never existed. And, to show his deep and exotic learning, he refers to Giraldus Cambrensis, Brompton, and, wonderful to think, even to an Icelandic MS. But do not those very stories prove that St. Coemgen or Kevin was supposed to have been a real person? According to our antiquary's mode of arguing we would be authorized to doubt of the existence of very many of the most celebrated characters of old times, in consequence of the fables, which have been intermixed with their history. In his dull irreligious manner, after placing the saintship, as he calls it, of St. Kevin in the 9th century, he adds, that in the same age St. James was given to Spain and St. Andrew to Scotland. Pray does he believe, that there were such persons as the Apostles James and Andrew? It is difficult to guess at what he believes.

§. XI. Following the order of time, that is, of the years, as far as they can be discovered, in which our saints were born, we have now to treat of St. Kieran of Clonmacnois. (164) This great saint was a native of the province of Meath, although his parents, Beoan and Darerca, were originally from Ulster. (165) He is usually called the *son of the carpenter*, as his father was of that trade. The year of his birth is variously stated; but the most probable account seems to be that, which assigns it to A. D. 507. (166) Kieran is said to have received his early education under a St. Justus, (167)

by whom, according to some accounts, he had been baptized. (168) When rather adult and properly qualified for applying to the higher sort of studies, he became a disciple of Finnian at Clonard. (169) How long he remained at his school we are not informed; but we may justly suppose that it was not for a short time, and that Kieran did not leave Clonard until he was well grounded in ecclesiastical learning. Thence, having received a certificate from Finnian together with his blessing, he repaired to the monastery of St. Nennidius in one of the islands of Lough Erne. (170) This saint, who was surnamed *Laobh-dearc*, and whom we had already an occasion of mentioning, (171) had been also a disciple of Finnian, (172) and, while at his school, might have become acquainted with Kieran. Having founded his monastery in that island called *Inis-muigh-samh*, where, or in a neighbouring district, he became also a bishop, (173) it is not improbable that he invited Kieran to spend some time with him and to assist him in the management of his institution. Kieran was received by him with great joy and remained for some in his monastery. Wishing to improve himself still further in the knowledge and observance of monastic discipline, he went to the great monastery of the Isle of Arran. St. Enda, who still governed it, received him very kindly and employed him for seven years in threshing corn for the use of the community. During that period he was considered as a pattern of piety and sanctity; and Enda is said to have had some visions relative to the extraordinary merit of Kieran, and the number of religious houses, which in course of time would belong to his institution. (174) At the expiration of those seven years he removed, according to one account, to Inniscatthy, where he was charged by St. Senan with the care of providing for strangers. (175) But his liberality to the poor was so great, that he incurred the displeasure of some of the monks, and

accordingly thought it adviseable to quit that monastery. (176) He then proceeded to an island of Lough-rie called *Aingin* or *Angina*, (177) where, having erected a monastery, he was soon surrounded by a vast number of excellent monks. This was his first establishment, the commencement of which is placed by Usher in the year 544. (178) I should rather place it in 542, as thus we will have the seven years, during which, as we are told on good authority, that Kieran was an abbot. (179) He governed that establishment until the year 548, when, leaving the care of it to Adomnan or Domnan a Munster man, he removed to the Western bank of the Shannon, and on a site granted to him by King Dermot founded the great monastery of Clonmacnois. (180) The ground had belonged to Diermit before he became king of all Ireland; but he was already on the throne when Kieran obtained from him as much of it as was necessary for erecting a church and monastery. This prince had a great esteem for St. Kieran, who, it is said, had foretold to him his accession to the sovereignty. At the request of the saint he laid with his own hands the first part of the foundation. It is added that he made a grant of three or four other spots of ground for the use of the establishment. (181) St. Kieran did not long survive the erection of Clonmacnois, having been removed, in the prime of life, to a better world on the 9th of September, A. D. 459. (182) His death was occasioned by a dreadful pestilence, which raged in that year. (183) This saint, although he had risen no higher than to the rank of a priest, (184) was reckoned among the Fathers of the Irish church. (185) His institution, for which he had drawn up a particular rule, (186) was extended after his death to a great number of religious houses; and his memory has been most highly revered, not only in Ireland but likewise in Scotland. (187)

(164) As this St. Kieran was much more celebrated than the one of Saigir, there can be no doubt that he was the person

meant by the author of the catalogue. He omitted the other Kieran as well as many other saints of that period, naming only such as were more generally spoken of. It is proper to caution the reader against an error of the press in the London or folio edition, p. 474 of Usher's *Primordia*, where in the list of the second class *Céranus* occurs instead of *Cemanus*. This erratum might induce a person at first sight to think, that Kieran of Saigir was mentioned in that list. The sequel, however, shows that the name was *Cemanus*.

(165) Kieran's Acts, *cap. 1.* and Colgan, *Tr. Th. p. 181.* To his having been a native of Meath Colgan refers a prophecy attributed to St. Patrick, in which it is said (*ib. p. 145*) that Kieran would be born in the southern parts, that is, relatively to Armagh. This prophecy is mentioned by Jocelin, *cap. 113.* Whether it was pronounced or not is of little consequence; but the denomination of *southern parts* seems to shew that Kieran's birth place was not only in Meath but in a district of it far to the south of Armagh; and it is very probable that it was somewhere in the neighbourhood of where he afterwards established his great monastery of Clonmacnois. This tract was comprized in the ancient Meath. Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Clonmacnois*) say that he was of the sept of the Arads, or of a family from the part of Ulster called Dalaradia. This however does not prevent his having been born in Meath.

(166) The Annals of Innisfallen, which are usually very correct and consistent, have, "A. 506 (507) Nativitas Ciarani filii artificis." Usher calculated that he was born in 516, because he had read in the *Book of Navan* that he lived only 33 years. (See *Pr. p. 909* and 957.) If this were true, Usher's calculation would be right, because it is well known that Kieran died in 549. The authority, however, of that book is of little weight, and it is more than probable, that those 33 years were merely guessed at to make his life of the same length with that of our Saviour, as is observed in said book. In Kieran's Life it was remarked that he died rather young; and thence a conjecture was started that his age might have been 33. The Annals of Ulster in Johnston's Extracts (after *Antiq. Celto. Norm. &c.*) place his birth in 511 (512). This date would give us 37 years for the whole life of Kieran, which number of years is little enough to enable us to

account for his various transactions and for the extraordinary estimation, in which he was held before his death. Yet these points can be better explained in the supposition that he was born in 507; as in this case he would have lived to the age of 42, which while sufficient for the purposes now alluded to, was not long enough for ranking him among persons much advanced in years.

(167) *AA. SS.* p. 113.

(168) In the Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 49.*) this Justus is called a Deacon, and is said to have been a disciple of St. Patrick.

(169) Kieran's Life, *cap. 19.* He is mentioned also in the Acts of Finnian, *cap. 19.* and is the first named in the list of Finnian's eminent scholars; "Kieranus filius artificis, qui *Mac an Tsaoir* dicitur." See more in *AA. SS.* p. 113.

(170) In Kieran's life, *cap. 7.* we find the following passage; "Sanctus enim Kieranus transacta temporis spatio, accepta magistri sui *licentia* et benedictione, ad S. Ninnidium, in quadam sylva stagni Erne commorantem, properavit." Usher, (*p. 1064*) quotes a similar passage from a somewhat different Life. The words, *accepta-licentia*, are in both of them, alluding, I believe, to a certificate or testimonial of learning and good conduct, such as that given in universities to deserving students, who are thence called *licentiates*. Usher places Kieran's departure from Finnian's school in the year 530. (*Ind. Chron.*) This date ill accords with that assigned by him for the birth of Kieran. For, in his hypothesis, Kieran would have then been only 14 years of age. Who will believe that he was so young at a time when he had completed his theological studies, and was probably already a monk? In what is said of him on his arrival at the monastery of Nennidius he appears as such. He was, I dare say, much more than 14 years old, when he first went to Finnian's school; whereas, besides its being related that he was then grown up, *adultioris aetatis*, it can scarcely be supposed that he was less than 18 or 20 when properly qualified for the biblical and theological studies cultivated at Clonard. I am inclined to think, that Kieran did not leave that school as early as 530; and for this reason that it seems not to have been established until about said year or not long before it. (See *Chap. ix. §. 8.*) If a conjecture be allowed, the year of Kieran's departure may be supposed to have been 533 or 534, supposing that he had spent three or four years there. At this time

Kieran would have been 26 or 27 years old, according to the Annals of Innisfallen, an age very usual for the completion of theological studies. But had he been born in 516, as Usher states, he would have been only 17 or 18, an age too premature for such an object. On the other hand, the accounts given of Kieran's subsequent transactions require, that his leaving Finnian's school be not placed later than about A. D. 534.

(171) *Chap. ix. §. 5.*

(172) Finnian's Acts; *cap. 19.* Hence, as before observed (*Not. 80 to Chap. ix.*) it appears how much Colgan was mistaken in confounding him with Nennidius Lamhglan.

(173) Colgan treating (at 18 *Jan.*) of Nennidhius quotes an Irish distich, in which he is called Doctor and Bishop. It is added that he was a descendant of king Leogaire, having been a great grandson of his by his father's side, as Colgan collects from old genealogical tables. He was highly respected, and is reckoned among the chief founders of the Irish monasteries. That his monastic establishment was in the above mentioned island is generally admitted; but as to his episcopal see some of our Calendarists place it at Domnach-mor in Magh-ene, a plane to the South of the river Erne, stretching between the lake and the bay of Donegall, There does not appear to have been a monastery in this place, although Archdall has it in his Monasticon under *Fermanagh*. The probability is that Nennidhius, having governed for some time the monastery in the island, was raised to the episcopal dignity and entrusted with the care of the district, lying along part of the southern bank of Lough Erne and thence to the West. Colgan (*Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.*) makes him a bishop in the year 522. This is a mistake, founded on the supposition that he was the same as Nennidius Lamh-glan the contemporary of St. Brigid. Archdall says (at *Innis-mac-saint*) that he died in 523 or 530. As to 523, there is no authority whatsoever, except a conjecture (*ap AA. SS. p. 114*) that Lamh-glan died in that year. But, as he was a different person, it has nothing to do with the Nennidhius we are now treating of. And as to 530, the foundation for this date is still more pitiful. Colgan quoted Usher as stating (*Ind. Chron.*) that Nennidhius was living in the island in 530. Poor Archdall understood Colgan's words as if they meant, that he died in said year. The fact is that the year of his death is un-

known ; but it must have been long after 530. In some Calendars his festival is assigned to the 16th, in others to the 18th of January.

(174) Acts of St. Enda or Endeus (at 21 *Mart.*) *cap.* 21, *seqq.*

(175) Usher, *p.* 1064, from a life of Kieran. In neither of the lives of Senan is there any mention of Kieran having been a member of the house of Inniscatthy, although in them he is spoken of more than once. We read that Kieran and Brendan waited upon Senan to make their confessions to him, which is thus expressed in the metrical life ; “ Kyeranus interea—et Brendanus praeterea—adveniunt Angelico—admoniti oraculo—ut sancto causas omnium—faterentur excessuum.” And in the other life, *cap.* 36. it is said that they called upon Senan to request that he would become their spiritual director and confessor, and that they fixed upon him, because he was older and their superior in rank, he being a bishop and they only priests. For, as Colgan observes, it was usual with the holy men of those days to choose a particular director of conscience, who in Irish was called *Anmchara*, *i. e.* spiritual friend or father. Kieran is mentioned also on another occasion in said lives, where it is related that, on his way to visit Senan, he gave his cloak to a poor man, whom he met almost naked, and that, when on the bank of the river near Inniscatthy, Senan sent a boat to bring him over, and ran forward to welcome him, bringing a cloak instead of the one he had given away. Yet I do not mean to deny, that Kieran might have lived for some time at Inniscatthy in the above mentioned capacity. In the metrical life of Senan (*cap.* 21.) we find that Kieran is called a companion of his, “ *comes semper et socius;*” but these words seem to mean nothing more than that they were constant friends. Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) places Kieran’s departure from Arran and arrival at Inniscatthy in the year 538, thus allowing only eight years in all for the time he spent both with Nennidhius and with Enda. (See *Not.* 170.) According to this computation he would have remained but one year with Nennidhius. Be this as it may, although the time is probably too short, Usher’s date is merely conjectural, and cannot be reconciled with other dates, particularly those laid down by Usher himself. In the first place it is more than probable, as already remarked, that Kieran did not go to the

monastery of Nennidhius as early as 530. Next, how will we be able to account for the time between 538 and 544, the year to which Usher assigns the foundation of Kieran's first monastery? For admitting that Kieran went from Arran to Inniscatthy, it is plain from the account given of what occurred in the latter place, that he remained there only for a short time. And in the life of Enda Kieran is represented as, when leaving Arran, bent upon erecting a monastery for himself. It is odd that Usher fixed upon the year 538, having placed Kieran's birth in 516; whereas he must have supposed that Kieran arrived in Arran seven years before, that is, in 531, and when he was only 15 years old. Now who can imagine, that St. Enda would have ordered a boy of that age to employ himself in threshing corn? Usher's motive for making these occurrences earlier than he ought was, I believe, his wish to reconcile them with the wrong date, (A. D. 449.) which he had assigned for Enda's foundation in Arran. (See *Not.* 82 to *Chap.* VIII.) Accordingly he drew back, as far as he thought he could, the transactions of Kieran with Enda, lest he would be obliged to suppose that the latter lived to a prodigious age.

(176) Usher, *p.* 1065. The cause assigned for Kieran's leaving Inniscatthy shows, that he did not remain there long. We may be sure that he exercised his great liberality as soon as it was in his power, and that in less than perhaps half a year he was persecuted by those stingy monks.

(177) Ware threw out a conjecture (*Antiq. cap.* 26 under *Longford*) that the islet Aingin or Inis-aingin was the same as the Island of all saints, in which there was a monastery long after the times of St. Kieran. Perhaps it was, but Harris (*Monast. tables.*) and Archdall (at *Island of all saints*) have gone further, stating, without giving us any authority, as a fact what Ware proposed by way of conjecture.

(178) Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigned this date on the supposition that St. Kieran got a grant of Inis-aingin from Diermit king of Ireland. As Diermit's reign did not begin until A. D. 544, Usher concluded that said grant could not be placed before that year. But might not Diermit have made such a grant before he became king of all Ireland? Inis-aingin was most probably part of his patrimonial territory, and one of those islands of Lough-rie, in which Diermit used to take shelter, when persecuted

by his predecessor king Tuathal. (See the Tripartite life of St. Patrick. *L. 2. c. 28.*) Other accounts state, that Kieran got Inis-aingin from a priest called Daniel. Colgan quotes (*Tr. Th. p. 175*) to this purpose the following passage from a Life of Kieran ; “ Et venit ipse presbyter Daniel repletus Dei gratia, et insulam Angin, quae erat in sua possessione, Deo et sancto Kierano in aeternum obtulit.” This is, I believe, as respectable an authority, as the *book of Navan*, whence Usher derived his information.

(179) Tigernach states in his Annals, that Kieran, having founded the monastery of Clonmacnois, was abbot for seven years; but as, according to every other account, he founded it only one year before his death, I think Tigernach must be understood of the whole time, during which he governed both there and at Inis-aingin. The name and recollection of Inis-aingin were, in course of time, swallowed up in the greatness of Clonmacnois, insomuch that in some documents, *ex. c.* the *Acts of Enda*, Kieran is spoken of as setting about the establishment of the latter very soon after his departure from Arran, without any mention being made of Inis-aingin. As to the whole period of Kieran's abbotship, Tigernach is a respectable witness, having lived at Clonmacnois, where he was an Erenach, or as others say, abbot in the eleventh century. See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Tigernach*.

(180) Usher, *p. 1065*. The reader need not be reminded of the part of Ireland in which this celebrated place is situated. It was anciently called *Druim-tiprad* (*AA. SS. p. 266.*), and got its present name from a Connaught prince, but on what occasion I cannot discover. The Annals of Inisfallen have. “ A. 547 (548) Fundata est Clonmacnois, i. e. Nois Muccaid regis Connaiciae a quo nominatur Cluain.” The meaning of this seems to be that it was so called from a son of Nois Muccaid, king of Connaught. Perhaps his name was *Tiprad*. I find this name among those of the ancient princes of that province. (See *AA. SS. p. 346.*) That the monastery was founded in 548, appears not only from the now quoted annals, but likewise from the general testimony of our old writers that Kieran died in the year next after the establishing of it. (See Usher, *p. 909.* and *Ind. Chron.*)

(181) This account of the foundation of Clonmacnois, which is the most correct I have met with, is taken from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, *L. 2. c. 28.* As to what Usher has, (*p. 957.*

and *Ind. Chron. ad A. 544*) from the Book of Navan, of Kieran's having got above 100 churches and cells from Diermit, it is scarcely worth animadversion. Such huge grants were unknown in those times, and indeed at all times, as made by one individual to another; nor would our saints, particularly a Kieran, have accepted of large donations. They used to work with their own hands, and maintain themselves and others by their own labour. That fable was invented at a period, when there existed a great number of religious houses, in which the rule and institution of St. Kieran were observed. Those communities were gradually multiplied in the course of ages; but, as long as the saint lived, there is no account that can be depended on, of any monastery of his order besides Clonmacnois and Inis-aingin.

(182) *Annals of Ulster, Innisfallen, and 4 Masters, Usher (Ind. Chron.) Ware (Bishops at Clonmacnois), Harris, &c.* The Bollandists in a note to the Life of St. Cronan of Roscrea (at 28 April) say that they will prove at 9 September, that Kieran lived at Clonmacnois until 570 or later, and that said monastery was founded as early as about 519. Whether they have endeavoured to keep their word I do not know, not having their tomes so late as said month; but this much I am certain of, that, notwithstanding their confidential tone, they would not have been able to prove the truth of these paradoxes, in opposition to our best annalists, Kieran's connection with Finnian of Clonard, Nennidius, Enda, &c. and the whole history of Clonmacnois, where we find a successor of Kieran, prior to the year 570 (See below *Not. 184.*)

(183) *Annals of 4 Masters at 548 (549) and Colgan (AA. SS. p. 150.)* This pestilence was called *Cron-chonnuill*, that is, as Colgan explains it (*ib.p.* 831) the yellow jaundice.

(184) See *Not. 175.* Ware (*Bishops at Clonmacnois*) observes that some writers spoke of Kieran as a bishop; but he did not follow their opinion. Harris (*ib.*) seems to exhibit him as bishop of Clonmacnois, owing to his shameful mistake of placing Tigernach there as immediate successor of Kieran. Tigernach was bishop not at Clonmacnois, but at Clones. (See *Not. 15 to Chap. ix.*) Archdall (at *Clonmacnois*), besides following Harris's mistake, has given us a huge blunder of his own, where he introduces Oedlugh, abbot of Clonmacnois, as dying in the year 551. If this were true, we should suppose that

Oedlugh was Kieran's immediate successor as abbot. To understand the source of this blunder, the reader must be apprized that there was an Aedlugh or Aidlugh son of Coman and abbot of Clonmacnois in the *seventh* century, as Colgan expressly states at 26 February, where he treats of him, and where he adds that he succeeded Cronan, who died in 637 (638). The 4 Masters place Aedlugh's death in 651 (652), as do also the Ulster Annals quoted by Usher, p. 970. In Colgan's text, where the 4 Masters are quoted, it has, as very usual in Colgan's works, unluckily happened that, through an error of the press, the number 551 appears instead of 651. This palpable erratum, which, on account of its opposition to the whole context a schoolboy would have discovered, was Archdall's authority for his *Oedlugh*, as he calls him. His reason for giving him that name was, that he has him lower down where he ought to be, viz. at A. 652, there calling him *Aidhlog mac Camain* as the name appears in Usher (*loc. cit.*) Colgan had referred to the very passage of Usher. Yet Archdall still remained blind; but to hide the confusion he changed (at A. 551) *Aidhlog* into *Oedlugh*. The real immediate successor of St. Kieran was Oena who died in 569 (570) according to the 4 Masters and *AA. SS.* p. 193. Colgan elsewhere (*ib.* p. 72) calls him *Aengus* or *Aeneas*. As to bishops of Clonmacnois, the first we meet with was Baitan or Boetan, whose death is assigned to A. D. 663 (664).

(185) Cummian in his Paschal epistle mentions him, together with Ailbe, Brendan, and others, under the name of *Queranus Coloniensis*. Alcuin joins him with St. Patrick and others, where he writes; "Patricius, Cheranus Scottorum gloria gentis, &c. See *Not.* 56 to *Chap.* II.

(186) It was called the *Law of Kieran*. Ware (*Writers*) observes that he is said to have written also some prophecies.

(187) Mr. Chalmers (*Caledonia, Vol.* 1. p. 318) mentions St. Kieran as a great patron saint of the Scoto-Irish in North Britain, and adds that many churches, several of which he names, were dedicated to him in Argyle, Ayrshire, and other places; and that an islet on the coast of Lorn bears his name. He shows that the saint was Kieran of Clonmacnois from his festival having been kept on the 9th of September, which is confirmed by Keith, although wrong in other points, *List of Bishops*, p. 233. In the *Martyrolog. Scot.* of Camerarius the

11th of September is marked for his festival, for the purpose, it seems, of distinguishing him from Kieran of Clonmacnois, and of making him appear as a native of the now called Scotland. Dempster, who stopped at nothing went further, saying that he lived chiefly in the Western isles (See above *Not.* 32.) Colgan shows (*AA. SS. p.* 470) that the statements of both Camerarius and Dempster are false. Had he been aware of the great veneration paid to St. Kieran in that country, and of the 9th of September being the true day of his festival, he could have cleared up the matter better than he has done. He might have learned from the Supplement to Kieran's Acts quoted by himself (*ib. p.* 266) that his name was exceedingly celebrated in Scotland; "Nomen per Hiberniam et *Albaniam* longe celeberrimum." His being so well known there and so much revered, preferably to several other eminent Irish saints, was, I dare say, owing in great part to the esteem in which he was held by St. Columba, who is said to have written a hymn in praise of Kieran, beginning with these lines; "Quantum Christi, O, Apostolum—mundo misisti hominem?—Lucerna hujus insulae—lucens lucerna mirabilis," &c. (See *Tr. Th. p.* 472.)

§. XII. St. Comgall, or, as more properly called, Coemgall or Coemgell, the renowned abbot of Bangor, was of a distinguished military family of Dalrardia, the very country, in which he founded his monastery. His father's name was *Sedna*, and his mother's *Briga*. It is said that his birth had been foretold by St. Patrick sixty years before he came into the world. (188) According to the Annals of Ulster he was born in the year 516; (189) but other accounts place his birth somewhat earlier. (190) When arrived at a certain age he wished to embrace the religious state, and, leaving his father's house, placed himself under a master capable of instructing him in various branches of learning, particularly ecclesiastical. After a certain lapse of time Comgall set out from his own country towards the more southern parts of Ireland, for the purpose of improving himself in knowledge and in the observ-

ances of a monastic life. Having arrived in Leinster he went to the monastery of Clonenagh governed by St. Fintan, who received him kindly and admitted him a member of his community. (191) Comgall must by this time have been of rather a mature age, and even older than St. Fintan, if we are to believe that the latter was, as we read in his Acts, younger than Columb-kill. (192) As the discipline was very severe at Clonenagh, Comgall after some time felt a strong temptation to leave the monastery and return to his relatives and country. But Fintan, to whom he disclosed his feelings and uneasiness, having prayed to God in his favour, he was soon relieved from this anxiety, and, while in the act of praying himself, he felt his heart, all of a sudden, overflowing with spiritual joy and comfort. (193) Being now fully satisfied with his state, he remained for several years under the direction of St. Fintan, who, finding him well qualified for the purpose, advised him to go back to his own country and to form there some religious establishments. (194) Comgall had been hitherto unwilling to enter into holy orders; but it is said that, before proceeding straight to Dalaradia he turned off to Clonmacnois (195) and after some time was there ordained priest by a bishop Lugidus. (196) We are told that, on his arrival in Ulster, he preached in various parts of that province, and spent some time in retirement in an island of Lough Erne. It is added that he intended to leave Ireland, and to spend the remainder of his days in Britain, but that he was induced by the pressing solicitations of bishop Lugidus, who had ordained him, and of other holy men, to remain in his own country. (197) Comgall then founded the monastery of Banchor, or as it is often called, *Benchor*, now Bangor (198) near the bay of Carrickfergus. This foundation took place about the year 559. (199) For the direction of his institution Comgall drew up a particular rule, which was rec-

koned among the principal ones observed in Ireland. (200) The number of persons that flocked to place themselves under this holy abbot, was so great that, as one place could not contain them, it became necessary to establish various monasteries and cells, in which, taken altogether, it was computed that there were 3000 monks, all observing his rule, and superintended by him. (201) Among them is mentioned Cormac, king of South Leinster or Hy-kinselagh, who in his old age retired to Bangor, and there spent the remainder of his days. (202) The reputation of this monastery was very much enhanced by the celebrity of some eminent men, who had been educated there under Comgall, particularly St. Columbanus, one of the greatest men of the age he lived in, so that the fame of Bangor spread far and wide throughout all Europe. (203) St Comgall observed and followed the liturgy introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick. (204) It is related that in the seventh year after the foundation of Bangor he went to Britain, wishing to visit some saints, and to remain there for some time; and that he established a monastery in the country called *Heth*. (205) If, as seems more probable, the Britain, to which Comgall repaired, was Great Britain, it is not unlikely that it was on this occasion that he paid a visit, together with St. Brendan and others, to Columbkil in one of the Western isles. (206) He is said to have contributed to the conversion of Brideus, king of the Northern Picts. Having returned to Ireland he continued to govern his monastery and its dependencies until his death, which occurred on the 10th of May A. D. 601, (207) after he had received the holy viaticum from St. Fiachra, abbot of Congbail and afterwards of Clonard. (208) St. Comgall has been justly reckoned among the fathers of the Irish church. (209) Whether he was the author of certain tracts, attributed to him, besides his Monastic rule, I leave to others to inquire. (210)

(188) Jocelin relates (*cap.* 98.) that St. Patrick being in the district, in which the monastery was afterwards founded, was asked to erect a church there, and that he declined doing so, saying that at the end of 60 years a child of light would be born of the name of Comhgall, i. e. *beautiful pledge*, who would in that place, establish a church, &c. Many such prophecies are mentioned as to the birth of our great saints; but we are not bound to believe that they were actually pronounced.

(189) See Usher, *p.* 869, and *Ind. Chron.*

(190) The Annals of Inisfallen have; A. 513 (514) *Nativitas Comgol Benchor.* According to the 4 Masters he would have been born in 511 or 512; for, while agreeing with every other account they assign his death to A. D. 600 (601); they observe that he died in the 99th year of his age, which is stated also in the *Martyrol. Tamlect.* quoted in *Tr. Th. p.* 113. In the first of Comgall's Lives published by the Bollandists (a trifling one indeed) he is said to have died in the 80th. Those, who place his birth in 516 tell us, that he died at the age of 85 or in his 85th year. Usher *ib.* Ware, (*Writers*) &c. This date (516) is probably the most correct, and agrees better than the others with some transactions of Comgall's life. Archdall (*at Bangor*) jumbles the whole together. After placing his birth in 516, and death in 601, he makes him die in the 90th year of his age!

(191) In Comgall's second Life, *cap.* 3, we read; "Jam pius juvenis Comgellus—direxit viam suam ad australem Hiberniae plagam, et intravit provinciam Lageniensium, et venit ad S. Fintanum, abbatem monasterii nomine *Cluainedhnech*, regentem in plebe Laighis positum, in aquilonali Lageniensium plaga, juxta radices montis Bladhma; recepitque S. Fintanus B. Comgallum in suam congregationem." Of this celebrated monastery and St. Fintan we shall see lower down. This second Life is also in Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra*.

(192) According to the earliest computation Columkill was not born until the year 519. Add that Fintan had been a disciple of Columba son of Crimthann, afterwards abbot of Tirdoglas. Now this Columba had been a scholar of Finnian of Clonard. Considering all circumstances it is hard to suppose, as will be seen, that Fintan founded the monastery of Clonenagh until about the year 548. Admitting that Comgall was received there in that year, it

will follow that he was at least 32 years old when he assumed the monastic habit. In the supposition that he was born before 516, he would have been more than 32, and still by some additional years younger than Fintan. In this case the disparity of years between the abbot and the novice might appear too great, and Comgall would perhaps have looked out for a superior not so much younger than himself. Hence it may be concluded, that his birth ought not to be placed earlier than A. 516.

(193) Second Life of Comgall, *cap.* 4.

(194) *Ib.* *cap.* 11.

(195. I do not know how this can be reconciled with the directions given him by St. Fintan to proceed forthwith to his own country, or with its being related that he actually set out for that purpose. I suspect that Clonmacnois has been mistaken for Connor. At any rate, if he went to Clonmacnois, he could not have been there with St. Kieran, as we read in the Legend for his Office drawn up by Dr. Burke (*Officia propria SS. Hibern.*); whereas this saint was dead before Comgall had left Clonenagh. As he had spent several years in this monastery, where, at the earliest, he was not received until A. D. 548 (See *Not.* 192), how could he have been, after his departure thence, with St. Kieran, who died in 549?

(196) There is no account, in any catalogue of our bishops, of a Lugidus in those times at Clonmacnois. Ware indeed (*Writers at Comgall*) has what is said of his having there ordained Comgall. But at *Bishops* he makes no mention of him; and the first bishop of Clonmacnois, whom he names, is Baitan. (See *Not.* 184.) It is probable, that by Lugidus the ordainer of Comgall was meant the bishop of Connor, who might have been otherwise called Lugadius. (See *Chap.* ix. §. 13.) I am the more inclined to be of this opinion as Lugadius is spoken of as having had verbal communications with Comgall after his return to Ulster, such as a bishop of Connor might have had with a person living in the district, in which Bangor is situated. It is true that Lugadius of Connor is said to have died in 538, and therefore long before he could have ordained Comgall. Are we, however, certain that he died so early? And, admitting it, there might be in this case one of these anachronisms so usual in the Acts of our saints. For I do not mean to say that Comgall was ordained by that bi-

shop of Connor, but merely to observe that as Lugadius lived in the sixth century, and not far from Comgall's residence, he might have been guessed at as the ordainer. Yet it may be allowed, that there was a bishop Lugadius, who actually ordained Comgall; but, if there was, I think we should look for him rather in the neighbourhood of Comgall's country than at Clonmacnois.

(197) It would be difficult to reconcile this narrative with the account given of Comgall having returned to his own country, in compliance with St. Fintan's advice, for the purpose of forming some religious establishments. I am very much inclined to think, that it is founded more on conjecture than on fact. The practice of going to foreign parts, which became so general with our Irish saints towards the close of Comgall's life, might have induced an opinion that he also had intended to quit Ireland, particularly as some of his own disciples, and among others the great Columbanus, had done so.

(198) Ware (*Ant. cap. 26*) says that the place got its name from *White choir*, which is the same as *Banchor* in Irish. But, if the name was originally *Benchor*, will this etymology be correct?

(199) Ware (*ib.*) has A. D. 555, and is followed by Harris and Archdall. Usher says (*p. 956*) *about 555 or 559*; but in his *Ind. Chron.* he assigns the foundation to A. 559; which comes nearer the truth. The Annals of Innisfallen places it in 557 (558). From what has been seen concerning the time that Comgall may have arrived at Clonenagh, and the number of years which he is said to have spent there, the foundation of Bangor cannot consistently with these and other circumstances, be carried farther back than the year 558. The date, 551 (552) assigned for it by the 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 192*) is still less admissible than Ware's. It is very probable, that Comgall had not in that year completed one half of his monastic studies at Clonenagh.

(200) In the Supplement to the Acts of Kieran of Clonmacnois, quoted by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 471*), Comgall is named among eight chief framers of Monastic rules. The other seven there mentioned are St. Patrick, St. Brigid, St. Brendan, St. Kieran, St. Columbkill, St. Molassius, and St. Adamnan. We may observe, by the bye, that several others of our saints composed similar

rules. But of this hereafter. Meanwhile see Usher, *p.* 919. and above *Not.* 58.

(201) We read in Comgall's second Life, *cap.* 13. "Constituitque magnum monasterium, quod vocatur *Benchor* in regione, quae dicitur *Altitudo Ultorum* (Ardes) juxta mare orientale; et maxima multitudo monachorum illuc venit ad S. Comgallum, ut non potuissent esse in uno loco; et inde plurimas cellas et multa monasteria non solum in regione Ultorum sed per alias Hiberniae provincias; et in diversis cellis et monasteriis tria millia monachorum sub cura sancti patris Comgelli erant. Sed major et nominatior caeteris locis praedictum monasterium *Benchor* est, ubi clara civitas in honore S. Comgelli aedificata est." By *regione Ultorum* in this passage is to be understood the particular territory anciently called *Ulidia*, and by *other provinces of Ireland* various districts in the Northern parts; for, although in the course of time Comgall's rule might have been observed far and wide throughout Ireland, yet it is to be supposed that during his life time it did not extend beyond such places as it would have been convenient for him to visit in person. One of those subordinate monasteries was at Cambos, now Camus, on the river Bann in the barony of Coleraine. (See Archdall at *Camus*.) It is mentioned by Adamnan (*Vit. S. Col. L. 1. c.* 49. Colgan's *ed.*) Usher expressed (*p.* 1009) a doubt whether Comgall of Bangor was the same as he of Cambos, whom he found called *Congell*. As to the name being spelled *Congell*, it can create no difficulty; whereas we often find it so written, where there can be no doubt of our Comgall being the person spoken of. In Colgan's edition of Adamnan (*loc. cit.*) we have not *Congell* but *Comgell*; and in his notes on that chapter he supposed, and indeed justly, that he was no other than Comgall of Bangor. Usher, in consequence of his doubt, mentions (*Ind. Chron. ad A.* 580) a Congell of Cambos as if distinct from the great Comgall of Bangor. There is no reason for admitting this distinction, and I have observed thus much, lest the reader might be led astray by the great authority of Usher.

(202) This fact is thus recorded in the Acts of St. Fintan of Clonenagh, *cap.* 18. "Cormacus filius Diarmadae multo tempore vixit

in regno Lageniensium (australiū), et in senectute spreto regno apud S. Coemgallum abbatem in provincia Ultoniae in monasterio de Beanchoir monachus factus suam vitam sancte finivit.”

(203) In the Life of St. Malachy, *cap.* 5. St. Bernard writes; “Ipsū quoque locū Benchor tradidit ei princeps, ut aedificaret ibi monasterium, vel potius reaedificaret. Nempe nobilissimū extiterat ante sub primo patre Cōngello, multa millia monachorum generans, multorum monasteriorum caput. Locus vere sanctus foecundusque sanctorum, copiosissime fructificans Deo, ita ut unus ex filiis sanctae illius congregationis, nomine Luanus, centum solus monasteriorum fundato rexitisse feratur—Hiberniam Scotiamque repleverunt genimina ejus—Nec modo in praefatas, sed in exterās etiam regiones, quasi inundatione facta, illa se sanctorum examina effuderunt; e quibus ad has nostras Gallicanas partes sanctus Columbanus ascendens Lexoviense construxit monasterium, factus ibi in gentem magnam—Haec de antiqua dicta sint Benchorensis monasterii gloria.”

(204) Usher, *p.* 917. See above *Not.* 59.

(205) Usher, *p.* 956. Where this *regio Heth* lay I cannot rightly discover. If it was the same as the *Heth* mentioned in the Acts of Brendan of Clonfert (above §. 7.) it must have been in Brittany. But it appears more probable that the Britain, to which Comgall repaired, was Great Britain. Perhaps *Heth*, instead of being the proper name of a territory, means a tract lying near the sea. Baxter in his Glossary (*at Lemanis*) explains *Hithe*, the name of a place in Kent, as signifying *coast* or *sea-shore*. In Lhuyd's *Armoric Vocabulary* *Aut* is translated *sea-shore, bank of a river, &c.* The *Heth*, in which Comgall is said to have been, was a maritime district, for, as stated in his Acts, some Pictish pirates made an attack on the monastery. This circumstance of *Pictish pirates* induces me to think, that it was rather in Great Britain, and most probably in the North of it, than in Brittany, as it is not easy to believe, that the Picts would have in those times carried their predatory excursions so far from their own country. Eday, one of the Orkney islands, is called *Hethy* by Camden, *col.* 1469. But Comgall's *Heth* is not called an island.

(206) See *Not.* 118. In this supposition it is clear that Bangor could not have been founded as early as the year 555, whereas

the seventh year following would have been 562. Now Columbkil did not leave Ireland until 563; and he had spent some not very short time in the Western isles before he was visited there by Comgall.

(207) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* The Annals of Innisfallen, adhering in this case to the more general mode of reckoning the Christian era, have; “A. 601. *Quies Congoll Benchor.*” The 4 Masters A. have 600, that is, 601; and add that Comgal governed Bangor for 50 years, 3 months, and 10 days. (See *AA. SS. p. 42t.*) They supposed that the monastery was erected in 522 (above *Not. 199*), in which computation they were certainly wrong.

(208) Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 406.*) has; “S. Fiachrius abbas de Congbail in Gleann-suilige in Tirconallia, et abbas etiam de Cluaineraid.” He places him between the years 587 and 652. Congbail is now called Conwall, and is in the county of Donegall. (See Archdall *ad loc.*) Whether Fiachra was only abbot of Congbail, or had already removed to Clonard, when he attended St. Comgall in his last illness, I cannot determine. In the second Life of Comgall the Fiachra, who gave him the viaticum, is said to have been from Idrone near the river Barrow.

(209) See *Not. 56 to Chap. II.*

(210) See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Comgall.*

§. XIII. Next after those saints of the second class, whose history we have endeavoured to illustrate, is mentioned St. Columba usually known by the name of Columbkil. But as an account of the transactions of this extraordinary man cannot be comprized in a few paragraphs, we must defer it for a while, as well as that of several other saints of the same class, lest the thread of our narrative should be too much interrupted. To return therefore to the last year of Tuathal's reign and the early part of that of Diermit, (211) the death of St. Enda of Arran (212) may be assigned to about the year 542, as he died not long after Kieran of Clonmacnois left his monastery. (213) His immediate successor as abbot of Arran was probably Benedict, a brother of Kieran of Saigir. (214) Dubtach, archbishop of Armagh is only called

Dubtagh the second, (215) died in 548. (216) I do not find the day of his death marked in our Annals or Calendars. He was succeeded by David son of Guaira Hua Farannais, whose family seems to have been a branch of the illustrious house of the Hua-Fiachraigh of Ulster; and hence probably the reason of this prelate being called, in the Psalter of Cashel, *Fiachrius* or *Hifiachrius*. (217) He is said by some to have exercised the functions of Apostolic Legate in Ireland; (218) but this opinion is founded on a mistake, whereas there did not appear any person invested with that title in Ireland until about the end of the eleventh century. (219) David did not long govern the see of Armagh, as he died in the year 551, and was succeeded by Feidlimid Fionn. (220) In the year next after the death of Dubtach the second, *viz.* in 549, several eminent persons were carried off by the great pestilence, that raged in said year. (221) Besides Kieran of Clonmacnois, of whom we have seen already, St. Tigernach bishop of Clones and Clogher (222) is first mentioned, and his exit is marked at the 4th of April A. D. 549. (223) To the 11th of June, same year, is assigned that of St. Mactalius bishop of Kilcullen, (224) Another saint already treated of, who died in this year, was Sinell or Senchel of Killeigh. (225) To these we have to add St. Odran abbot of Lettrech-Odran, (226) who died on the 2d of October. This saint was a native of that place, and had an intention to lead a religious life in some other part of Ireland. But being advised by Kieran of Saigir to remain in his own town he there erected a monastery, which became very respectable; and as he was a man of great virtue and sanctity, his memory has been highly revered, and thenceforth his name was added to that of the town, so that it was called *Lettrech-Odran* or *Lettir-Odran*. (227) Some other distinguished persons have been mentioned as having died in that year; but as to such of them as we have a correct

account of, (228) there can be no doubt of their having lived for some time later. One of them is St Columba son of Crimthann, who had been a disciple of Finnian of Clonard, (229) and was the person who administered to him the last rites of the church. (230) He was of a noble and seemingly princely family of Leinster. (231) Of the time he was born or of the transactions of his earlier years I am not able to give an account. This much we know that, having completed his studies, he undertook the direction of three disciples, Coemhan, Fintan, and Mocumin, who followed him whithersoever he went. (232) It is related that, after having spent some time together in other places, they remained for a year at Clonenagh. Columba did not form any establishment there; but, after he had left it to go elsewhere, looking back on it from the adjacent mountain he thought it a very eligible spot for the erection of a monastery, and advised Fintan to settle there, which he accordingly did. (233) Soon after his departure from that place Columba founded the celebrated monastery of Tirdaglas, (234) and probably about the year 548. (235) He did not govern it long, as he died in the year 552. (236) The day assigned for his death is the 13th of December. (237) He was buried at Tirdaglas, (238) and, according to every appearance, was succeeded in the government of that monastery by one of his disciples, the above-mentioned Mocumin. (239)

(211) Above §. 5.

(212) See *Chap.* VIII. §. 7.

(213) In the last chapter of Enda's Acts at 21st March, the day of his death, it is related that having accompanied Kieran to the sea-side on his leaving Arran, and with tears in his eyes foretold the unhappy state, to which that and the neighbouring islands would be reduced at a future period, he returned to the monastery and, after recommending his soul to the Almighty God, departed this life. We have seen (§. 11.) that Kieran founded the monastery of Inisaingin not long after his departure from

Arran, and that this foundation took place, very probably, in the year 542.

(214) The Calendar of Cashel, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 472*) has at 10th June; “Benedictus filius Luagnei—comorbanus sive successor Endei Arranensis, et frater Kierani Sagiensis. Ipse est Papa, quem ferunt esse insulo Arannensi.” In this passage it is not expressly stated, that Benedict was the *immediate* successor of Enda; but considering the period, in which his brother Kieran lived (*above* §. 2), it is very probable that he was. Here we have an additional proof to show, that the foolish stories about Kieran having been contemporary with St. Patrick are not worthy of the least credit. It is somewhat remarkable that the title *Papa*, which in ancient times was used for bishops indiscriminately, is in that passage given to a simple abbot. It means *father* in general, as observed by Walafr. Strabo, *De rebus eccl. cap. 7.* “*Papa* paternitatis nomen est.” Thus the Greeks call every priest *Papas* or *Pappas*.

(215) See *above* §. 1.

(216) (*Tr. Th. p. 293.* Ware, *Bishops, &c.* The 4 Masters quoted by Colgan (*ib.*) have A. 547, *viz.* the same year as our 548. It is tiresome to find Harris still referring to the 4 Masters as if in opposition to Ware, whereas their dates are in reality the same.

(217) See *Tr. Th. p. 292, 293.*

(218) *Tr. Th. ib.* and *AA. SS. p. 191.*

(219) It is, as will be seen elsewhere, plain from the testimony of St. Bernard, that Gillibert, bishop of Limerick, was the first Apostolic Legate appointed for Ireland. It may be that David, as primate and then sole metropolitan of Ireland, made a general visitation of the churches throughout the kingdom; and, if so, the recollection of it might, in later times, have induced people to think, that he had acted in virtue of legatine authority.

(220) *Tr. Th. p. 293.* Ware, &c.

(221) Annals of the 4 Masters, and *AA. SS. p. 150, 191,* and 831,

(222) See *Chap. ix. §. 2.*

(223) The 4 Masters, according to their mode of computation, have 548, *i. e.* 549. Usher assigned, I know not on what authority, Tigernach's death to 550 (*Ind. Chron.*) Ware (*Bishops*

at *Clogher*) has A. 550 or 549. The latter date is mentioned over and over by Colgan; and yet Harris makes him place Tigernach's death in 550, not reflecting that the passage he referred to was merely one of Usher's quoted by Colgan. But every where else, as in the pages already pointed at (*Not.* 221.) Colgan adheres to the 4 Masters.*

(224) See *Chap.* VIII. §. 2. If Mactalius was the same person as Mactaleus, one of St. Patrick's disciples in Tirechan's list (See *Not.* 33 and 35 to *Chap.* VII.) he must have lived to a very great age, even supposing that he was little more than a boy at the time of our Apostle's death. The real name of the saint is said by some to have been *Eugenius*, while others call him *Aengus*, and made him the son of one Eugenius, a carpenter, on which account he was surnamed *Mactail*, or *son of the ax.* (See *Tr. Th.* p. 185.)

(225) See *Chap.* IX. §. 3.

(226) It is now called Latteragh, a village in the barony of Upper Ormond, county of Tipperary.

(227) First Life of Kieran of Saigir, *cap.* 28. It is odd that Harris has overlooked this monastery. Archdall has it (at *Latteragh*), and adds that Odran there presided over 3000 scholars. This is really a ludicrous mistake, founded on an omission in Congal's printed text (*AA. SS.* p. 191), where, after mention being made of Odran's death in the year 548 (549), one or two lines have, through bad management of the press, slipped out, in which Finnian of Clonard was spoken of. Then Colgan refers to the catalogue of saints published by Usher, in the second class of which, as we have seen, Finnian is named, and to his 3000 scholars, &c. poor Archdall not having found Finnian's name prefixed to this detail, and seeing that Odran's appeared next before it, made over to him all Finnian's scholars, &c. notwithstanding Colgan's reference to Usher, his quotation of a hymn in Finnian's Office, and other circumstances too clear to be misunderstood by any one of common sense. Archdall has, on this point, led astray Seward. (*Topogr. Hibern.* at *Latteragh.*)

228 The 4 Masters, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 150, and 831,) assign to said year the death of a St. Columba of Iniskeltra, an island of Lough-Derg in the Shannon. This is evidently a mistake; for there was no religious house in Iniskeltra until, as

Colgan himself informs us (*ib. p. 746*), the seventh century, when the celebrated St. Camin erected there a monastery. Yet he goes still further than the 4 Masters, and (*Tr. Th. p. 269*) reckons this Columba, who probably never existed, among the disciples of St. Patrick. And why? For no other reason, that I can discover, except that he was supposed not to have survived the year 548 (549). Upon the same notable foundation he makes Tigernach of Clones, Dubtach the second of Armagh, and several others, who were said to have died about that time, equally disciples of our Apostle, as if every one, that lived until 549, should have been under his tuition.

(229) Finnian's Acts, *cap. 19.*

(230) *Ib. cap. 20.* and above §. 5.

(231) In the very beginning of his Life as quoted by Ware (*Writers L. 1. c. 13.* in Harris' *ed. c. 15.*), he is said to have been born of a noble family in Leinster; but in the 5th chapter he and Columkill are spoken of as sons of kings. See (*Tr. Th. p. 457.*) He was probably of the royal blood of Hy-kinsela, to which several princes of the name of Crimthann belonged.

(232) Acts of Fintan of Clonenagh, *cap. 3.* Coemban was afterwards abbot of Enach-trim or Annatrim in the Queen's county; Fintan was he of Clonenagh; and Mocumen became abbot of Tirdaglas after the death of Columba. See also Usher, *p. 962,* and *Ind. Chron. ad A. 550.*

(233) Fintan's Acts, *capp. 4, 5.* From this account it appears that Colgan was mistaken (*AA. SS. p. 356*) in making Columba the first abbot of Clonenagh. He had simply lived there for one year in retirement with his three disciples, until, their tranquillity being broken in upon by the crowds of their friends and other persons that used to visit them, he thought fit to leave it. But there was no monastery at Clonenagh before that founded by Fintan, as is evident from his *Acts, ib.* Archdall has (at *Tirdaglas*) copied Colgan's mistake; and (at *Clonenagh*) in direct opposition to Colgan, gives us an absurd and contrary one of his own; for, after stating that this monastery was founded by Fintan, he makes Columba succeed him there as abbot. It would require a book as big as Archdall's to correct all his blunders.

(234) In the barony of Lower Ormond, county of Tipperary, near Lough-Derg of the Shannon. It is odd that Ware has

omitted this monastery, although it continued for many centuries. Harris has it in his Monastic tables, but, instead of naming the founder, only mentions an abbot of it in the 7th century.

(235) As Columba did not erect this monastery until after parting with Fintan, whom he left at Clonenagh, we cannot assign the commencement of it to a period earlier than that of the foundation of the house of Clonenagh, which, as we have seen (*Not.* 192), cannot consistently be placed before about 548.

(236) In his Acts it is stated that he died in the same year with Finnian of Clonard. Now Finnian died in 552. (above §. 5.) The 4 Masters place Columba's death in 548 (549), for no other reason, I suspect, than their having erroneously assigned that also of Finnian to said year. (See *Not.* 74.) Knowing that both these saints were supposed to have died in one and the same year, they accordingly marked this date for the death of Columba. But this very coincidence might have taught them, that Finnian lived later than 549. Considering Columba's and Fintan's proceedings, as just before remarked on, it is clear that the monastery of Tirdaglas was scarcely well established in that year. Unless then we are to admit that he died about its very commencement, for which there is no authority, it is but fair to allow that he governed it for at least three years, so as to be able to give it that stability, which it certainly acquired. The date 552 agrees very well with these circumstances, and thus we find confirmed that assigned for the death of Finnian.

(237) Ware, *Writers*, L. 1. c. 13. Harris' *ed.* c. 15. It cannot but seem rather singular, that he died but one day later than his friend and master Finnian, whose death is usually assigned to the 12th of December. (above §. 5.) It is indeed natural to suppose that Columba survived him, as he had administered to him the holy viaticum, or, as Finnian's Acts express it (*cap.* 20) the sacrifice, and that at the hour of his death; "*sacrificium in hora exitus animae.*" Perhaps Finnian died of some contagious disease, which might have been communicated to Columba. Or is it certain, that Finnian died so late in the year as the 12th of December? I really doubt it. Perhaps the real day of his death was the 23d of February, on which his memory was celebrated at Clonard, and to which belongs his Office published at Paris and afterwards by Colgan. (See *AA. SS.* p. 402.)

(238) In the Acts of Fintan of Clonenagh (*cap.* 3.) we read concerning Columba; “Jacet in sua civitate, quae dicitur Tyrdaglas, in terra Momoniae juxta flumen Sionna.”

(239) He was otherwise called *Natchoem* or *Mochoemin*, and was brother to St. Coemgen of Glendaloch. (*AA. SS. p.* 586.) He is constantly called abbot of Tirdaglas, and died on the first of May, A. D. 584 (585). *Ib. p.* 193. Of him likewise we read in Fintan's Acts (*loc. cit.*); “B. Mocumin, qui est (requiescit) cum S. Columba magistro suo in civitate Tyrdaglas.”

§. XIV. Several other persons, concerning whom less is known than of some of those last treated of, are mentioned as having died or been distinguished about these times. St. Mobhy or Mobius surnamed *Clairineach*, that is, *lame*, abbot of Glas-naidhen in the now county of Kildare, is said to have died on the 12th of October, A. D. 545. (240) He is reckoned among the relatives of St. Brigid, (241) and studied under Finnian of Clonard, among whose principal disciples he is expressly named. (242) What time he established his monastery, or what remarkable transactions he was concerned in, no account, that I can meet with, has come down to our days. (243) If it be true that he died in 545, we may conclude that his life was rather short, unless we should suppose, for which there is no authority, that he was far advanced in years, when he became a disciple of Finnian. A St. Diermit, who is said to have founded the monastery of Glean-ussen, (244) must be placed in the period we are now treating of; whereas he was succeeded by St. Comgan, who died before the year 570. (245) St. Dagaëus also, who was bishop at Iniscaoin-Deghadh, (246) belongs to these times, if he was the same as Dagaëus or Daygeus, from whom St. Moctheus of Louth received the holy viaticum. (247) For in this case he must have been, at least, a priest in 535, the year of Moctheus' death; (248) and it will also follow that he lived to a good old age, as, according to our Annalists, he did not

die until 587. (249) He is said to have been of the royal blood of Neill Neigilliach, and to have distinguished himself by his assiduity in transcribing sacred books, and ingenuity in making elegant covers for them, as also utensils and bells for the service of the church, many of which he distributed gratis in various parts of Ireland. (250) A college or monastery is mentioned as governed by him; (251) and it has been related that he performed several great miracles. (252) St. Corpreus, or Carbreus, bishop of Coleraine, is said to have flourished about the year 540, (253) and to have been contemporary with Tigernach of Clones, whose school-fellow he had been in Britain under the abbot Nennio or Monennus. (254) He was the son of Degill and grandson of Nad-Sluagh, a dynast of the country about Coleraine, who was a Christian in St. Patrick's time, and had received the saint with great respect and veneration. (255) Corpreus was consecrated bishop by Brugacius, who had been consecrated by St. Patrick. (256) He fixed his see at Coleraine; but I do not find any mention of his having established a monastery in that place. (257) The year of his death is not known; the day marked for it, or at least for his commemoration, is the 11th of November. Nor were there wanting in those times holy women and virgins, who presided over nunneries and directed the Christian education of females. To several of them already mentioned (258) we may here add St. Regnach or Regnacia, sister of the great Finnian of Clonard, (259) and abbess of the house called from her name *Kill-regnaigne*. (260) One of her eleves St. Lasra became distinguished not only for piety, but for knowledge, having been instructed by Finnian, and afterwards erected a church in her own country at Doire-mac-Aidmecain. (261) But of the female saints of that period by far the most eminent was St. Ita, with an account of whom we shall begin the following chapter.

(240) The 4 Masters have (*ap AA. SS. p. 191.*); “A. 544 (545) S. Mobhius cognomento Clairineach, qui et Berchanus, abbas de Glas-naidhen in Campo-Liffe, obiit 12 Oct.” The *Campus-Liffe*, or *Magh-liffe*, i. e. the plain of the Liffey was, as elsewhere observed (*Chap. vi. §. 5. Not. 43.*) the level part of the county of Kildare, through which that river flows. Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p. 613.*) that Glas-naidhen was in the territory of Galenga near the Liffey. If so, it was on the south side of the river, whereas the tract, anciently called Galen or Caëlan, is said to have been bounded by the Liffey on the North. (See Rawson’s *Introd. to Stat. Survey of Kildare.*) As to Mobhy having been called also *Berchan*, it does not enable us to discover any thing particular concerning him, as we find several other persons under that name in those early times.

(241) *Tr. Th. p. 613.* (242) Acts of Finnian, *cap. 19.*

(243) Were we to believe O’Donnel (*Life of Columbkil, L. 1. cap. 43.*) Mobhy would have had under his care at Glas-naidhen not only this saint, but likewise Cannich, Comgall, and Kieran of Clonmacnois. Without entering into further particulars it is sufficient to recollect what we have already seen concerning Comgall having been at Clonenagh, and Kieran in Arran at the very time alluded to by O’Donnel. In the Acts of these saints no mention is made of their having studied under Mobhy. Kieran and Cannich were certainly acquainted with him, as they also had been at Finnian’s school. And thus is to be accounted for whatever tradition there might have been as to their connexion with Mobhy.

(244) Colgan says (*AA. SS. p. 417.*), that this monastery was in Hy-barche in West Leinster. Archdall places it (at *Gleane*) in the King’s county; but Harris has it in the Queen’s county, where it is more probable that it was situated. For, Hy-barche seems to have been the district adjoining Carlow and comprehending the country about Sletty. (See *Not. 131. to Chap. ix.*) This St. Diermit, concerning whom we find no further account, must not be confounded with Diermit of Inisclothan. His memory was revered on the 8th of July.

(245) St. Comgan was, according to Colgan, who treats of him (at 27th February, p. 417), of the illustrious house of the Dalcassians in Thomond. Some have said that, by his mother’s side, he was nephew to Columbkil. But Colgan shews (*Tr. Th. p. 478.*),

that this is a mistake. He erected a church in his own country on a hill called *Cleann-indis* or, the *head of Indis*; but whether before or after he became abbot of Glean-ussen we are not informed, His death preceded that of St. Ita, who died in 570. The precise year of it is not known, nor had Archdall any authority for assigning it to 563.

(246) This place was in the territory of Orgiel or Oriel, and in Colgan's time it had only a parish church. (*AA. SS. p. 348.*) Archdall calls it *Iniskin*, and places it in the upper half barony of Dundalk, county of Louth. *Deghadh* was probably the bishop's real name, which has been latinized into *Dagaeus*; so that *Iniscaoin-Deghadh* means the *Iniscaoin* of *Dagaeus*, and was thus distinguished from *Iniscaoin* an island in Lough-Erne.

(247) Life of Mochtheus, *cap. 21*. This *Daggeus* is called bishop, *ib. cap. 20*. But it does not appear that he was one, when he attended Mochtheus in his last illness.

(248) See *Chap. ix. §. 13*.

(249) The 4 Masters, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 732*), have; A. 586 (587) "Dagaeus episcopus, filius Carelli, obiit die 18 Aug." Supposing him to have lived to between 80 and 90 years of age, he might have been the person, that attended Mochtheus. Colgan (at 19 *Feb.*) treats briefly of a bishop *Dagacus*, whose name was generally marked in the Calendars at that day. He thinks it very probable that he was no other than the *Dagaeus*, named at the 18th of August. It is not unusual to meet with more than one festival marked for one and the same saint.

(250) See *AA. SS. p. 374*.

(251) *Ib. p. 344*.

(252) *Ib. p. 374*.

(253) *Ib. Ind. Chron.*

(254) *Ib. p. 438*. See *Chap. ix. §. 2*.

(255) *Tr. Th. p. 148*.

(256) *Ib.* Brugacius is said to have been bishop at a place called *Rath-Mugeaonaich*, which Colgan (*ib. p. 183*) conjectured to be the same as *Rath-muighe*, *alias Airthur-muighe*. But it is probable that there was no bishop at *Rathmuighe* in St. Patrick's time, as the first person, who was bishop there, seems to have been *Olcan*. (See *Chap. viii. §. 6*.) Colgan, to patch up the business, adds another conjecture (*AA. SS. p. 377*), viz. that *Brugacius* was placed there by St. Patrick after *Olcan's* demise. Archdall (at *Rathmuighe*) follows Colgan. This evasion will not do; for, as

has been observed in the chapter just referred to, Olcan himself could not have been a bishop until after St. Patrick's death. Either those places were different, or there is some mistake with regard to what is said of Brugacius having been consecrated by St. Patrick. His name is in the Calendars at 1st November.

(257) Harris marks a monastery at Coleraine without the name of any founder, and assigns it to the 5th century, for which he had no authority. It is plain from *Tr. Th.*, p. 148, that there was no religious establishment there of any kind, either see or monastery, until Corpreus became bishop, which he certainly did not until some time in the sixth century. We find in later times a monastery at Coleraine; but there is no account of its having been founded by Corpreus. (See below *Not.* 222 to *Chap.* XII)

(258) *Ex. c.* St. Cannera, above *Not.* 18. Liadania, §. 2. Briga §. 7. St. Brigid of Cluan-in-fidi, *Not.* 65 to *Chap.* IX.

(259) Finnian's Life, *cap.* 21.

(260) The place is now called *Reynagh*, and is near Banagher in the King's county.

(261) Finnian's Life, *cap.* 22. *Doire-macAidmecain* signifies the wood (of oak) of the sons of Aidmecain. Colgan confesses that he could not discover where it was situated; yet in his *Ind. Topogr.* to *AA. SS.* he places it in Meath, for no other reason, I am sure, than that he thought it was in the same province with Kill-regnaighe, which was in the ancient Meath. But from the manner, in which both places are spoken of in Finnian's life, it would appear that they were rather far distant from each other; and, even if they were not, there are parts of Connaught and Munster much nearer to Kill-regnaighe than very many places in Meath.

CHAPTER XI.

St. Ita—Her birth—Establishes a nunnery at Cluain Credhuil—Her miracles—Several actions of her life—St. Senan—St. Carthagh the elder—Abbot Nesson founder of the monastery of Mungret—Life of St. Columbkil—His first name Crimthán changed to Columba—Goes to the school of St. Finnian of Maghbil—Studies under German in Leinster—and at Clonard under St. Finnian—Founds Doire Calgach—and Dairmagh or Durrough—Ordained priest by St. Etchen of Cluainbile—Founded a monastery at Kells—Many monasteries said to have been founded by him—Unfounded story of Finnian's manuscript—of king Diermit's decision—and the defeat of his army through the prayers of St. Columba—St. Columba goes to Hy, and founds a monastery and church there—Founds monasteries in the island of Ethica—Visits Skey—Superintends the ecclesiastical affairs of the British Scots—Visits St. Kentigern, bishop of Glasgow—Inaugurates Aidan as king of the British Scots.

SECT. I.

ST. Ita, (1) who may justly be called the St. Brigid of Munster, was of the princely house of the Desii or Nandesii, in the now county of Waterford. Her father's name was *Kennfoelad*, her mother's Necta. (2) They were Christians, as appears from St. Ita having been baptized in her childhood. (3) The time of her birth is not recorded; but it must have been some years prior to A. D. 484, if it be true that she had for some time under her care Brendan of Clonfert when an infant. (4) Yet, unless we are to suppose that she lived to an extraordinary great

age, only a few years can be allowed for this priority of birth, and on the whole it may be laid down that she was born about the year 480. From her earliest year she appeared animated with the Holy Spirit, observing, besides other religious duties, even the fasts prescribed by the Church, and displayed an extraordinary degree of modesty, sedateness, and suavity of temper. It is related that, while she was still very young, a room, in which she was asleep, seemed to be all in a blaze, and that some persons, who hastened to extinguish what they thought to be fire, found it uninjured, and observed Ita, on awaking, to exhibit an Angelical form of exquisite beauty. Having reached the age fit for choosing a permanent state of life she applied to her mother, and, after expatiating on the divine commandments, requested of her to procure her father's permission to consecrate herself to Christ. The mother acted according to her request, but the father obstinately refused to comply with her wish, particularly as a noble and powerful young man had just made him a proposal for obtaining her in marriage. Ita then said to some people about her; "let my father have his own way for a while; I tell you that he will soon not only permit but order me to give myself up to Christ, and will allow me to go whithersoever I please for the purpose of serving God." Not long after she fasted for three days and nights, during which time she was assailed with constant attacks of the enemy of mankind, which she resisted with invincible firmness. On the third night her father was admonished in a vision not to oppose her inclination any longer; and accordingly without loss of time, after informing her of what had occurred to him, he advised her to take the veil immediately. Matters being thus settled she repaired to the church, and was there in due form clothed with the veil and enrolled in the list of consecrated virgins. (5) Some time after she prayed the Almighty to direct her in

what place she might best serve him, and was instructed in a vision to proceed to the territory of Hy-Conaill and to remain in the western part of it at the foot of the mountain Luachra. (6) Thither she went and fixed her residence in a retired spot, called *Cluain-Credhuil*, where she was soon visited by a number of pious maidens, who flocked from all parts of the territory to place themselves under her direction. Thus her nunnery was established in a short time, and it was most probably the first in that part of Ireland. (7)

(1) This saint's name is sometimes spelled *Ida*; for, as Colgan observes, the latter Irish writers often use *d* instead of the *t* of the ancients. Her being called *Mida* is easily understood, as it is merely a compound of the particle indicating affection and the name *Ida*. Instead of *Ita*, *Ida*, *Mida*, we meet with *Ite*, *Ide*, *Mide*. It has been written also *Ytha*; but all these are still the same name. The Life of St. Ita, which has been published by Colgan at 15 Jan. is very ancient, and is acknowledged as such even by the Bollandists, who thought it might have been written by the author of the Life of St. Pulcherius, and accordingly in the seventh century. (See *Comment. Praev. ad Vit. S. Pulcher. 13 Mart.*) Ware says (*Writers L. 1. c. 2.*) that the author lived in the close of the sixth century.

(2) *AA. SS. p. 72.*

(3) Life of St. Ita, *cap. 1.*

(4) See *Not. 101 to Chap. x.* Brendan is spoken of several times in St. Ita's Life, without any allusion to this part of his history, which is to be found only in what is called his own Life, a document much less respectable than the other.

(5) Life, *cap. 5.* It is not improbable that St. Declan of Ardmore was the bishop, from whom she received the veil. The time of her receiving it seems to have been in the early part of the sixth century, and when Declan presided over the Nandesi country.

(6) *Luachra* was rather a name of the district, in which that mountain is, than of the mountain itself. (See *Not. 84 to Chap. vi.*) A part of Hy-Conaill was so called apparently from its abounding in rushes. The barony of Connello or Connillo, in the

county of Limerick, is the ancient Hy-Conaill or, at least part of it. The southern division of this barony, or Upper Connello, was distinguished by the additional name Gaura, being called *Hy-Conaill Gaura*, and in a western part of this tract St. Ita formed her establishment.

(7) We may be allowed to suppose, that the want of a similar institution in those western parts was, in the order of Providence, the cause of St. Ita having been directed to settle there. Nunneries and establishments for the education of females had in all appearance, been formed already in her own country, particularly as St. Brigid had been there for some time. (See *Chap.* VIII. §. 4. and *ib.* *Not.* 54.)

§. II. The chieftain and other principal persons of Hy-Conaill, on being informed of the extraordinary sanctity of St. Ita, waited upon her and offered to her a large tract of land around the house for the support of her establishment. She refused to accept of more than a small spot sufficient for a garden.

(8) As another instance of her disinterestedness it is related that, a wealthy man having laid before her, as an offering, a considerable sum of money, which he could not induce her to receive, she happened to touch it and then called for water to wash the hand, which had been as it were defiled by the contact of corruptible silver. She carried abstinence and fasting to such a pitch that it is said she was cautioned by an angel to be less abstemious for the future, and not to exhaust her frame by such excessive austerity. Several miracles, some of which are of an extraordinary kind, have been attributed to her. One of them is said to have been performed on a man called Feargus, whom she delivered by her prayers from excruciating pains in his eyes and whole body, which had brought him to almost the last extremity. (9) She was favoured with the gift of prophecy, and with the knowledge of persons, whom she had never seen, and of distant and secret occurrences. When Columbanus, a Leinster bishop, was on his way to pay

her a visit without his having given her any previous notice of it, she ordered an entertainment to be prepared, and on his arrival sent to ask for his episcopal benediction, before she could have known in an ordinary manner that he was a bishop, and mentioned other circumstances, which she could not have been apprized of except by supernatural means. A theft had been committed in a nunnery at a place called *Dirco-Chuisgrigh*. (10) One of the nuns was unjustly accused of it; but, as the matter was very obscure, the abbess and the whole community waited upon St. Ita to consult her. She immediately declared that the nun charged with the theft was innocent, and told them who was the guilty one. One of her own maidens had misbehaved and, having left the nunnery, rambled up and down until she was reduced to become a servant maid somewhere in Connaught. St. Ita, knowing by inspiration how she was situated and that she would do penance, if she had a proper opportunity, sent to her friend Brendan then at Clonfert to request that he would procure the poor creature's liberty. He accordingly did so, and sent her back to the nunnery, where St. Ita received her with great joy; and every thing turned out as she had foreseen. She had a knowledge of some transactions even of the other world, a very remarkable instance of which is thus related. An uncle of her's having died, she sent for his eight sons, who lived in the Nandesi country, and, upon their waiting on her, said to them; "Your father, who was my uncle, is, alas! now suffering in the lower regions for his transgressions; (11) and the manner, in which he is tormented, has been revealed to me. But let us do something for the good of his soul, that he may be delivered. I therefore desire that each of you do give, every day during this whole year, food and lamps to the poor for the benefit of his soul, and then at the end of the year return to me."

They, being wealthy, acted according to her injunction ; and, on their returning, she said ; “ Your father is half raised out of his situation through your alms and my prayers ; now go and repeat your donations during this year, and come to me again.” They did so, and then she told them that their father was quite out of the lower world, but that he was still without clothing, (12) because in his life time he had not given clothes to any one in the name of Christ. “ Now,” she said, “ let your alms for this year consist of clothes, that he may be clothed.” Having obeyed her orders they returned at the end of the year, and were informed by her that, through the great mercy of God, their alms and her prayers had been attended to, and that their father was then in the enjoyment of eternal rest. (13)

(8) *Life, cap. 7.* The text has “ *quatuor jugera in usus hortorum.*” According to a vulgar mode of translation this might be rendered *four acres*, &c. But I am not able to define the quantity of ground contained in the ancient Irish *juger* or acre.

(9) *Ib. cap. 25.* The author of the *Life* says, that the son of said Feargus was living in his time. This is one of the arguments adduced by Colgan and others for its antiquity.

(10) This place, of which no further account occurs, must have been, as appears from the narrative, not far from Cluain-Credhuil. The nunnery there was, in all probability, a branch of St. Ita’s institution.

(11) The words in the text are ; “ *Heu nobis ! in poenis infernalibus pro commisis suis torquetur.*” The phrase, *infernal pains*, affords a very strong proof of the antiquity of the *Life*, whereas for many centuries back the Western Church has, instead of it, generally expressed such pains by the name of *purgatory*. A similar phrase is still retained in one of the prayers of the Mass for the dead ; “ *Libera Domine animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de poenis inferni, et de profundo lacu,*” &c. I need not tell the reader that the *infernus*, or *infernalibus* in the now quoted passages do not refer to the hell of the damned, out of which the

Church never expected any deliverance. This manner of speaking was used in consequence of an opinion held by many theologians, that not only the devils and the damned, but likewise the souls in a state of purgation are confined in subterraneous regions, yet with this difference, that the former are kept in its lowermost and deepest parts, while the place for the latter, although contiguous to it, is supposed to be higher up. (See Bellarmin *De Purgatorio, Lib. 2, cap. 6.*) But, as this place was still considered as under the earth, the name *infernus*, which signifies a lower region or tract, was often applied to it, in the same manner as it has been used also for the grave. Tertullian alluding to a soul, which would at last be removed to heaven, writes (*Lib. de Anima, cap. 17.*); “In carcerem te mandet *infernum*, unde non dimittaris, nisi modico quoque delicto mora resurrectionis expenso.”

(12) This means that, although he was freed from the purgatorial sufferings, yet his soul was not as yet in a state fit for enjoying the beatific vision and that heavenly clothing, of which St. Paul says, 2 Cor. v. 2. *We groan desiring to be clothed over with our habitation, which is from heaven.*

(13) *Life, cap. 26.*

§. III. This holy virgin had been once as far as Clonmacnois, and there received the body and blood of Christ from the hand of a worthy priest without its being known who she was. On its being afterwards discovered that she had been there, the priest, who had *immolated the host* which she received, (14) set out, with some other persons of the clerical order, for Cluain-Credhuil for the purpose of getting her blessing. One of them lost his sight on the way, but on their arrival at the nunnery, recovered it immediately through the intercession of St. Ita. She asked the same priest to sing mass in her presence, which done, she ordered the vestments, in which he had just *immolated* to be given to him. He said he could not take them, whereas their abbot Aeneas (15) had commanded them not to accept of any thing from her except her prayers. She answer-

ed that he would not be displeas'd at it, and then mentioned a circumstance, which she desired them to communicate to him, adding, that the abbot on hearing it would receive her present with joy. This induced the priest and his companions to take the vestments; and the affair ended as she told them it would. (16) Other holy abbots also of those times held her in high veneration. St. Comgan, supposed to be Comgan of Glean-ussen, (17) finding his end approaching, sent for St. Ita, and, in the persuasion that her attendance would be conducive to his eternal happiness, prevail'd upon her to lay her hands upon his lips and to close his mouth at the moment of his death. (18) She was often visited by St. Luchtigherna abbot of Inistymon, (19) who on one occasion brought with him St. Lasrean abbot of Druimliag, (20) who not being known to the nuns was not welcomed by them at the gate. But St. Ita, although she had never seen him before, told them who he was and that he was as holy a man as Luchtigherna. (21) The great St. Brendan did not think it beneath him to consult her on the nature of Christian duties, and her answers were full of wisdom and discretion. (22) This extraordinary virgin, having reached a great age, called together her nuns, and told them that her end was near at hand. Not long after she was taken ill, and having given her blessing to them, and to the clergy and people of Hy-Conaill, departed this life on the 15th of January A. D. 570. (23) A crowd of people from the whole country assembled around her remains, and several miracles took place on the occasion. They were then deposited in her own monastery. The clergy and people of Hy-Conaill took St. Ita for their patron saint; (24) but the veneration, in which she has been held, extended far beyond that territory. (25)

(14) "*Qui immolavit hostiam, quam suscepit S. Ita.*"

(15) See *Not.* 184 to *Chap.* x.

(16) *Life*, *cap.* 17.

(17) See *Chap.* x. §. 14.

(18) From this anecdote it may be inferred that Comgan, although he had been abbot at Glean-ussen, ended his days in Thomond, his own country, and probably at Ceann-indis. (See *Not.* 245 to *Chap.* x. For it is hard to think, that he would have given St. Ita the trouble of going so great a distance as that between Glean-ussen and Cluain-Credhuil. On the other hand Ceann-indis could not be very far from the latter place, and was probably within a few miles of it, being separated by perhaps little more than the Shannon.

(19) In the barony of Corcomroe, county of Clare. The Irish Calendars mark the *Natalis* of St. Luch-tigherna at the 28th of April.

(20) This was most probably the same place as Drumlegagh in Kerry, where was formerly a very large wood, through which flowed the river Feal. (See Seward *ad loc.*) From this last circumstance it appears, that it was in that part of Kerry, which adjoins the county of Limerick, and consequently not far distant from Cluain Credhuil. It is odd, that Archdall, who has given us many monasteries that never existed, does not mention Druim-liag.

(21) St. Ita's *Life*, *cap.* 28. Lasrean is called son of Colman, to distinguish him from others of the same name. He is mentioned in the Calendars at 25 October. Concerning him and Luchtigherna see Colgan *AA. SS. p.* 72. Of either of them very little is known, except that the latter is said to have been a disciple of Ruadan of Lothra. (*ib.* p. 197.)

(22) See her *Life*, *cap.* 19.

(23) *AA. SS. p.* 72 The 4 Masters and other Annalists have A. 569, which is the same as our 570.

(24) *Life*, *cap.* 33. Another of their patrons was Senan of Iniscatthy; and hence it is said (*ib.* *cap.* 6.), that the entire nation of Hy-Conaill was to belong to these two saints.

(25) Alcuin in one of his minor poems joins her with St. Brigid. (See *Not.* 96 to *Chap.* ix.) Colgan in the Appendix to her *Life* has collected divers testimonies and eulogiums to this purpose.

§. IV. Before leaving those western parts of Ireland it will not be amiss to conclude the history of St. Senan, who has been revered as the other great saint of that country, and one of the patrons of Hy-Conaill. (26) From this circumstance it appears, that Senan's jurisdiction, besides some parts to the North of the Shannon, comprized also districts lying on the South and S. E. side of said river. He was, as has been seen, (27) fixed in Iniscatthy since about the year 540, at which time he was rather advanced in life and not less than about 50 years of age. (28) To the account of his acts already given I find nothing worth while to add, until towards the close of his life. It is related that, perceiving the time to be not far distant, when he should leave this world, he determined on going to the monastery of his first master Cassidus or Cassidanus, (29) and to the nunnery of St. Scota, his paternal aunt, the daughter of Cobhthach, that he might apply more fervently to prayer in these retreats and prepare himself for his wished for departure. (30) On his way thither he turned off a little towards the church of Kill-eochaille for the purpose of visiting certain holy virgins, the daughters of one Naereus, who had received the veil from him. (31) Having performed his devotions in the church of St. Cassidus he was returning to Iniscatthy, when in a field near the church of Kill-eochaille he heard a voice announcing to him, that he was to be removed to heaven without delay. Accordingly he died on that very day, and his body remained at Kill-eochaille until the next, when several of the principal members of his monastery arrived and had it brought to Iniscatthy. (32) Notice of his death was then sent to the prelates, clergy, and principal persons of the neighbouring churches, and his obsequies were celebrated for an entire week. On the eighth day, several respectable members of the hierarchy and clergy (33) having come up from other parts, the remains of

the saint were deposited in his own church. This was the 8th of March, and to this day has been annexed his festival, although he is generally said to have died on the first. The year of his death is unknown; but there can be no doubt that it was later than 544, which some writers have assigned for it. (34) Among his disciples some are mentioned, who became bishops, such as Dallan, Sedna or Sedonius, Ere, and Mola, concerning whom I find little or nothing recorded. (35) Senan was succeeded in the government of Iniscatthy by Odran, who does not appear to have been raised to the episcopal dignity. (36) The reputation of St. Senan has not been confined to Ireland, and his Acts have been published among those of the saints of Brittany, on the supposition, whether well founded or not, that he was the same as St. Sané, one of the chief patrons of the diocese of St. Pol de Leon. (37) Yet, notwithstanding the great fame of this saint, and in spite of the many monuments still recording his name and transactions in the island of Iniscatthy, a pseudo-antiquary of our days has had the impudence to write, that he was no other than the river Shannon personified. (38)

(26) See *Not.* 24.

(27) *Chap.* x. §. 1.

(28) It is probable that he was born about A. D. 488. (See *Chap.* ix. §. 4.) In the life of Kieran of Clonmacnois (*cap.* 22. *ap.* *AA.* *SS.* p. 543.) Senan is spoken of as old at the time of his receiving that visit, on which he supplied Kieran with a cloak. (See *Not.* 175 to *Chap.* x.) It could not have taken place later than the early part of 549, the year in which Kieran died. If the Brendan, who on another occasion (See *Not. cit.*) waited, together with Kieran, on Senan, was Brendan of Clonfert, it would follow that Senan was born prior to 484, being represented as older than said Brendan. But it seems more probable that he was Brendan of Birr (See *Chap.* x. §. 8.), whereas from the manner, in which Kieran and Brendan are spoken of on that occasion, it would appear, that they were both abbots, and lived not very far from each

other. This will not answer for Brendan of Clonfert, who was not abbot there until after Kieran's death. (See *Not.* 110 to *Chap.* x.) Nor is there any account of his having been, prior to his settling at Clonfert, abbot any where else in Ireland, at least in those parts, which were not far distant from Kieran's establishments of Inis-aingin and Clonmacnois. Brendan of Clonfert was probably in Brittany at the time of this visit to Senan. (See *Chap.* x. §. 7.) Now every circumstance accords with the supposition, that Brendan of Birr was the person, who then accompanied Kieran. He was, in all probability, an abbot before Kieran died. Birr is within a few miles of Clonmacnois; and, if we should suppose that Kieran was still abbot of Inis-aingin, when he set out for Iniscatthy, Birr lies not much out of the road, by which he must have passed, so that he and Brendan might, with little inconvenience, have met for the purpose of travelling together. What has been now observed will help to clear up two points of the history of Brendan of Birr; 1st. as to the time of his birth, which must be placed after that of Senan, and perhaps about the year 500; 2dly, that of his founding the monastery of Birr, which, in this hypothesis, was prior to the death of Kieran in 549.

(29) See *Chap.* ix. §. 4. It is not to be imagined that Casidus was alive at this time; but the monastery retained his name.

(30) Second Life of Senan, *cap.* 42. The nunnery seems to have been not far from the monastery, which was in the district called *Irras*. (See *Not.* 52 to *Chap.* ix.)

(31) Colgan thought that Kill-eochaille might have been the same as Kill-nac-caillech, *cell of the nuns*, in the county of Clare not far from Iniscatthy; and that the daughters of Naereus were perhaps those of Nateus mentioned by Aengus Kelideus. These conjectures, particularly the former, are very probable; but Archdall had no right (at *Kilnagallegh*) to change them into positive facts.

(32) *Life, cap.* 42.

(33) Among them is reckoned in the Second life (*cap.* 43.) Deron bishop of Limerick. But there was neither a bishop nor city of Limerick in those days. As to the city, Ferrar could not find any thing authentic concerning it until the middle of the 9th century. (*Hist. of Limerick, p.* 3.) And as to its see, neither

Ware nor Harris were able to discover any undoubted bishop there before Gillebert, who lived in the eleventh. For as to St. Munchin or Manchan, it is more than probable that he was not bishop of Limerick; and, even if he was, as some say, its first bishop, the see was not yet formed in Senan's time; whereas Munchin lived in the seventh century. It is to be observed that the author of the Second life lived at a very late period and after the arrival of the English in Ireland, when Limerick had become a respectable city. In the first or metrical life, which is more ancient, the names of the bishops and abbots, who attended at Senan's funeral, are not given.

(34) This is the date assigned by Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) and, after him, by Harris and Archdall. Usher held that St. David of Wales died in that year; but it has been shown (*Chap. ix. §. 9.*) that his calculations were wrong, and that St. David was alive many years after. Then having read in the metrical Life of Senan, that he died on the same identical day that David did, he very naturally placed his death also in 544. Upon the same principle Colgan maintains (*Not. 19 to said Life at 8 Mart.*), that Senan must have lived to, at least, the year 580, whereas David did not die until about that time. I am inclined to think that Senan died some years earlier than David; nor do I find any reason for what is said of their having died in the same year, except that they both happened to die on a first of March. Hence it was said that they died on the same day; and this, instead of being understood relatively to corresponding days of different years, was easily mistaken for one day of one and the same year. The said Life, in which *alone* this identity of day is mentioned, has a story about David's death having been revealed to Senan at the very moment it happened, and his then lying down to die, whereas they had agreed not to survive each other. This is a strange and incredible story, as if indeed it depended on them to leave this world whenever they pleased; nor is there a word about it in the second Life or in the accounts of Senan given in the Calendars. (See *AA. SS. p. 543.*) If it were true that Senan had been for some time with St. Maidoc of Ferns, as stated in the second Life (*cap. 18.*) he should have lived until the latter end of the 6th century. But in this there is a huge anachronism; for his being with Maidoc is placed long before the foundation of Inis-

cathly, at which time the latter was not yet born. (See *Not. 5. to Chap. x.*) It is probable that he died about the year 560; whereas we do not find, that he is said to have lived to a very great age, and it is stated that he was of a sickly constitution. (*AA. SS. p. 544.*) Nor is he mentioned as having had transactions with any of the eminent saints, who flourished in the South of Ireland after about that time, except Brendan of Birr who died in 571, (See *Chap. x. §. 8.*) and whose visit to Senan could not have been later than 549. (above *Not. 28.*) On the other hand it is difficult to suppose that he died much sooner than 560, as from the respectability, to which he raised the monastery of Iniscathly, it is fair to conclude that he governed it for, at least, about 20 years after its foundation about or somewhat prior to A. D. 540.

(35) Colgan treats of Sedna at 10 March. He thinks that he was the same as a St. Sedna, son of Eren, and native of a district in Munster, called *Altraighe Cliach*. Could it have been in what is now called the barony of Duhallow in the county of Cork? *Altraighe* is probably a compound of *Al* and *traighe* (shore or bank), and thus means the tract lying along the river Al or Allo, which flows through that barony. This Sedna presided over a church at a place called Cluan (not to be confounded with Cloyne) between the mountains Crot and Mairge also in Munster, but was buried at Kinsale. There is a parish called Clonnene in Duhallow, and in it is a range of mountains now called St. Hilary's. (See Smith's Cork, *vol. 1. p. 302.*) Sedna's being buried in Kinsale was probably owing to his having spent his last days there in the monastery founded by his brother St. Goban, who had been a disciple of the great Ailbe of Emly. Smith is wrong (*ib. p. 227.*) in making Colgan say that Goban was abbot at Kinsale in the seventh century. The Goban of that century was, as Colgan lays down, a quite different person, and is, together with Goban of Kinsale, treated of by him at 26 March. Archdall (at *Kinsale*), instead of Sedna, has Senan as buried there. This is, I believe, an error of the press; for (at *Cluain*) Sedna is the person mentioned. Another brother of Sedna was St. Melteoc, who was revered at Kinsale as one of its patrons on the 11th of December (*AA. SS. p. 573.*) This is, I dare say, the St. Multos, whose name the parish church of Kinsale bears,

and not a female saint, whom Smith (*ib.*) calls *Multosia*. As to bishop Erc, Colgan thought he might have been Erc of Domnach-mor-muighe Luadhat. (See *Not.* 97 to *Chap.* x.) Concerning Dallan and Mola I can find nothing satisfactory.

(36) In the second life of Senan (*cap.* 42.) we find Odran joined in the same sentence with Erc and Mola, who are expressly called bishops, while no such title is given to him. Colgan indeed (*AA. SS.* p. 542) gives it to him, for no other reason, as far I can discover, except his supposing that, as Senan had been a bishop, Odran should have been one also. Harris has, as usual, copied Colgan. (*Bishops*, p. 502) But there is nothing more common in our Church history of those times than to find some abbots raised to the episcopal rank, although their successors were not. In the very passage (said *Life*, *cap.* 43) where the appointment of Odran is particularly mentioned, he is called simply *abbot to preside over the monks*. Nor had Colgan a better right to state, that he flourished about A. D. 580, as he had no authority for this date except his hypothesis concerning the year of Senan's death. (See above *Not.* 33.)

(37) Albert Le Grand, who drew up these Acts, was of that opinion. Colgan was not able to come to any decision on the subject. (See *AA. SS.* p. 528.) Lobineau says (*Hist. de Bretagne*, *Tom.* 1, p. 76), that of St. Sané scarcely any thing is known except his name. There is no proof that Senan ever lived in Brittany; but his fame might have easily reached that country, considering the great intercourse then kept up between it and Ireland. (See *Chap.* ix. §. 12.) Yet, as that was not the land of his residence, it is not to be wondered at, that his history was but imperfectly known there.

(38) The reader will easily guess, that I allude to Ledwich. For who else would dare to announce such a notorious and ridiculous falsehood? He says (*Antiq. &c.* p. 32; "We had made of the Shannon, saint Senanus; of the town of Down, saint Dunus," &c. This nonsense appears as corroborative of his endeavours to transform St. Kevin into a mountain. (See *Not.* 147 to *Chap.* x.) How is it possible to argue against such barefaced lies? Could this charlatan have been so ignorant of Irish history as not to know, that *Senan* was a very common name of persons in Ireland? Colgan reckons (*AA. SS.* p. 541) about 20 distin-

guished men of that name in former times. Surely all these were not the river Shannon. Besides, *Senan* was not the real name of the river. In Ptolomy's map it is called *Senus*, but the Irish name for it was *Sionna* (*Life of Fintan of Clonenagh, cap. 3.*) or *Seinnon*, which used to be latinized into *Sinannus* or *Sinennus*, as we find it written in the second *Life of Senan* himself, in which he is constantly called *Senanus*. Supposing, however, that the names were the same, how could the quack have proved his assertion? Does he mean to drive out of existence hundreds of Irish families, that bear the name of *Shannon*? According to his mode of treating antiquities many a person should be changed into rivers. The celebrated St. Nilus, with whom *Senan* was nearly contemporary, would have been a phantom and nothing more than the river Nile personified. Where did *Ledwich* find St. Dunus? Charles O'Connor has told him (*Reflections, &c. in the Collectan. Vol. 3.*), that there was no Irish saint of that name. But even if there had been one, why make him the same as *Down* personified? It would be more natural to suppose that a St. Dunus had been of some family of the *Duns*, of whom there are great numbers in Ireland. As I have touched on this impudent manner of treating subjects of antiquity, in which *Ledwich* is followed by a whimsical English writer called *Faber*, who has given us a rhapsody on the *Cabiri*, let me add another sample of his sweeping mode of exterminating saints. In a Note (*p. 36.*) he says; "Just such saints were St. Bron, St. Lhygad or Lugad, St. Genocus, St. Brecas. *Colgan* compared with *Lhuyd, Advers. sub fn. Baxteri Gloss.*" A reader, who may not have an opportunity of consulting *Colgan's* works or *Lhuyd's Adversaria*, would perhaps be inclined to think, that these writers were favourable to *Ledwich's* position. Now the whole business comes to this. *Lhuyd* states that *Bron*, a Welsh word signifying *breast*, enters into the name of some mountains in Wales. Hence *Ledwich* would fain conclude, that there was no such person as a St. Bron bishop of Cassel-irra, although he is mentioned over and over in Irish history, particularly in the lives of St. Brigid, and not only the year but the very day of his death has been marked in our Annals. (See *Chap. ix. §. 2.*) By a similar sort of logic he strives to change *Lugad* also into a Welsh mountain. He roguishly calls him *Lhygad*, a name of Welsh spelling not

received in the Irish language. But *Lhygad* means an *eye*, and occurs in the name of a mountain in Wales. Therefore St. Lugad was a mountain. Bravo! Which of the St. Lugads does he allude to? for we had seven or eight of them, some of whom are mentioned by Adamnan. Why not as well change our kings and chieftains into mountains, as many of them bore the name of *Lugad*? The attack on St. Genocus will, I dare say, be resented by the Welsh if ever they chance to meet with Ledwich's book of lies; whereas this saint was a countryman of theirs, and came to Ireland with Finnian of Clonard. (See *Chap.* ix. §. 8 and *ib.* *Not.* 125.) But our Doctor, or somebody for him, happened to find that Lhuyd has the Welsh word *Geneu* (mouth) as a part of some compound names used as to mountains. *Ergo* there was no such person as St. Genoc. In the very same page of Lhuyd they found that *Braich* (arm) is often used in like manner. Then another saint was looked out for, in the design of transforming him also into a mountain. The first, that fell in their way, was St. Brecas or rather Brecus, who is mentioned among the relatives of St. Ita by Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 73. where his genealogy is given and the 15th of January is marked as the day, on which his name appears in the Calendars. Ledwich might as well have fallen foul of some of the Brecans; but as there were several persons so called he thought it more adviseable to pitch upon Brecus. Yet this name was not peculiar to the saint; for Irish history supplies us with some distinguished namesakes of his. I have taken the trouble of showing by what sort of process this audacious quack has endeavoured to extract from Lhuyd the above given passage, a process which he artfully concealed from the reader, who will now be able to judge what is to be thought of a *soi-disant* Reverend Doctor, who, while dealing out lies by bushels for the purpose of misleading the public, has the diabolical effrontery to denounce others as guilty of clerical imposture, pious frauds, &c. and who labours to overturn the most authentic facts by conjectures and etymological quibbles, in the same manner and upon the same principles, that some late petty *philosophes* have done in their impious attempts to show, that there never appeared on earth such a person as our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST.

§. v. St. Carthagh, or, as some call him, Carthah the elder, is said to have flourished about the year 540. He was grandson of Aengus king of Cashel, (39) and educated under St. Kieran of Saigir. This does not well agree with the supposition of his having been distinguished as early as that year, unless it should be admitted that Kieran had been his preceptor before he became bishop in that place. (40) Nor will this seem improbable, if it be recollected that Kieran was a native of Munster, (41) and that Saigir was also in that province. (42) Accordingly Kieran might have been well known, in an early part of his life, at the court of Cashel, and entrusted with the care of the young prince Carthagh immediately after he had himself left Finnian's school of Clonard about, perhaps, the year 532. (43) It appears that Carthagh was young, probably not more than 17 or 18 years of age, when he was first placed under St. Kieran. (44) Some time after it happened that he and a female pupil of St. Liedania (45) conceived a violent passion for each other; but, their plan for indulging it having been miraculously thwarted, they both repented, and a part of the penance enjoined on Carthagh by Kieran was that he should absent himself from Ireland for some time. He then went to Gaul, and in that country, but in what particular part of it we are not informed, spent some years in the practices of a penitential life and in the study of the holy scriptures. (46) Having returned to Ireland he was welcomed with great joy by Kieran, who was by this time a bishop, and probably remained with him for some time. He seems to have received holy orders not long after, and, as can scarcely be doubted, from Kieran himself. Some monasteries or churches are mentioned, which he is said to have governed. (47) It is related that Kieran a little before his death entrusted and recommended the care of his monks to Carthagh, whence it has been concluded that he succeeded Kie-

ran immediately as bishop of Saigir. The matter, however, is very doubtful; and it is more probable that, whatever superintendence Carthagh might have exercised for some time in that place, it was rather that of a friend than of a bishop. (48) Nor can the time be determined, at which he presided in any manner over the monastery of Saigir. (49) Carthagh undoubtedly became a bishop in course of time, but when or by whom he was consecrated we cannot discover. His see or the scene of his episcopal exertions was in Kerry near the river Mang. (50) In that country he met with young Mochuda, otherwise Carthagh junior, (51) who afterwards became so renowned as abbot of Rathen and first bishop of Lismore. He took him under his care and kept him with himself as a favourite disciple, until, when properly instructed and duly qualified, he raised him to the order of priesthood. St. Carthagh was old when he ordained Mochuda, and probably died not long after. The year of his death is not known; but it can scarcely be supposed to have been prior to 580. (52) His name is marked in the calendars at the 5th of March, on which day his festival was celebrated in many churches. (53)

(39) Colgan has endeavoured to give some Acts of this saint at 5 March. They are very imperfect. In several Irish Calendars he is called son of Aengus, owing perhaps to his having been spoken of as descended from him, and called a child of his. But it is more probable that he was his grandson, as expressly stated in the lives of Kieran of Saigir, in which he is often mentioned. Unless we should suppose that he was born but a very short time before the death of Aengus, who was killed in 490, it would be difficult to believe that he was his son, whereas it appears that he must have lived until about 580.

(40) See *Chap. x. §. 2.* Colgan calculated that Carthagh was under Kieran's care before the year 489, the year, in which, according to his mode of counting, Aengus was killed. He was led astray by one of those anachronisms, with which the Acts of

Kieran abound. Aengus, Kieran, and Carthagh his disciple being spoken of as living at one and the same time. After all that we have seen about Kieran, I need not tell the reader that most probably he was not born until after Aengus' death.

(41) See *Chap.* 1. §. 14. (42) *Chap.* x. §. 2.

(43) Kieran was very probably one of Finnian's first scholars at Clonard: Supposing that he had spent two or three years at that school, not in elementary studies, but in acquiring what was taught there, *viz.* theological learning, he might have left it about 532, whereas said school was opened about or perhaps somewhat prior to 530.

(44) This circumstance shows that it is not only very probable, but certain that Carthagh was not an immediate son of king Aengus. It can scarcely be admitted that he became a pupil of Kieran until about A. D. 532. Being then not yet 20 years old, how could he have been a son of that king? (Compare with *Not.* 39.)

(45) See *Chap.* x. §. 2.

(46) According to some accounts he visited Rome during that time.

(47) One of these churches was at Druim-fertain or Ferdhaim in Carbria Hua Kiarrdha. Colgan has (*Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.*) a Carbria at the boundary of the ancient Meath and Connaught. Instead of *Carbria Hua Kiarrdha* the Calendar of Cashel has *Carbria Midensis*. Colgan mentions (*AA. SS. p. 142*) Carbria Teffiac, of which perhaps that called Hua-Kiarrdha was a part. Teffia comprized, besides the county of Longford, a great part of Westmeath. Druim-fertain was probably in some part of that extensive territory and perhaps not far distant from Lough Shellin or Sillin, in an island of which, called *Inisvachuir*, Carthagh is said to have had also a church. Archdall had no authority, not even Colgan's, for assigning the foundation of this church, or, as he calls it, abbey, to about the year 540. Another church, called *Kill-Carthaich*, is in one account reckoned among those, which he founded or governed. It was in Tirconnel, now Donegall. I suspect that this church got its name rather from some other Carthaich or Carthagh than from him, whom we are now treating of. The Calendar of Cashel, which may be considered as good authority with regard to him, has it not among his churches. And the

great distance of that place from our Carthagh's country cannot but excite a doubt on the subject. Archdall's assertion (at *Kilchartaich*) that he was bishop there, and about A. D. 540, does not rest on any sufficient authority.

(48) Colgan founds his position of Carthagh having succeeded Kieran as bishop upon an Irish life of the latter, in which is mentioned his having recommended his monks to the former. (See *AA. SS. p. 475.*) But might not Carthagh have taken care of them for a while without being bishop of Saigir? Neither in the Calendar of Cashel, nor in those of Marian Gorman, Donegall, and others, in which Carthagh is uniformly styled *alumnus* of Kieran, does he ever appear as his *comorban* or successor, notwithstanding the constant practice of our calendarists to mark distinctly the circumstance of a disciple succeeding his master in a see, whenever it occurred. The immediate successor of Kieran as bishop of Saigir was most probably Setna or Sedna (different from the Sedna above treated of, *Not. 35.*); and Colgan himself seems to have thought so; for he says (*AA. SS. p. 473.*), that he flourished about A. D. 570. Archdall (at *Seirkeran*) in his usual incorrect manner quotes Colgan as if saying, that Sedna *died* in 570. Colgan writes not *died*, but *flourished*. Then, instead of the 10th of March, which Colgan assigns for his festival, Archdall makes him die on the first. Sedna was certainly bishop at Saigir before the death of Carthagh. Now, if Carthagh was ever bishop there, how shall we account for his having left that see? For, as will soon appear, Carthagh, after being consecrated bishop, did not, on any occasion that we know of, withdraw from his episcopal functions. Ware indeed (*Bishops at Ossory*) has Carthagh bishop of Saigir; but, I believe, merely on the authority of Colgan.

(49) Colgan, following his ill-proved hypothesis, says (*p. 473*) that Carthagh became bishop of Saigir in the year 540. His reason for assigning this date was his having supposed, that Kieran died about that year. (*ib. p. 466.*) But we have seen (*Chap. x. §. 2.*), that Kieran lived for several years later. If Colgan had not swallowed the silly stories about Kieran having been contemporary with St. Patrick, he would not have guessed that he died as early as 540, or that Carthagh was promoted in said year. It was this date running in Archdall's head, that induced him here and there to affix various transactions of Carthagh to about 540. (See

above *Not. 47.*) Harris has made the matter still worse by telling us (at *Ossory, p. 402.*) that Carthagh is said to have died about 540 ; although Colgan, his guide, expressly shows (*AA. SS. p. 476.*), that he must have been still alive after that period.

(50) Colgan has not the name of the particular place, in which Carthagh resided. He mentions a monastery called *Thuaim*, in which the saint was on a certain occasion. But it appears rather as a place, in which he and his companions happened to be entertained, than as that of his usual abode. Yet, as is plain from the narrative, *Thuaim* was in the neighbourhood of the river Mang. Colgan therefore is wrong in saying that it might have been the same as *Tuaim-nava, alias Iniscarra*. (See *AA. SS. p. 533.*) This place is in the barony of Barrets (co. Cork) far distant from the river Mang. There is a mountain in the barony of Dunkerron (Kerry) called *Toomish*, to which the name *Thuaim* may perhaps have some reference. That St. Carthagh was bishop in Kerry can be collected also from other circumstances, *ex. c.* the mention of the chieftains of *Kiarraighe*, and of the shore of *Leamhna*, which can be no other than Lough Lean or the lake of Killarney.

(51) Life of Mochuda quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 475.*) Mochuda was, as will be seen in its proper place, a native of Kerry, and was living in his own country when he met with bishop Carthagh. Thus we have an additional proof of what has been observed concerning Carthagh's see.

(52) Mochuda lived until the year 637 ; and it does not appear that he was of an extraordinary age when he died. Allowing him sixty years of priesthood, which is much more than the usual average, his ordination would have taken place in 577, at which time the ordainer St. Carthagh was not only alive, but although old, still able to exercise the episcopal duties. Thus then it is plain that Carthagh must have lived until about 580.

(53) Besides the churches said to have been governed by Carthagh, the Calendar of Cashel mentions one dedicated to him at a place called *Inis-Carthach* near Lismore. It is natural to suppose that, as he had been the master and instructor of the great Mochuda, his memory was revered in that district.

§. VI. Another distinguished saint of the South of Ireland, contemporary with Senan, and partly

with Carthagh, was Nesson abbot, and most probably founder of the monastery of Mungret near Limerick. (54) The early history of this saint is involved in obscurity; for we cannot admit the story of his having become a disciple of St. Patrick, when in Munster; as if Nesson could have been a grown up young man about the year 450. (55) He may, at least in part, be said to have been a disciple of St. Ailbe of Emly, with whom he used to converse upon theological subjects and questions, the solution of which he was anxious to learn. (56) At the time of these conversations he could not have been very young; and it may fairly be inferred that he was born before the beginning of the 6th century. (57) It is also probable that he was then, or at least before Ailbe's death, abbot at Mungret (58) He never rose higher in the church than to the rank of Deacon, by which title he was known not only during his life-time, but likewise ever since (59) Yet his reputation was so great, that he has been considered as one of the fathers of the Irish church; (60) and therefore it can scarcely be doubted that he was the Nesson named in the second class of saints. (61) He died in the year 552; (62) and his festival was celebrated at Mungret on the 25th of July. (63) This monastery became very eminent, and is said to have contained at one time a prodigious number of monks. (64) Not long after the death of St. Nesson we find marked that of some other distinguished persons, concerning whom, however, very little is known. St. Cathub, abbot of Achad-cinn in the now county of Antrim, whose memory was revered on the 6th of April, died in 555. (65) The death of St. Bec or Beg surnamed Mac-De, or son of De, is assigned to 558. (66) This saint was distinguished by the gift of prophecy. He was of the house of Orgiel or Oriel, and his name is marked in the Calendars at the 12th of October. (67) To the same year is affixed also the

death of a St. Aidan Hua Fiachra, (68) of whom I cannot discover any further account.

(54) We have already shown (*Not.* 79. to *Chap.* vi.) the absurdity of the opinion that St. Patrick founded this monastery for Nessian. Nor is there any reason to think that there was any such monastery established there either by St. Patrick, as Harris states, or by any one else before the times of Nessian, who ought, I believe, be considered as the founder of it.

(55) See *Chap.* vi. §. 8. *ib.* *Not.* 79.

(56) Life of Ailbe *ap.* Usher, *p.* 961.

(57) Ailbe died in the year 527. How long before his death he held these theological conversations with Nessian, we are not informed. Supposing them to have been in 520, and that Nessian was then 30 years old, (for he could hardly have been less when qualified for such conferences) we would thus have his birth in 490, about which year it is probable he came into the world.

(58) In the passage referred to (*Not.* 56) Nessian is styled *egregius et sanctissimus*. If, as seems very probable, it was meant to apply these epithets as suiting him at the time of those conversations, it will follow that he was then of a mature age. Yet we cannot mark the precise time, in which he formed his establishment at Mungret, while it is undeniable that he was abbot in that place. (See *Tripart. Life of St. Patrick*, *L.* 3. *c.* 42.)

(59) Besides the Tripartite, *loc. cit.* we have the authority of the third Life of St. Patrick, *cap.* 61. in which he is spoken of; “Nesan qui nunc dicitur *Dechon Nesan*.” Aengus Kelideus (*ap.* *AA. SS.* *p.* 629.) reckons him among the holy deacons.

(60) In Cumminian's Paschal Epistle Nessian is joined with Ailbe, Kieran of Clonmacnois, &c. That this was Nessian of Mungret, cannot be called in question, whereas Cumminian alludes to saints who left great establishments after them, and particularly in places not far distant from the Shannon. Now there was no other Nessian in those parts of Ireland, to whom these circumstances could apply.

(61) *Chap.* x. §. 4. Usher (*p.* 961.) applies to Nessian of that class what is said in Ailbe's life concerning the deacon Nessian, and, I dare say, justly. He confounds him with one Nessian, who, he thought, had led a recluse life in the small island called

Ireland's eye. This is a mistake, which Usher was led into by a passage, which he quotes from John Alan, archbishop of Dublin. There was no St. Nessian in that island; but we find that three holy men, sons of Nessian of the royal house of Leinster, inhabited it in the seventh century. Their names were Dichull, Munnissa, and Néslug; and their memory was revered there on the 15th of March, at which day Colgan treats of them. The island, which seems to have been originally called *Inis-Faithlenn*, got from them the name of *Inis-mac-Nessian*, or Island of the sons of Nessian, *insula filiorum Nessiani*, as it appears in a brief of Pope Alexander III. to St. Laurence O'Tool. (*Vet. Ep. Hib. Sylloge*, Ep. 48.) This name has been sometimes contracted into *Inis-Nessian*. From what has been now observed it is plain, that Harris was wrong in attributing a monastery there in the 6th century to a St. Nessian. Archdall goes further, and says that he founded it about A. D. 570. There is not the slightest authority for this statement, nor for what he adds concerning *St. Nessian's church*, instead of which he should have written, the *church of the sons of Nessian*. Seward (at *Ireland's eye*) has copied, as he often does, part of Archdall's mistakes.

(62) Colgan, following the 4 Masters, has 551 (552.) See *Tr. Th. p. 32* and 186. and *AA. SS. p. 192*. Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) reckons, by mere conjecture, Nessian among some persons, who, he says, flourished in the year 570. He had not seen the Irish Annals, in which the year of Nessian's death is distinctly marked. It was Usher's conjectural 570, that poor Archdall was thinking of. (*See Not. P. c.*)

(63) *Tr. Th. p. 186*.

(64) See Archdall at *Mungret*. It is strange that Ware has not made mention of this monastery.

(65) *AA. SS. p. 192*. There is a story concerning Cathul having lived to the age of about 150 years. It was, I suspect, patched up in consequence of his having been confounded with a priest Cathbad, who is said to have been in St. Patrick's time. (*See Not. 22. to Chap. vi.*)

(66) *AA. SS. p. 192*. I have marked 558, as being the same, for the 557 of the 4 Masters.

(67) *AA. SS. p. 713*.

(68) *Ib. p. 192*.

§. VII. To return to the second class of Irish saints, we may now enter upon the life of the great Columbkil, who is mentioned in it after some other saints already treated of (69) and who had been born before him. Colgan and others have published several lives of this saint, (70) from which, with the aid of other documents, I shall endeavour to extract whatever appears most authentic relatively to his transactions. We read that his birth and future greatness had been foretold many years before he came into the world. (71) His origin was of the highest rank according to the usual notions of mankind. By his father's side he was descended from Niall Neigiallach, being the son of Fedhlimid who was a great grandson of that monarch. (72) His mother Aethena, daughter of Macanava, (73) was of an illustrious and princely house of Leinster. (74) It is related, that, before she was delivered of him, an Angel appeared to her in a dream, bringing a robe or cloak of extraordinary beauty, which, after presenting to her, he soon after took away, and, spreading it out, let fly through the air. On her asking him what reason he had for depriving her of it, the Angel answered that it was of too magnificent a nature to be left with her. She then observed it as if expanding itself far and wide over plains, mountains, and forests, and heard these words; "Woman do not grieve; for you shall bring into the world a son, who is to be a guide of innumerable souls, and will be reckoned as one of God's prophets." (75) As to the year of his birth, there are various opinions, of which the most probable is that it was A. D. 521. (76) It is said that he was born at Gartan, (77) and baptized in the church of Tulachdubhglaisse by a holy priest Crothnechan. (78) According to some accounts his first name was *Crimthan*, which, by reason of his dove-like simplicity and innocence of life, was afterwards changed into *Columba*. (79) To this was in course of time added the surname

Cille or *Kille*, on account of the number of monasteries which he founded; (80) and by which he has been distinguished from other holy men of the same name. When very young he was entrusted to the care of a respectable priest, with whom he lived (81) near, as it is said, the church of Kill-mac-nenain. (82) On a certain occasion the clergyman having, after the celebration of mass, returned to his habitation observed it illuminated with a clear light, and saw a globe of fire suspended over the face of his pupil; upon which he threw himself, in an act of veneration, on the floor, well knowing that this phenomenon indicated the divine grace abundantly shed on young Columba. (83) In fact, he exhibited from his earliest years a true Christian spirit and application to useful studies, without being defiled by any stain of sin. (84) We are told that, when still a small boy, he recited the psalms together with Brugacius bishop at Rath-enaigh, whither he had accompanied his preceptor, whom the bishop had invited to celebrate the festival of Christmas. (85)

(69) See *Chap. x. §. 13.*

‡ (70) The Lives published by Colgan in the *Trias Thaumaturga* are five in number. The first is rather short, and, properly speaking, cannot be called a regular history. It is, according to a mode of writing very prevalent with old authors of the Acts of saints, a sort of dissertation, in which several anecdotes are recorded without scarcely any attention to chronological order. Colgan was right in supposing that it was the most ancient of all the so called Lives of Columbkil, and once thought it might have been that written by Cumineus Albus, which is quoted by Adamnan. But he preferred attributing it to some other author, whom, however, he was not able to identify. Yet there can be no doubt of its being the work of Cumineus, and as such it has been republished by Mabillon in the *AA. SS. Benedict. Tom. 1.* and from him by Pinkerton, *Vitae antiquae sanctorum—Scot. &c.* In both these editions he is called not *Cumineus* but *Cuminus*. The names are the same, having been latinized from the original

Cumin. The passage referred to by Adamnan occurs in the 5th chapter of this tract, although with some variation of words. Mabillon took his edition from a MS. of the monastery of Compeigne, whereas Colgan followed the manuscript Supplement of Belfortius to Surias. Cumenus *Albus*, or *White*, became abbot of Hy in the year 657 (Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) and accordingly was a different person from Cumnian the author of the Paschal epistle (See *Chap. II. §. 5.*) with whom he has been strangely confounded by Colgan (*AA. SS. ad 22 Feb.*) Harris (*Writers at Cumnian*), and even by the Bollandists at the 18th of April (Life of St. Lasreanus), although Bollandus himself had (at 24 Feb. *p. 429*) spoken of them as distinct persons. And that they were is evident from the the diversity of style, which we find on comparing the Life of Columbkil with the Paschal epistle. That of the former is easy, flowing, and abounding in round periods, while the style of the latter is concise, metaphorical, with an affectation of rare phrases and Hellenisms, such as *Johannis petalici—inculti logii bifaris*, &c. Add, that the monks of Hy did not receive the Roman cycle until many years after the death of Cumineus albus, as will be seen hereafter, and that it is by no means probable they would have chosen for their abbot so great a stickler for that cycle as the author of the Paschal epistle. It is strange that so learned a man as Mabillon could have headed the Life by Cumineus with calling him abbot of Hy in *Anglia*. Surely the little island Hy was never considered as comprized in England.

The second Life, as Colgan calls it, is plainly a compound of two distinct works. The saint's death is circumstantially related in the 19th chapter; and yet we find it treated of again in what Colgan marks the 35th, where some circumstances occur not mentioned in the former. The fact is, that the 19th chapter is the conclusion of an entire tract in itself, which seems to have been written by a foreigner, as a proof of which I will adduce only one passage, in which the author takes particular care to point out the situation of Hy, which he calls "*Insulam Jonam, quae in septentrionali oceano inter Hiberniam et Britanniam sita est.*" (*Cap. 6.*) A person writing in Hy or in Ireland would not have thought it necessary to be so precise. The author lived probably at a time when Ireland was more generally known by the

name of *Hibernia*, than of *Scotia*. In a parallel passage, in which Cumineus (*cap.* 12.) and Adamnan (*L.* 3. *c.* 17. Colgan's *ed.*) have *Scotia*, he introduces (*cap.* 12.) *Hibernia*. His work is a sort of biographical memoir, in which, considering its brevity, the series of transactions is tolerably attended to, and has been borrowed chiefly from the Life by Adamnan, with some additions from later documents. The remaining part of what Colgan exhibits as the second Life is by a different hand and in a less correct style. The author has taken almost the whole of it from Adamnan, and seems to have been a monk of Hy. But neither of these parts can by any means be attributed to Cumineus albus, whom Colgan imagined to be the author of the whole. Besides our having seen that the first Life is the real one written by Cumineus, the former part of the second bears evident marks, as now observed, of a period much later than that, in which Cumineus lived. The latter part, or from the 19th chapter to the end, is probably much more ancient than the former; but no argument occurs for ascribing it to Cumineus. Dr. O'Connor, following Colgan, quotes (*Columbanus's Third letter, p.* 55) as if from the Life by Cumineus, or, as he calls him, Cumnian, a passage, in which St. Patrick is mentioned as having blessed the grandfather and great grandfather of St. Columba. Said passage is not in that Life, but in the first chapter of the second, which Colgan had erroneously announced under the name of Cumineus. Nor is it the Life in which the quoted passage occurs, that has been republished by Mabillon, as the work of Cumineus. For what Mabillon calls the Life by Cumineus is as already seen, the identical one, which Colgan names the *first*.

The third Life is by Capgrave or rather Johannes Tinmuthensis, and is merely copied from Bede and Adamnan.

To the fourth place Colgan has assigned the celebrated Life by Adamnan, which is really an excellent work, and a genuine composition, notwithstanding the falsehoods and sneers of the ignorant pseudo-critic Ledwich. (See *Chap.* II. §. 8.) It was first published by Canisius, in the year 1604, and afterwards by Messingham in 1624. Colgan's edition is much more ample, especially in the first book, on which account he prefers it to the former ones. But I fear that several parts of it are interpolations; and it is plain that, if not the whole, at least the chief part of what he calls the

first chapter (*Lib. 1.*) must be considered as such. For, besides the difference of style between it and the rest of the work the subjects mentioned in it are not in general of that kind, of which Adamnan professes to treat in the first book. Said chapter is not in Pinkerton's edition, which he has given us from a manuscript of the British Museum in the *Vitae antiquae sanctorum*, &c. This edition is in substance scarcely different from Colgan's, except in the two or three first chapters, which were wanting in that *MS.* It is very neat and well arranged, and might be the fittest to refer to in our account of the saint, were it not that, through a strange whim, as if books were intended only for the great, who perhaps never read them, so few copies of Pinkerton's valuable collection have been struck off, that, scarce as the *Trias Thaumaturga* is, this is still more scarce and less accessible so the generality of readers, although published so late as the year 1789. Accordingly whatever references may be necessary I shall make to Colgan's edition, adding if requisite, some occasionally to the other ones. I pass over some other editions, such as that of the Bollandists, as these now mentioned will suffice for our purpose. Adamnan's work was not intended as a regular history or biography of St. Columba, and consequently bears scarcely any marks of chronological arrangement. The first book is entitled, *De Prophetis revelationibus*; the second, *De virtutum miraculis*; and the third or last, *De Angelicis visionibus*.

The fifth Life, published by Colgan, consists of Extracts, translated into Latin, from a very large history of the saint, in three books, written in Irish by Magnus or Manus O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, and completed by him in the year 1520. Colgan tells us, that he has omitted many parts of it, which he thought fabulous or foolish. He might indeed have overlooked also many other parts, which he has taken the trouble of giving to the reader. Yet, on the whole, it is a useful work, particularly on account of the attention paid by the author to chronological order.

A Life of St. Columba by a Dr. Smith, one of the ministers of Campbellton, came out in Edinburgh in the year 1798. The author has chiefly followed Cumineus, Adamnan, and Colgan's appendixes. As a history this tract is meagre enough, and often very incorrect in mere matters of fact.

(71) Adamnan in his second preface to *Vit. S. Col.* says that

St. Mauctaneus, as Colgan's edition has, or Mochtheus (See *Chap. VI. §. 12.* and *ib. Not. 123.*) pronounced a prophecy concerning St. Columba in these words; "In novissimis seculi temporibus filius nasciturus est, cujus nomen, *Columba*, per omnes insularum Oceani provincias divulgabitur notum, novissimaque orbis tempora clare illustrabit. Mei et ipsius duorum monasteriorum agelluli unius sepiculae intervallo disternabuntur: homo valde Deo charus, et grandis coram ipso meriti." Upon a part of this prophecy, in which it is said that two small monasteries, one of Mochtheus, and the other of Columba, would be separated by only a small hedge, is founded, I believe, a story in O'Donnel (*L. 1. c. 3.*) that Mochtheus had lived in the island of Hy. But the two monasteries, alluded to by Mochtheus, were no other than two in Ireland; for there were several houses of Columba's order, one of which seems to have been near Louth, where was the monastery of Mochtheus. O'Donnel himself says elsewhere (*L. 2. c. 11. 12.*) that Hy was occupied by Druids, until Columba drove them out of it. If so, Mochtheus could not have had an establishment there. The second life adds (*cap. 1.*) a prophecy to the same purpose by St. Patrick himself, which is mentioned also in the Tripartite, (*L. 2. 113.*) and by Joceline (*cap. 89.*) But we may very safely doubt of its ever having been issued (See *Not. 8. to Chap. VI.*), and much more of the farrago of similar prophecies, which O'Donnel has raked together in the beginning of his compilation, and several of which are so nonsensical and evidently fabulous, that it is surprizing how Colgan could have published such stuff.

(72) All accounts agree in calling St. Columba's father *Fedhlimid*, and likewise in making Fedhlimid a son of Fergus, whom some persons have erroneously confounded with Fergus son of Erc, and brother of Loarn, who founded the Scottish kingdom in Britain. The Fergus, grandfather of St. Columba, was son of Conal, one of the sons of Neill-Neigilliach, and from whom, as Usher justly observes (*p. 689.*), the country of Tirconnel (alias *Kinel-conuil*) has got its name. Joceline (*cap. 88*) calls Fergus a younger brother of Conal in opposition, as Colgan shows, to every other account; yet he led astray Messingham, who in a note to his edition of Joceline (at *cap. 138*) speaks of him in like manner, and even confounds him with Fergus son of Erc. The Conal father of Fergus and ancestor of St. Columba is, in some genealo-

gies of the saint, surnamed *Gulbanins*. (O'Donnel, *L. 1. c. 1.* and *Tr. Th. p. 447-477.*) For two Conals are spoken of in Irish history, both sons of Neill Neigilliach, viz. Conal Gulbanius, and Conal Crimthannius. Colgan frequently distinguishes them, (See his fourth Index to *Tr. Th.*) and quotes (*ib. p. 544.*) the following passages from the Annals of the 4 Masters; "A. D. 464 (465) Conal Gulbanius, son of king Neill, from whom Kinel-conuil, was killed, &c." "A. D. 475 (476). Died Conal Crimthannius, from whom the Clanna Colmain," &c. The principality of the former was Tir-connel, while, he adds, that of the latter comprized great tracts in Meath and Bregh. (See *Not. 14 to Chap. v.*) Following this statement, it appears that the prince Conal, who received St. Patrick so kindly at or near Tailten, and who was baptized by him (*Chap. v. §. 6.*) was Conal Crimthannius; and that Conal the father of Fergus was the surnamed Gulbanius, whereas Tirconnel was his territory, and the place of his residence. (See *Chap. vi. §. 2.* This then is the Conal, to whom St. Patrick is said to have, when in Tirconnel, foretold the birth and sanctity of his descendant St. Columba. (See *Not. prec.*) Having been obliged to touch on these genealogical subjects, I may be allowed to add, that the relationship to the saint, claimed by the O'Donnel family, is founded on their being derived from Dalach, who was a descendant of Sedna, paternal uncle of Columba. (O'Donnel, *L. 1. c. 177.*) On this account, as Colgan observes, (*Tr. Th. p. 451*) that great family was often called *Siol-Ndalaich*, or the *race of Dalach*.

(73) Adamnan has; "Matrem Aethneam nomine, cujus pater Latine *filius navis* dici potest, Scotica vero lingua *Macanava*." (See the second preface, or in the other editions *cap. 1.*) This was only a surname; for his real name was Dima. (*Tr. Th. p. 477.*) Smith (*Life, &c. p. 5.*) makes Aethnea, or, as he calls her, Aithne, mother not of the saint but of his father Felim, and says that she was daughter of Loarn the first king of the Scoto-Irish in Argyleshire. This is a strange mistake and in direct opposition to the express words of Adamnan and to every authority. He confounded Aithne with Erca, or Earca, daughter of Loarn, whom O'Donnel (*L. 1. c. 1*) after mentioning Aithne as the mother of St. Columba, introduces as mother of Felim, and consequently grandmother of the saint. And it is thus we find in what manner St. Columba was related to the Dalriada

dynasty, which formed that kingdom in North Britain. (See also O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. vindic. ch.* 10.) We may here add that Felim or Fedhlimid was half-brother to Murchertach Mac-erca monarch of Ireland, (See *Chap.* ix. §. 2.) as they were sons of Erca, who, after the death of prince Muredach, married Fergus. By Muredach, who was grandson of Niell Neigilliach by his son Eugenius, she had Murchertach, Feradach, Tigernach, and Moen. Afterwards she had by Fergus (of whom *Not. prec.*) four other sons Sedna, Fedhlimid, Loarn, and Brendan. (See Colgan *AA. SS.* p. 782. and O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. 471.) Thus then the saint was maternal nephew of king Murchertach.

(74) O'Donnel, *L.* 1. c. 60. compared with *cap.* 1. where he says that she was descended from Caithir king of Ireland. See *Tr. Th.* p. 477, where her entire genealogy is traced. Had Usher seen it, he would not have thrown out a conjecture (*Ind. Chron. A.* 522.) that she was grand-daughter of Nan the father of Gildas.

(75) Cumineus, or first Life, *cap.* 1. Adamnan, *L.* 3. c. 1.

(76) O'Donnel (*L.* 3. c. 57.) says that the year was 520. Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 486.) would fain draw it back to 519, founding this date on two suppositions; 1st. that St. Columba died in 596, and 2d, that he was then in his 77th year. Of these we shall see hereafter. Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigns the saint's birth to 522. But the grounds, upon which he proceeded, and which are the fittest to build upon, lead us rather to the year 521. Adamnan writes (second Preface, or, according to other editions, *L.* 1. c. 1.), that St. Columba left Ireland the second year after the battle of Cuil-dremne (near Sligo), and that he was then in the 42d year of his age. The battle was fought, as Usher (p. 694) shews from the Annals of Ulster, in the year 561. On this point Colgan agrees with him. (*Tr. Th.* p. 486 and *Ind. Chron.*) Thence Usher, with whom O'Flaherty agrees (*Ogyg.* p. 473), concluded that the year of the saint's departure was 563, as marked also in said Annals. Colgan here hesitated and thought it might have been 562. But surely it is natural to suppose that Adamnan would not have called the year 562, or any part of it, the second after 561. Laying down 563, as that of St. Columba's departure, and combining it with the time of the year, in which he was born, it will be easily seen that his birth must be placed in

521. For, as stated in the Calendars quoted by Colgan (*p.* 483.), he was born on a seventh of December. If Columba had been born in an early part of the year, he might have been said to be in his 42d year in 563, although born in 522. But, as his birth happened so late as the 7th of December, who could speak in that manner of his age, if said 7th of December was in 522? To assert with any sort of propriety that he was in his 42d year in 563, it should in Usher's hypothesis, be supposed, that he did not set out for Britain until after the 7th of December in said year. It will hardly be believed, that the saint and his companions deferred their departure until the depth of winter. On the contrary O'Donnel tells us (*L. 2. c. 11.*) that they arrived straight from Ireland in Hy on the eve of Whitsuntide. (See more below *Not. 223. to Chap. XII.*) It is very odd that Colgan, knowing that Columba was born in December, could have imagined that 519 was the year of his birth. Admitting even that he left Ireland in 462, he should, on comparing these dates, have been then in his 43d year. But Colgan was a very incorrect calculator in chronological matters. As a proof of 521 being the true year of the saint's birth I may refer to the *Martyrol. Dungall.* (*ap Tr. Th. p.* 486.) which assigns it to A. 520. Now, as often observed with regard to many of our old documents, this was the same as our 521. And it is more than probable, that O'Donnel took his above mentioned 520 from that martyrology. It is worth observing, that this date agrees exactly with Nennius' computation of the times of St. Patrick, Brigid, and Columb-kille. (See *Not. 12 to Chap. VII.*) Before dismissing this subject, I must remark that there is some mistake in Johnston's Extracts from the Annals of Ulster (*ap. Antiq. Celto, &c.*) where he marks, as from them, Columba's birth at A. 518. (519). Usher, who had a copy of said Annals and made great use of them, knew nothing about such date occurring in them. Nor did Ware or any other author I know of, that had access to those Annals.

(77) O'Donnel *L. 1. c. 22.* Gartan is in the barony of Kilmacrenan in Donegall.

(78) *Ib. cap. 25.* That place is also in Kilmacrenan and is now called Tully or Tullyaugnish. (See Archdall at *Tully.*) O'Donnel calls Cruthnechan son of Ceallachan. Colgan thought he was the same as one Caritanus, whose name he found marked in the

Calendars, at 7th March, and accordingly has treated of him at said day. The names, however, are not so like each other as to make us, without further proof, believe that they belonged to only one person. What Colgan has concerning Cruthnechan is taken from O'Donnel, who raked together a heap of uncertain traditionary anecdotes. He is mentioned in Colgan's edition of Adamnan (*L. 3. c. 2.*) not as the priest who baptized St. Columba, but as the one, to whose care he was entrusted when a small boy. Neither in Messingham's edition nor in the first life does his name occur, although a priest is spoken of, in general, as having had the care of the saint. If Cruthnechan had been expressly named by Adamnan, it can scarcely be supposed that the transcribers would have omitted him, and it is more than probable that his appearing in Colgan's edition is owing to an interpolation. Yet we have no authority for denying, that said priest was called by that name.

(79) *Martyrol. Dungall. ap. Tr. Th. p. 483.* O'Donnel, *L. 1. c. 30.* Adamnan seems not to have known, that he had ever borne any other name than *Columba*. In the second preface he attributes his having been called so to the interposition of divine providence, as it was fit that a person of his sanctity should bear the name of that bird, under whose form the Holy Ghost had appeared. He says also that he had got, as if by chance, the same name as the prophet Jona; "cum Jona propheta homonymon *sortitus* nomen;" whereas the Hebrew word *Jona* signifies a dove. Such observations as these sufficiently indicate that, according to Adamnan, the saint had been originally called *Columba*, a name rather common in those days among the Irish Christians, and which we frequently meet with written either *Columba* or *Columbanus*, and sometimes *Columbus*. In the prophecies concerning the saint (See *Not. 71.*) no other name appears than *Columba*.

(80) That this was the real cause of the compound name *Columbkille* is evident from Bede, who writes (*Eccl. Hist. &c. L. 5. c. 10*); "Qui videlicet *Columba nunc a nonnullis, composito a cella et Columba nomine, Colum-cellii vocatur.*" Notkerus Balbulus, speaking of him in his Martyrology, says; "cognomento apud suos *Columkilli*; eo quod multarum cellarum, id est, monasteriorum vel ecclesiarum institutor, fundator, et rector extiterit." (See more *Tr. Th. p. 483* aud Usher, *p. 687.*) It is probable, that the saint began to be so called not much earlier than Bede's

time, to which he alludes by *nunc a nonnullis*. Cumineus Albus and Adamnan, who were prior to Bede, never give him the name of *Columb-kille*. The story (*Tr. Th. p. 483.*) of *Kille* having been added in consequence of the saint having been educated in the church of *Kille-mac-nenain* is scarcely worth notice, and is rejected even by O'Donnel, who says (*L. 1. c. 30.*) that the true cause of this surname was the saint's having founded many monasteries and churches. Keating has a still more foolish story concerning the whole name of *Columb-kille* having been first given to him, when he was studying under Finnian of Magh-bile. (See *Not. 81. to Chap. x.*) Henceforth I shall call him simply *Columba*, except where, to avoid confusion, it may be necessary to add the surname.

(81) In Colgan's edition of Adamnan the priest is called Cruthnechan (See *Not. 78.*), the person who, according to O'Donnel, had baptized St. Columba.

(82) *Martyrol. Dungall. ap. Tr. Th. p. 483.* O'Donnel, *L. 1. c. 30. seqq.* Kilmacnenain must have been the place now called Kilmacrenan, which gives name to the barony, in Donegall.

(83) Cumineus, *cap. 2.* Adamnan, *L. 3. c. 2.*

(84) Adamnan writes (*Second Preface, alias L. 1. c. 1.*); "Qui etiam a puero, deditus Christiano tyrocinio et sapientiae studii, integritatem corporis et animae puritatem, Deo donante, custodiens quamvis in terra positus, caelestibus se aptum moribus ostendebat."

(85) O'Donnel, *L. 1. c. 32.* This bishop Brugacius must not be confounded with the Brugacius mentioned in *Not. 256 to Chap. x.* Rath-enaigh was, according to Archdall (at *Ratheanich*) in Inishowen. Where he got this information I cannot discover. O'Donnel says it was in Tireнна, by which name I do not find that Inishowen was ever called. Colgan merely tells us (*AA. SS. p. 510.*) that Tireнна was a district near the residence of Cruthnechan, who had Columba under his care. I wish he had been more precise. He mentions (*Tr. Th. p. 373*) a place called *Eanack*, three miles to the North of Derry, in the O'Cahan's country. Might it have been the same as Rath-enaigh, or the fort Enaigh? The memory of Brugacius was revered on the 3d of November. (*AA. SS. p. 511.*)

§. VIII. Having spent the years of his boyhood

under that clergyman, and being qualified for the higher sort of studies, he was sent to the school of St. Finnian of Maghbile, in the now county of Down, which was then very celebrated and much resorted to. (86) At this school Columba applied himself sedulously not only to the acquirement of learning but to the imitation of the virtues of his holy teacher. He remained there for several years, and had become a deacon before he left it. (87) While he was officiating as such, it happened on the occasion of some great festival that the wine for the mystery of the holy sacrifice could not be found; upon which Columba went to the fountain for the purpose of procuring, as deacon, water for the divine service. Having put some into a vessel he blessed it, invoking the name of Jesus Christ, who had changed water into wine at Cana in Galilee. His prayer was heard, and a similar miracle took place as to that which his vessel contained. Returning to the church he said to the clergy; "Here is wine for you, which the Lord Jesus has sent for the celebration of his mysteries." They and the bishop St. Finnian returned thanks to God for this extraordinary favour, which Columba ascribed not to any merit of his own but to that of the bishop. (88) Leaving Finnian's school and monastery he went to Leinster, and placed himself under a venerable old man called Germanus, a teacher of great reputation. (89) It is related that, being with him reading in a field, a girl, who was pursued by an assassin, fled towards them for protection, which, however, the monster not paying any attention to killed at their feet. Columba announced that God would punish him by a sudden death; and accordingly very soon after he dropped dead. (90) How long he remained with Germanus, cannot be ascertained; but it is probable that his stay with him was short, if it be true, as indeed is not unlikely, that for some time after he attended the lectures of Finnian of Clonard. (91) As to other schools, to which

some writers have sent him, we may pass them by, (92) and now follow the saint in his return to his own country Tirconnel. He could not have been long there when he set about founding a monastery; for its foundation is assigned to the year 546, (93) at which time he was in the 25th year of his age. This monastery he erected on a pleasant eminence covered with oaks, called *Doire-Calgaich*, (94) near Loughfoyle to the west, and whence is derived the name of the town or city of Derry, now Londonderry, which owes its origin to that establishment. The site for building it and some adjoining land were granted to him by his relatives the princes of the country. (95) Having established his institution on a firm footing, and, according to some accounts, erected one or two churches in the neighbourhood, he determined on visiting other parts of Ireland for the purpose of contributing to the advancement of religion and piety. Consigning the care of his establishment to one of the elder monks he proceeded to the southern parts of the ancient Meath, and, having got a spot of land from a chieftain named Bredan, erected a monastery at Dair-magh, (96) now Durrough in the King's county. The precise year of this foundation is not known; but it was probably about A. D. 550 or not long after. (97) This monastery was not less famous than that of Derry, and was, at least for a considerable time, better known to foreigners. (98)

(86) O'Donnel, *L. 1. c. 39.* (See *Chap. x. §. 6.* and *ib. Not. 81.*) Smith, (*Life, &c. p. 7.*) instead of Finnian of Maghfile, whom he seems to have known nothing about, has Finnian of Clonard as Columba's first master in the highest class of studies.

(87) "Ipse quippe illis in diebus erat in diaconatus gradu administrans." Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 1.* who observes that the saint was then young "*adhuc juvenis.*" If the discipline of most ancient churches, which required the age of, at least 25 years for a deacon, was observed in Ireland, it will follow that Columba was still with Finnian in the year 547, whereas he was not 25 years

old until the latter end of 546. How can this agree with what the Annals of Ulster have concerning his having founded the monastery of Derry in 546? Either they are wrong, or Columba must have been ordained deacon before the age of twenty-five. And, indeed, there is some reason to think that he was. The *adhuc juvenis* of Adamnan might seem to point to the age of 22 rather than to that of, at least, full 25. Yet I find Adamnan elsewhere calling Columba a *juvenis*, when he was certainly much more than 25 years old. Passing over this doubtful argument, we may observe that the function of deacon comprized at that time in Ireland the duties of an acolythe; for Adamnan states (*ib.*), that Columba went, in his capacity of deacon, to fetch water for the use of the altar. Now, wherever acolythes were established, this was a part of their office. Nor was it, I dare say, until after the acolythate and other minor orders were regularly settled, that the age required for deaconship was fixed at 25 years, and for this reason, that this order or degree was thenceforth charged with only such duties as persons under that age were supposed to be unfit for. St. Epiphanius of Pavia was ordained deacon about A. D. 458, at the age of 20 years. (*Tillemont, Tom. xvi. p. 481.*) Yet, concerning other circumstances, we cannot admit, that Columba was less than about 22 when officiating as deacon in Finnian's monastery; and in this supposition he must have been there as late as the year 544.

(88) Cumineus, *cap. 4.* Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 1.* (compare with *Not. prec.*)

(89) O'Donnel, *L. 1. c. 40.* In Colgan's edition of Adamnan (*L. 2. c. 25.*) and also in Pinkerton's, he is called *Gemnanus*; but in Messingham's (*L. 3. c. 4.*) the name is *Germanus*. Colgan thinks he was the same as an abbot Gorman of Kill-gorman in West Leinster; but in what part of it he does not inform us. He thought also that he was very probably no other than a bishop Mogornan one of the pretended nephews of St. Patrick. Archdall applies these vague conjectures to Kilgorman in the county of Wicklow, and without further explanation calls the supposed bishop in that place not *Mogornan* but *Mogornan*. But Archdall's Kilgorman, far from being in *West* Leinster, is in *East* Leinster; nor is Colgan's *West* in this case an error of the press; for he quotes it twice from old authors and Calendars in *p. 230.* and

383. of *Tr. Th.* There were persons enough of the name of Gorman, from whom churches both in East and West Leinster might have been called *Kilgorman*, without twisting the name of either Germanus, or Mogormanus. A Germanus is mentioned in the life of St. Finnian of Clonard; but he is spoken of only as a poet. A religious foreigner of the name of *Germanus* appears in the first life of Kieran of Saigir (*cap. 32*); and it is very probable, that he was the person, to whom Columba, having left Maghbile, applied for further instruction. His being a foreigner was a strong inducement to do so, were there no other motive than that Columba wished to improve himself in a correct knowledge of the learned languages. *Gemmanus* is in all likelihood a mistake for *Germanus*.

(90) Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 25.* Messingham's *ed. L. 3. c. 4.*

(91) O'Donnel (*L. 1. c. 41.*) sends Columba from the school of Germanus to Clonard. Adamnan gives us no hint to that purpose, and mentions only one Finnian, viz. of Maghbile. Yet, as his work is not a regular history, his silence cannot be considered as a decisive argument on this point. Columba is expressly reckoned among the chief disciples of Finnian of Clonard in said Finnian's Acts, *cap. 19.* and in other documents, such as the Life of Kieran of Clonmacnois, and that of Columba of Tirdaglass. (See *Tr. Th. p. 457.*) If our saint was really at that school, he could not have been very young at the time; for he was already a deacon before he left Maghbile, and is spoken of as such when he was with Germanus.

(92) O'Donnel (*L. 1. c. 43.*) pretends that Columba went from Clonard to the monastery or school of Mobhy Clairineach. This cannot be reconciled with the date of Mobhy's death, which is assigned to A. D. 545. (See *Not. 240. to Chap. x.*) St. Columba was, in all appearance, still at Maghbile in 544 (above *Not. 87.*); and, as he was next afterwards with Germanus, how can time be found for his being at the school of Mobhy, particularly if, as O'Donnel himself states, he spent some time previous at Clonard? This is, I suspect, as unfounded a story as that of Comgall and Kieran having been scholars of Mobhy. (See *Not. 243. to Chap. x.*) It is probable, that Columba might have become acquainted with him a little before his death at the time that he was studying in Leinster under Germanus. Smith (*Life*

&c. p. 8.) has a fable concerning Columba having been also under Kieran of Clon, that is, Clonmacnois. Where he got it, I cannot tell. O'Donnel, at most, makes Kieran a fellow student of Columba in Mobhy's monastery. All that I find recorded as to Columba having ever been at Clonmacnois is what Adamnan relates (*L. 1. c. 3.*) concerning his having visited it on occasion of his having come to Ireland from Hy many years after the death of Kieran, as will be seen elsewhere. Yet there can be no doubt that Columba and Kieran were personally acquainted. (See *Not. 187. to Chap. x.*) Smith adds some nonsense concerning Kieran having preached in Kintyre, and died in 594; for which he refers to Ware, without pointing out where he said so; as indeed could not be done, whereas Ware never mentioned such things. How little Smith had examined these subjects appears from his supposing (*p. 10.*) that Columba, when in his 28th year, founded the monastery of Darmagh about the time of Kieran's death. Now the 28th year of Columba's age was A. D. 549, which was also that in which Kieran died. Why then give us that trash about his having died in 594? Yet, to do every man justice, this 594 is, perhaps, an erratum for 549. But the fable of Kieran having preached in Kintyre is not so. It is taken from such stories as those of Dempster and others concerning that great saint. (See *Not. 32. and 187. to Chap. x.*) The mistakes of some writers, who have made Columba a disciple of Comgall at Bangor, needs no refutation.

(93) Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) from the Annals of Ulster. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 502.*) place it in 535 (536). This date is evidently wrong, and is rejected by Colgan. (*ib. and p. 450.*) Are we to suppose that Columba could have founded a monastery before he was 15 years old? The 4 Masters, however, were not guilty of this absurdity, whereas they thought that Columba was born in 516 (517); and thus, according to their calculations, he would have founded it before he was full 19 years of age, counting from the 7th of December, the day of his birth. Surely it cannot be admitted that so young a person would have been recognized as abbot or superior of a religious community. Their date (517) and indeed all their dates relative to the saint's transactions are in direct opposition to Adamnan and the best authorities, so that Colgan was obliged to set them aside. But al-

though he differed from them as to the time in which the monastery was founded, he was uncertain (*ib. p. 503.*) to what year it ought to be assigned, notwithstanding his having given, without animadversion, Usher's date (546) in the *AA. SS. p. 191.* a work printed indeed before the *Tr. Th.* O'Flaherty, in a marginal note to *Tr. Th. p. 502.* agrees with Usher. O'Donnel (*L. 1. c. 48.*) makes Columba set about erecting the monastery soon after he had got an account, by messengers expressly sent to him, of the death of Mobhy Clairineach. This circumstance confirms the date 546, whereas Mobhy died in October A. D. 545. (See *Not. 240. to Chap. x*) At this same time it overthrows what O'Donnel has about Columba having been ordained priest, and nearly bishop, before he founded the monastery. According to the discipline of those times he was too young in 546 to be ordained either bishop or priest; and hence it appears that, if that was the year of the foundation, the saint was still only a deacon when it took place, and for, at least, five years later.

(94) Adamnan has latinized the name into *Roboretum Calgachi.* At to the precise situation of the monastery Mr. Sampson says (*Stat. Survey of Co. Londonderry, p. 472*) "Probably the Catholic chapel, and thence to the Bishop's garden, is the site of the famous convent."

(95) The 4 Masters quoted by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 450.*) have; "Ecclesia de Doire-Chalgaich fundatur per S. Columbam-kille, locum offerentibus proceribus de Kinel-Connuill suis cognatis." This is more correct than O'Donnel's statement, who says (*L. 1. c. 48.*) that said place was given to the saint by prince Aidus son to king Anmiraeus, and who afterwards became king of Ireland himself. Aidus was perhaps not born in the year 546. His father Anmiraeus, who did not ascend the throne until A. D. 566, (Usher, *p. 947.*) or, according to O'Flaherty (*Ogyg. part 8. cap. 93.*) 568, was first cousin to St. Columba, being the son of Sedna the saint's paternal uncle. (O'Flaherty *ib.* and *Tr. Th. p. 448.*) It is difficult to believe, that Aidus could have been in possession of a principality as far back as 546, when his father's cousin Columba was not as yet 25 years of age. Accordingly the 4 Masters were right in not attributing to him the grant made to the saint. It was this story of O'Donnel that, it appears, induced Colgan to doubt of the time, in which the monastery was founded,

(See *Not.* 93.) as he could not but perceive, that the time of Aidus' being placed at the head of a territory must have been later than 546. Hence to reconcile matters, having swallowed O'Donnell's position, he was inclined to think, that the monastery was not founded so early as is generally supposed. Archdall, among many blunders concerning St. Columba, says (at *Derry*) that Doire-Chalgaich had been granted to him in 535, but that the foundation of the monastery could not have been prior to 546. He had read in *Tr. Th.* that the 4 Masters assigned that grant to A. D. 535, a wrong date, as we have seen (*Not.* 93.). Yet he should have reflected, that they join the donation of the land with the foundation of the monastery, affixing them both to the same year. Had he done so, he would not have given this trash to the public.

(96) Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 3.* The name signifies the *oak grove of the plain*, or the *plain of the oaks*. Adamnan calls it (*ib. c. 29.*) in Latin *Roboretum campi*, while Bede (*Histor. &c L. 3. c. 4.*) interprets it *Campus roborum*. Adamnan observes, that it was in *mediteranea Iberniae parte*, and so it really was. For it is the place now called Durrough or Durrow (not to be confounded with Durrow in the Co. Kilkenny) in the barony of Ballycowen (part of the ancient Fearcall and South Meath) in the King's county. As to the chieftain Brendan, see *Tr. Th. p. 507*, where his death is marked at A. D. 585.

(97) Ware (*Antiq. cap. 26.*) and Harris (*Monast.*) say about 550. Archdall (at *Durrow*) has 546, forgetting that this was the year of the foundation of the house of Derry, and that some time must have intervened between it and that of Dair-magh or Durrow. From him, I suppose, the mighty Ledwich (*Antiq. p. 56.*) took the same date for Durrow, without making any mention of Derry, yet introducing some nonsense about Columba's pretended Culdees. Smith in like manner passes over (*Life, &c.*) Derry, and tells us that the saint founded the monastery of Dearthmagh in the 28th year of his age, that is *A. D.* 549; connecting this hypothesis with making him a scholar of Kieran of Clonmacnois. (See *Not.* 92.) O'Flaherty in various marginal notes to *Tr. Th. p. 339. 373. 507*) endeavours to prove, that Dairmagh was not founded until about the year 590 after the meeting at Drumceat. His only argument worth notice is that Adamnan (*L. 1. c. 3.*)

having observed that Columba was founding said monastery, tells us, that he visited Clonmacnois, of which Alitherus was then abbot. Now Alitherus was not abbot there until about 590, as appears from the 4 Masters and Colgan. (*Tr. Th. p. 373.*) The manner, in which Adamnan speaks of Dairmagh might seem to indicate, that he supposed its foundation to have been not long prior to Columba's visit to Clonmacnois. He writes; "Monasterium, quod Scotice dicitur *Dairmagh*, divino *fundans* nutu per aliquot demoratur menses. Libuit animo visitare fratres, qui in Clonensi sancti Cerani coenobio commanebant." Instead of *fundans* Usher (*p. 690.*) has *fundavit*. But it is plain that *fundans* is the true reading; whereas otherwise the passage, the whole of which Usher has not quoted, would be quite ungrammatical, besides its occurring in all the editions, at least in those, that I have met with. The difficulty, however, is easily got over by explaining *fundans* not by what we call *founding* or newly forming, but in its very classical meaning of regulating and giving stability, as *ex. c.* in the phrase, *legibus urbem fundare*. A few lines before that passage, Adamnan, alluding to what might be now expressed by *founding a monastery*, uses the verb *construere*. That he did not mean the house of Dairmagh was first originally formed at the time he was speaking of, must be allowed, unless we are to reject every other authority relative to said establishment. O'Donnel not only places the foundation of it before St. Columba went to Hy, but tells us (*L. 3. c. 13.*) that Lasrenus was abbot there at the time of the assembly of Drumceat, adding that the saint went afterwards to make a visitation of it. This visitation is, I believe, what Adamnan meant by *fundans*. The 4 Masters mentioning the death of the prince Brendan in 585 (586) subjoin, that he was the person, who had, *long before*, made an offering of Dairmagh to God and St. Columba. Next comes Bede, who expressly states that Columba had erected this monastery before his arrival in Britain. These are his words; (*Hist. &c. L. 3. c. 4.*) "Fecerat autem prius quam Britanniam veniret monasterium nobile in Hybernia, quod a copia roborum *Dearmach* lingua Scottorum, hoc est, campus roborum cognominatur." O'Flaherty strove to evade the force of his argument by saying, that Bede mistook the name, and that the monastery of Derry was that which he meant. But it is clear that in this passage he followed

Adamnan, who undoubtedly understood by *Dearmach* or *Dairmagh* not Derry but Durrogh. As to O'Flaherty's remark that Bede alluded to Columba's chief monastery in Ireland, which was not Dairmagh but Derry, I answer, that Bede seems to have known very little about Derry; whereas Adamnan, his guide, although he makes mention of it by the name of *Roboretum Calgashi*, yet does not any where introduce Columba as having resided there, while, on the contrary, not only in the above quoted passage, but likewise in *L. 2. c. 2.* he speaks of him as having been at Dairmagh or *Robur campi*. To conclude this subject, neither Usher, Ware, nor Colgan, although they had Adamnan's text before them, doubted of Dairmagh having been founded prior to Columba's settling in Hy.

(98) † Bede (*L. 3. c. 4.*) joins it with the monastery of Hy, as the two principal establishments of Columba. Some English writers have confounded Dairmagh with Armagh. (See Usher, *p. 690.*) Their mistake is more pardonable than that of Lucas Holstenius, who (*Proem. ad Cod. Regularum*) says, "that S. Columbanus (Columb-kill) *Armacanum et Tyrhense* monasteria fundavit A. 565." By *Tyrhense* he meant or guessed at the monastery of Derry. It is strange that a man of his reputation, and who wrote after Usher, Colgan and others had cleared up these matters, could have thrown out in that passage almost as many blunders as there are words.

§. IX. It was probably not long after the foundation of Dairmagh, and while Columba was still in South Meath, that he was raised to the priesthood. It is related that, being judged worthy of the episcopacy, he was sent, with the approbation of several prelates, to St. Etchen for the purpose of being consecrated by him. Etchen resided at Clain-bile, or, as otherwise called, Cluain-foda in the district of Fera-bile a southern part of Meath. (99) He was of an illustrious family of Leinster, (100) and is said to have been obtained by his parents from the Almighty through the blessing of St. Brigid, but at what time I do not find recorded. (101) Nor is there any authentic account of Etchen's proceedings

until we meet with him as bishop in that place; and as the ordainer of St. Columba. (102) Being arrived near Etchen's church, the saint inquired for the bishop, and was told; "there he is below ploughing in a field." He then went up to him, and was welcomed with the greatest kindness by the holy prelate, who, on being apprized of the reason of his visit, did not hesitate to ordain him soon after. Yet, if we are to believe some authors, (103) a singular circumstance occurred in this business. They tell us that, through a sort of mistake, Etchen ordained him not bishop, as was the general wish of the clergy and people, but priest; and that, after having spent the following night together in prayer, Etchen, on discovering his mistake, offered to consecrate him bishop, which proposal Columba declined, attributing what had happened to a dispensation of Providence, and declaring that he would remain during the rest of his life in the order, to which he had been admitted. In our times such a mistake could scarcely occur in any part of the Church; and it is difficult to believe, that it could have happened even in Columba's days, although the ritual was then more simple than it is at present. (104) Be this as it may, it is certain that Columba never rose higher in the Church than the rank of priest. His ordination could not have been earlier than the latter end of A. D. 551, when he had just completed his thirtieth year. (105) Having spent some time at Dairmagh, it is said that he went thence to Kennanus, (106) now Kells in E. Meath, then a city and royal residence, and there founded a monastery. If it be true that he did so, concerning which there is some reason to doubt, (107) its foundation must have been later than the year 550, to which it has been assigned by some writers. (108)

(99) It is called at present Clonefad or Clonfad, and is the barony of Farbill in Westmeath. The situation of this place affords

an additional argument against O'Donnel's statement, *viz.* that Columba was ordained priest before he founded the monastery of Derry. According to him the saint was in his own country, when it was thought adviseable to direct him to St. Etchen for ordination. Why send him all the way from Tirconnel to the South of Meath? Surely there were bishops enough in the adjacent parts of Ulster, who might have ordained him. No other reason appears for applying to Etchen for that purpose than that he lived not far from Columba's then residence; and, in fact, the distance between Clonfad and Durrogh is not great. We may therefore justly infer, that Columba's ordination by Etchen did not take place until, at the earliest, the time of his founding Dairmogh, which, as O'Donnel himself lays down, was later than that of Derry.

(100) Colgan has Etchen's at 11th February. His father was Manius Ecceas, and his mother Briga, both descended in collateral lines from Niathcorb, or Messincorb, the ancestor of all the kings of Leinster.

(101) Colgan thought that Etchen might have been born about A. D. 490, founding this date upon a supposition, that he became bishop before the death of St. Brigid, for which there is no authority worth attention. He quotes a long passage from the Life of St. Brigid by Laurence of Durham, in which a bishop Echeus is mentioned as contemporary with her and St. Mel of Ardagh. But in the first place the names Echeus and Etchen are different; and next, if there was such a bishop as that Echeus, how could Colgan have imagined that he was the same as Etchen? Could Etchen have been a bishop in the times of Mel, who died in 488? By another strange anachronism Colgan elsewhere (*AA. SS. p. 632.*) supposes Etchen to have been bishop at Clonfad in St. Patrick's days. For he makes him the same as a bishop Ethian, who is said to have been reprimanded by St. Patrick. (See Usher, *p. 1049.*) The account of that reprimand looks very like a made up story, and perhaps the contrivers of it, caring little about correctness of dates, meant Etchen by the name of Ethian. (See *Not. 211. to Chap. VIII.*) But Colgan ought not to have swallowed or authorized such a monstrous anachronism.

(102) There is abundance of authorities to prove these two points. The Calendar of Cashel has at 11th *February*, "S. episcopus Etchenus, qui ordinem presbyteratus dedit S. Columbae

Kille." Colgan quotes also Mariam Gorman, the martyrology of Donegall, &c. &c. All accounts agree that his see was at Cluain-bile, *alias* Cluain-foda. I do not find any mention of a monastery of his. Colgan has (at 11 *Mart.*) a Librenus abbot of Cluain-foda, who he thought, lived in the beginning of the 7th century; but, as there was a place of that name different from that of Meath, he does not decide to which of them he belonged. Harris was not so scrupulous, and places Librenus at Cluainfoda in Meath, adding a mistake of his own in assigning it not to Westmeath, as he should have done (See *Not.* 99) but to East Meath. I may here add that, according to the martyrology of Donegall and the 4 Masters, St. Etchen died A. D. 577 (578), Feb. 11.

(103) Aengus or his Scholiast, &c. in Etchen's Acts. O'Donnel, *L. 1. c.* 47.

(104) In this anecdote it is presupposed, 1st. that it was intended to conserate Columba *per saltum*, that is, to raise him immediately from the rank of deacon to the episcopacy, without his passing through the priesthood. There are certainly many instances of the kind in ancient times, notwithstanding the contrary practice having been generally observed from a very early period, as appears from St. Cyprian (*Ep.* 52. *alias* 55. *ad Antonian.*) and confirmed by the councils of Sardica, Bracara, and others. 2dly. Although it was an universal and very ancient rule that several bishops, at least three as established by the great council of Nice, should be present at the consecration or ordination of a bishop, yet here we find an instance of a person, who was to be consecrated by one alone, and without any apparent necessity of such an urgent nature, as would at any time render it allowable. Whether the anecdote be true or not, it seems to indicate that it was not unusual in Ireland to have persons consecrated by one bishop. And yet it is certain that the Irish clergy were well acquainted with the decrees of the council of Nice and others on this subject. To explain this seeming paradox we must observe, that the order of *Chorepiscopi* was very general in Ireland. They were undoubtedly, at least very many of them, invested with episcopal powers, although being subordinate to the regular bishop, in whose diocese they were stationed, they were not allowed to exercise some parts of them without his permission. Now these *Chorepiscopi* used to be ordained or consecrated by the bishop,

properly so called, or ordinary of the diocese, without his being bound to apply for the assistance of other bishops. See the 10th canon of the council of Antioch, and Bingham, (*Orig. Eccl. Book 2. chap. xiv. §. 5.*) who adds, that the city-bishops (ordinaries) were accountable for the ordination of the country-bishops (*Chorepiscopi*) to a provincial synod. In the case of St. Columba it is very natural to suppose, that the intention was to make him simply a *chorepiscopus*, so as to entrust him with the care of the rural district adjoining Dairmagh, and accordingly it was not necessary to apply for his consecration to more bishops than one. As the Irish had but one name for bishops and *chorepiscopi*, it is often difficult to know whether persons mentioned in our Church history were ordinaries of dioceses or of that subordinate class. If we read of their having been consecrated by only one bishop, we may justly conclude that they were only *chorepiscopi*. Or, if we find them, as is often the case, moving from one country or province to another, a similar inference may be drawn; whereas the canons did not allow, except on some extraordinary occasions, ordinaries to quit the sees to which they had been originally appointed. There is a third point connected with this anecdote, or rather with the supposition that it might have taken place. It is more difficult of explanation than those already discussed; for, it will be asked, could the rites used in the ordination of a priest have been mistaken for those practised in the episcopal consecration? It is true, that in later times some ceremonies and prayers have been added in the performance of these acts, which mark more distinctly the difference between them; yet they were always clearly distinguishable by the respective rites and forms of prayer used in administering them, as may be seen in Habert's *Archieratikon* (p. 312. *seqq.*) Bingham's *Origines, &c.* (B. 2. ch. xi. § 8-9. compared with ch. xix. § 17.) and as still observed by the ancient Oriental sects. (See Renaudot, *Perpet. de la foy sur les Sacrements, L. v. ch. 8. 10.*) Neither Etchen nor Columba could have been mistaken as to the nature of the act during its celebration. Therefore whatever was the oversight or mistake alluded to in that narrative, it must have been of some other kind. Etchen might have acted designedly in conferring at first only the order of priesthood, through a wish not to violate the rule of not ordaining *per saltum*, but with the intention of afterwards giving him episcopal ordina-

tion. To this Columba submitted, and meanwhile formed his determination not to rise higher. In process of time persons, who thought he should have been made bishop, ascribed the whole to a mistake; or it may be supposed that, through a particular interference of Providence, Etchen forgot that Columba had been sent to him for the purpose of being raised to the episcopal order, and knowing that he was only a deacon thought it sufficient to confer on him merely that of priesthood. At any rate this anecdote, whether true or not, plainly shews that the distinction between bishops and priests was well understood in Ireland.

(105) It is very probable, that Columba was ordained not long after the foundation of Dairmagh. Hence the date, *about 550*, assigned for it, seems to be nearly as correct as can be ascertained.

(106) Harris (*Bishops*, p. 138) explains the name as if signifying the *see of Cenanus*. This is an unfounded position of his own. Where did he find a Cenanus bishop there? The origin of the see of Kells and the name of its first bishop are unknown. Ware, treating of Kells (*Antiq. cap. 29.*) has nothing about *see of Cenanus*; but he observes, that the name of the place *Cenanus* (or *Kennanus*) was contracted into *Kenlis*, and afterwards into *Kells*. In fact, *Kennanus* was its original name, which it probably was known by before there was ever a bishop in Ireland.

(107) In the martyrology of Donegall (*Tr. Th. p. 483*) the monastery of Kennanus is reckoned among those, which Columba founded before he left Ireland. But it ascribes so many establishments to him, that we cannot depend on its authority as to any one of them, unless supported by other documents; and it is certain that several religious houses of Columba's order, said to have been founded by him, were not established until after his death. If a fact ought to be rejected on account of the absurdity of circumstances said to have accompanied it, that now under discussion must be set aside. O'Donnel states (*L. 1. c. 63.*) that, on the saint's approaching Kennanus, the guards refused him admittance; upon which he prophesied that it would soon pass into other hands. It is added, that Diernit, then king of Ireland, having arrived there soon after, made him a present of the whole city, as a compensation for the affront he had received, and that Columba accepted of it. Passing over some other stories, who does

not see, that this is a fable fabricated in times very much later than those, in which Columba lived? In his days kings did not bestow cities to holy men, nor would holy men have accepted of them. Colgan (*Tr. Tk. p. 508.*) gives us no other authority for that foundation by Columba than the trash of O'Donnel. O'Flaherty in a marginal note (*ib.*) asserts, that the church, called St. Columba's, at Kells, was not erected until A. D. 807, and that the founder of it was Kellach, abbot of Hy, who at that very time, as Ware writes (*Antiq. cap. 24.*) fled to Ireland from the fury of the Danes, who had plundered his monastery and murdered many of the monks. O'Flaherty appeals for his assertion to *Codex Cluanensis*, and to a *poema chronologicum*. He might have appealed also to the Annals of Innisfallen, which assign the *foundation* of Kells by Kellach to 807. He refers likewise to Ware, who says (*loc. cit.*), that Kellach in that year either *built* or repaired the monastery of St. Columba at Kells. Yet in other places (*ib. cap. 26. and 29*) Ware attributes the foundation of said monastery to Columba himself, in obedience, perhaps, to a popular tradition. If it was really founded by him, it is difficult to account for the silence of our old authors as to any abbot there between his times and those of Kellach. Archdall, indeed, mentions (at *Kells*) one or two as prior to Kellach, but, I believe, on very shallow authority. They must have been unknown to Colgan; for, otherwise, he would have named, at least, some one of them, as he has with regard to the abbots of Derry, Dairmagh, &c. It may be objected, that the 4 masters quoted by Colgan (*loc. cit.*) assign a destruction of St. Columba's church of Kells to A. D. 802 (803) and therefore prior to Kellach's arrival there. This is probably a mistake. It must certainly have appeared as such to O'Flaherty, who had the 4 Masters constantly before him, and who would not have assigned the origin of that church to 807, unless he thought their calculation to be wrong and not consonant with documents, which he considered as more worthy of credit. As to any decision on this subject, let the reader judge for himself.

(108) Ware, Harris, &c. Their computation, which is at best merely conjectural, cannot agree with their own statement as to the time of the foundation of Dairmagh (See *Not. 97*); whereas some not very inconsiderable time must have elapsed between it and that of Kells. Besides, Columba was already a priest, when

he is said to have set about the latter monastery ; so that if he was the real founder, its commencement cannot be placed prior to A. D. 552.

§. x. Several other monasteries or churches are said to have been erected by St. Columba in those times ; but there can be no doubt that many of them were not established until after his death, while others prior to it were not of his immediate foundation. Thus the house of Swords was not established by him, nor before the year 563, but some time in the seventh century. (109) Another pretended establishment of our saint is that in the small island of Rachlin, off the Antrim coast, for which there is not the least authority ; (110) besides its being well known at what time and by whom it was founded. (111) It was, however, of the Columbian order, as was also that of Raphoe, which I do not find sufficient arguments for ascribing to Columba himself, although it existed in Adamnan's time, who was, perhaps, the founder of it. (112) Three or four religious houses or churches called *Skrine* or the *Shrine of St. Columba*, indicate by their very name that they were not formed in his time, and that it is a gross mistake to ascribe their foundation to him. (113) The monastery of Druim-cliaibh, or Drumcliffe, in the county of Sligo, will, I dare say, on close examination, be found not to have been established until after the saint's death. (114) Much less reason is there for ascribing to him several other religious houses or churches, some of which are now unknown, (115) while others were merely churches or chapels dedicated in his name, or in which he was specially revered. (116) Certain monasteries, which existed in Columba's time, have been added to his foundations on the mere grounds of their having been mentioned by Adamnan. (117) We find, however, besides Derry and Durrogh, some religious houses, which were founded in Ireland either by

Columba himself, or by his disciples during his life time, or, at least, very soon after his death. Among them is to be reckoned that of Druim-Tomma (*Drumhome*) in the barony of Tyrhugh and county of Donegal. (118) A small monastery in a place, called *Sath-reginden*, was inhabited and seemingly founded by a Baitan, who lived in Columba's time, and became one of his monks. (119) A great establishment called Kill-mor-Deathrib, is usually ascribed to St. Columba, and probably on just grounds; (120) but unluckily its situation is wrapped up in obscurity. (121) Snamlathir, a monastery in the now barony of Carbury (county of Sligo) was founded, perhaps before his death, by Columbanus, son of Echad, who was probably a disciple of his. (122) Adamnan makes mention of a monastery, called *Kailli-abinde*, and founded, after Columba's departure from Ireland and perhaps after his death, by a Finten, son of Aidus, one of his disciples. But it is probable, that this monastery was somewhere in Scotland or its Western isles rather than in Ireland. (123) To conclude this subject, I have only to add, that a monastery at Eac-mac-neirc in the now county of Roscommon, although not mentioned by Adamnan, is usually ascribed by several authors to St. Columba, who is said to have placed over it the abbot Dochonna. (124)

(109) O'Donnel, who is followed by Colgan, says (*L. I. c. 67*) that Columba, having built a church at Swords, consigned it to the care of St. Finan surnamed the *Leper*. He places its erection before Columba's departure from Ireland. In opposition to this story, it is sufficient to observe, that this St. Finan did not die until between the years 674 and 693, as mentioned in his Acts at 16 *Mart*. How then could he have governed a church before 563? He is well known in Irish history, and was himself the founder of the monastery of Swords, but undoubtedly after the death of Columba, to whose institution, however, it seems to have belonged. Ware does not make mention of it; yet Harris does,

erroneously ascribing it to St. Columba. Archdall has bungled his account of it in a most shameful manner. He says that it was founded in 512 by Columba. Yet this may be an error of the press, although not marked in his table of errata. For elsewhere he lays down, that Columba was born in 521. But what are we to think of his statement that Finan died before 563, and his referring to three different pages of the *Tr. Th.* in none of which does any such thing occur? In one of those pages (*p.* 509.) Colgan says that the monastery was founded prior to the year 563, but has nothing there about the time, in which Finan died. Archdall then adds, that others extend Finan's years to 593, or 597, and refers to his Acts. Now in the very page referred to, neither of these dates is mentioned; but, it is expressly stated, that Finan died between 674 and 693.

(110) Colgan was, to use a vulgar phrase, bewitched as to the mania of ascribing foundations of monasteries to our eminent saints. For his reckoning (*Tr. Th.* *p.* 494 and 509.) that of Rachlin among those established by Columba he refers to Adamnan (*L.* 2, *c.* 41.) and to O'Donnel (*L.* 2, *c.* 81.) The reader will be surprised at Colgan's inference, when he is told that those writers have not a word in the places referred to about a monastery in Rachlin, and merely to tell us that St. Columba happened to be there on a certain occasion, which is thus expressed by Adamnan; "Cum vir sanctus in Rechrea *hospitaretur* insula." They add that, while there, he reconciled a woman to her husband, having by his prayers obtained from God a change of her heart from inveterate hatred to true conjugal affection. According to Colgan's mode of deducing consequences, every place, in which the saint might have happened to spend a few days, should have been honoured with a monastery of his. Archdall, while meaning to follow Colgan as usual, fell into a blunder, which Colgan did not, although with a carelessness similar to that just noticed (*Not. prec.*) he refers to him for it. After saying that Columba founded a church in Rachlin he tells us, that the saint placed over it Colman a deacon. Here he confounds Rachlin with a place in the maritime part of Meath mentioned by O'Donnel (*L.* 1, *c.* 65.) under the name of *Rachraind Orientalis Breagh*, where, he says, Columba placed the deacon Colman over a church, which he had erected. Whether this be true or not is of little consequence.

O'Donnel, however, did not confound that place with the island, when he speaks of it, *L. 2. c. 81.* Nor did Colgan, who in one and the same page (*Tr. Th. p. 494*) makes mention of both of them as distinct, placing one immediately after the other.

(111) The Annals of Ulster and Tigernach assign to A. D. 635 the foundation of the church of Rechran or Rachlin by Se-genius abbot of Hy, (See Usher, *Ind. Chron.*) to whom it is attributed also by the 4 masters quoted by Colgan. (*Tr. Th. p. 509.*) notwithstanding his mistake in having ascribed it to Columba. Harris (*Monaster.*) makes Lugaid Laithir the founder of it about 591. He could have had no reason for this position, except his having misunderstood a passage of Usher (*Ind. Chron. ad A. 590*), where he observes that Lugaid, surnamed *Laithir*, is said to have founded a monastery in Rachlin. But Harris should have looked to the page of the *Primordia* referred to by Usher, and he would have found that the person, who said so, was the notorious Demp-ter, whose statement he merely mentions; while a few lines after he quotes the Annals of Ulster to show, that the church of Rachlin was founded in 635. Archdall, who swallowed every mistake, places Lugaid in Rachlin after his deacon Colman. (See *not. præc.*) Colgan thinks that this Lugaid governed a monastery before St. Columba's death, but, as will be seen lower down, different from that of Rachlin.

(112) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 509.*) calls Adamnan the *patron* and restorer of the monastery of Rathbotha (Raphoe). The title, *patron*, and the veneration, in which he was held there as such, seem to point out rather a founder than a restorer. It is true, that the Martyrology of Donegall reckons it among the establishments, partly monasteries, partly churches, formed by Columba before he went to Britain. But, as already observed, we are not bound to submit to its authority, unless corroborated by other documents. O'Donnel says (*L. 1. c. 58.*) that the saint repaired *churches* at Raphoe, without mentioning a monastery. Whether there were at any time many churches in that small town, I do not know; but it is certain, that one would have been sufficient for it in the days of St. Columba. Ware (*Ant. cap. 29.* and *Bishops at Raphoe*) ascribes a monastery there to Columba; but I believe he merely followed Colgan. The most that can be admitted is, I think, that the saint might have procured the erection of a

church in Raphoe for the accommodation of the people. And it is thus, if I mistake not, we are to understand what the said Martyrology has about other establishments of his in that neighbourhood, such as Kilmacrenan, Tulach-Dubhglaisse, Gartan, and Seinglean. If the saint had any thing to do with them, it may be justly supposed, that they were not monasteries but simple churches, which, through his influence with the princes of the country his relatives, he was able to erect or get erected. Ware and Harris have no monasteries in said places, nor does even O'Donnel make mention of any thing more than the churches, while the Martyrology leaves it doubtful whether they were monasteries or not. Yet Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 494.*) and his humble servant Archdall lay them down as such, besides others of equal uncertainty, and all as founded by Columba. Why should the saint have formed such a crowd of monasteries so near each other, while there was room enough at Derry for persons wishing to lead a monastic life?

(113) The Martyrology of Donegall reckons three Skrines among the establishments founded by Columba before he left Ireland; one in Meath, another in Ulster, and a third in Connaught. The Skrine or *Scrinium Sti. Columbae* in Meath is well known, and Colgan observes (*Tr. Th. p. 494.*) that perhaps it got that name from the shrine of St. Columba, which might have been deposited there for some time after it was brought from Hy to Ireland in the year 875. If so, the commencement of the monastery or church called *Skrine*, must be brought down to the 9th century. At any rate it is plain that it did not exist until after the saint's death, whereas some reliques of his must have been supposed to be kept there so as to entitle it to that denomination. In like manner the other Skrines must be assigned to some period later than that, in which he lived. The second Skrine was, according to Colgan, in that northern part of the county and diocese of Derry, called the Magilligan country. Archdall gives the name of Magilligan to the monastery itself; and why? because Colgan says that it was in the tract called *Ardia*, *al. Aird-Magilligan*. He thought that *Ardia*, instead of being a large district, was only a village or townland. As to the Skrine in Connaught Colgan does not mark its situation; yet he seems to have thought that it was the same as the *Shrine of St. Adamnan*, now

Skreen, in the county of Sligo at a place anciently called Cnocna-moile, which in rather a modern Life of a St. Farannan (at 15 February) is said to have been granted by a prince Tiprad to St. Columba. (See Archdall at *Skrine*.) Why call it the *Shrine of Adamnan*, if it had existed since Columba's time? But Colgan adds another Skrine, or *Scrinium Sti. Columbae*, which, as appears from the 4 Masters, was in Kinel-Eoguin, now Tirone, and was plundered in the year 1203. Whether it was a monastery or church he does not tell us. Archdall has it not, having confounded it with the Skrine, which he calls *Magilligan*.

(114) The Martyrology of Donegall and O'Donnel (*L. 1. c. 60.*) assign to him the foundation of this church or monastery, and prior to his departure for Britain. In the Life of Farannan (See *Not. prec.*) it is said that Columba, after his return to Ireland on occasion of the assembly of Drumceat, erected a church in Carbre, now the barony of Carbury in the county of Sligo. As Drumcliffe lies in that district, O'Flaherty supposed that this was the place meant in said Life, and thence (*MS. note to Tr. Th. p. 494.*) concluded, that the church of Drumcliffe was not founded until the year 590. It is, however, very probable that it did not exist until a later period. O'Donnel says that Columba placed over it Mothorianus one of his companions. Colgan tells us (*Tr. Th. p. 510.*) that *Mothorianus* is the same name as *Torianus* or *Torannanus*. Then he mentions St. Tarannanus abbot of Bangor and Drumcliffe, but does not tell us at what time he lived, although owing to the misplacement of a date in the margin, it seems at first sight as if he placed him in the year 921, whereby Archdall was deceived (at *Drumcliffe*) so as to assign the death of the abbot Torannan to that year. It is very probable that this St. Tarannan was the same as Mothorianus. Now, if he was abbot also of Bangor, he must have lived in a later period than St. Columba, whereas we find a regular succession of abbots at Bangor, for many years after Columba's death, among whom there is no Torannan. I strongly suspect, that Tamannan, Torannan or Mathorianus was no other than Thorannu, one of those disciples of Columba, who followed him to Britain. From having been particularly revered at Bangor and Drumcliffe, he might have been supposed to have been abbot in both places. In all probability Thorannu spent the remainder of his life out of

Ireland. (See below, *Not.* 160.) A strong presumption against the great antiquity of Drumcliffe arises from Colgan's not having been able to discover any intermediate abbot there between his Mothorianus or Tarranan and Mailpatrick, who died in 921, particularly as the church of Drumcliffe was very respectable. As to some of its late abbots having been called Comarbans or successors of St. Columba, that can be easily accounted for on the principle of its having been a monastery of his order. It is odd that neither Ware nor Harris make mention of it in their lists.

(115) Colgan made out (*Tr. Th.* p. 494.) a monastery of Columba's foundation in an island called *Inis-locha-gamhna*, or the island in Lough Gawn or Gawnagh in the barony of Granard, county of Longford. Archdall has it under the name *Inchymory*, and confounds it with *Inis-aingin* in Lough-ree, where, as we have seen, Kieran of Clonmacnois had formed a monastery. Colgan refers only to O'Donnel (*L. 1. c.* 104.) for the Columbian house in Lough Gawn. Now all, that O'Donnel says, is that the saint, as he was passing in that direction, blessed said lough or lake. This is certainly no authority for supposing that he established a monastery there. And yet Ware, (*Ant. cap.* 26.) has it as founded by Columba, and in the *fifth* century. For the former part of this position his only guide was, I believe, Colgan; and in the latter the word, *fifth*, must be an erratum, whereas Ware was too exact to let it slip from his pen. Harris and Archdall have copied it, not recollecting that Columba was not even born in that century. Colgan has also a monastery or church at Killchuana in the county of Sligo near Cnocnamoile, (See *Not.* 113.) for which he has no authority except the half fabulous Life of Tarannan, in which it is said that Columba placed there Cuannon, a disciple of his. Archdall, in his confusion on this point, removed this Killcuanagh or Kilcoonagh to the county of Galway, and made Cuannan a maternal brother of St. Carthag of Lismore. There is, however, a Kilcoonagh in Galway and in the deanery of Annadown, which was founded by Cuanna the brother of Carthag, whose birth Colgan assigns to the latter end of the sixth century in his Acts at 4 *Feb.* But he is not spoken of, nor could he, as a disciple of St. Columba. As to the Cuannan represented as such, and his Killchuana in Sligo, nothing authentic is known, and we may justly reject what is said of them in the Life of

Farannan. Equally unknown is another pretended establishment of Columba in the same neighbourhood, and mentioned only in said Life, called *All Farannain*. The Martyrology of Donegall has among the saint's foundations Main in Leinster. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 494.*) call it (at *A. 1014* and *1040*) *Maoin-Columb-kille*. It might have had this name without having been founded by Columba. For (this purpose it was sufficient that it belonged to his order or institution. In what part of Leinster it was I cannot discover.

(116) To this class belonged, as Colgan seems to acknowledge, the church of Druimcollum, and some others in the diocese of Elphin; several churches in that of Derry, such as those of Cluain-laodh or Clonleigh, Cluain-maine or Clonmany, and particularly Fathen-Mura (now Fahan) which was founded by St. Murus its abbot, as appears not only from its name, but likewise from his being the patron saint; and who, as his Acts show (at *12 Mart.*) lived in the seventh century. To this we may add some also in the diocese of Raphoe, such as that of Tory island, in which, were we to believe O'Donnel and Colgan, Columba placed Ernan one of his disciples. But Colgan himself tells us (*AA. SS. p. 17.*) that this abbot Ernan, whom he calls son of Colman, flourished about the year 650, and therefore very many years after our saint's death. The system of attributing foundations to Columba on the mere principle of their bearing his name was carried so far, that a church (not an abbey as Archdall has it) in a place called *Glean-choluim-cille* in the West of Thomond, has been reckoned among them, although he does not appear to have ever been in that part of Ireland. It might as well be supposed that all the churches called by the name of St. Paul, had been erected by that Apostle. Smith not understanding the name *Tuamania*, which Colgan has, places (*Life, &c. p. 150.*) Gleann-choluim-cille in Tuam!!!

(117) One of these was the monastery which Adamnan (*L. 2. c. 36*) calls that of the two rivulets of the field, *duorum agri rivulorum*. In Messingham's edition (*L. 2. c. 14.*) the name is *Diviniruris rivulorum*. He tells us that St. Columba paid a visit to the monks there, being invited by them. This shows that he was not the founder of it, as in that case there would have been no occasion for any invitation. Yet Colgan reckons it among his esta-

blishments, and endeavours to show that it was the same as *Tir-da-chroebh* somewhere in Meath, where he found that a St. *Lugaid* was held in veneration. Next he conjectures (*Tr. Th. p. 377*) that this *Lugaid* was the same as the surnamed *Laithir*, a disciple of St. Columba, often mentioned by Adamnan, particularly (*L. 2. c. 38.*) where he calls him the saint's *legate* or messenger. But *Tir-da-chroebh* does not mean a place of two rivulets, nor does there appear to be an error in Adamnan's text as to *rivorum*; for O'Donnel (*L. 3. c. 15.*) calls that establishment *Mainister an da shruth*, i. e. the monastery of the two brooks. Thus then Colgan's speculations remain quite unsupported. And as to the name *Lugaid*, it was so common that it cannot afford an argument for the truth of his hypothesis. Archdall, instead of communicating to his readers Colgan's ideas as conjectures, has (at *Tirdacroebh*) laid them down as facts. Another monastery ascribed by Colgan to St. Columba is that of Cloinfinchoil, supposed to be Clonfeakle in the county of Armagh. For this position he had no other authority than the following anecdote related by Adamnan (*L. 3. c. 23.*) There was, he says, in an Irish monastery called *Clon-finchoil* (name omitted in *L. 3. c. 18.* in Messingh. *ed.*) a holy old soldier of Christ, of the name of *Lugaid* (*al. Lagud*) son of *Talchan*, to whom the death of St. Columba was revealed in a vision at the very time it happened. Early the next morning he imparted it to another holy man called *Fergnaus* or *Virgnous*, (different, as will be seen hereafter, from *Fergnaus*, abbot of Hy) and told him that he saw the island of Hy, where he had never been, illuminated with an angelical brightness, and hosts of angels conveying Columba's soul to heaven. *Fergnaus* went shortly after to one of the Western islands called *Hymba*, where, having become a Columbian monk, he often related this fact. Now there is nothing in this narrative to make us believe that *Cloin-finchoil* was a Columbian monastery; for it does not appear that *Fergnaus*, was, at least at the time he got that information from *Lugaid*, a Columbian monk, or that he was a member of the monastery of *Cloin-finchoil*. Nor is there any foundation for making *Lugaid* abbot in that place. Colgan indeed does, (*Tr. Th. p. 493*) and gives him that title at *2 Mart.* where he treats of him; but without adducing any additional argument. Had Adamnan known that he was an

abbot he would not have omitted to call him so. Harris and Archdall have followed Colgan. The former says that Lugaid died in 580. How then could he have had a vision concerning Columba's death in 596 or 597? The latter tells us that he was a very aged man in that year. To understand this bungling, the reader must observe, that Usher reckons (*Ind. Chron.*) among several illustrious men, who flourished in 580, Lugad, son of Talchan, an *old soldier of Christ*, alluding to the phrase used by Adamnan. But although he was old at the time Columba died, he might not have been thought so in 580; nor was that Usher's meaning. Harris, however, went much farther astray than Archdall; for, while Usher says, *flourished*, he introduces *death*. Nothing could stop Colgan in his hunting after Columbian institutions. A curious instance occurs in his placing (*Tr. Th. p. 494*) among them a monastery at Cluinaich, in the diocese of Derry. Yet somewhere more than once (*ex. c. ib. p. 450, 489.*) he calls it only a church near Derry, which he conjectures to have been governed by one Columba, named *Crag*. This Columba happens to be mentioned by Adamnan (*L. 1. c. 2.*) who calls him a venerable clergyman, *venerandum clericum*. Upon this mere mention of his name (Colgan, *ib. p. 489.*) makes him a disciple of St. Columba. Now it is evident from Adamnan, that he was not; for he is introduced as asking two monks, who had just arrived at his habitation from Derry; "is your holy father Columba safe and well?" Had he been himself a disciple of the saint, he would have said not *your* but *our*. To the illogical process, by which Colgan changed Columba Crag into a monk, and gave him a monastery, Archdall has, as he often does, added something of his own. For (at *Cluainenach*) he tells us, that St. Columba founded an abbey there, and made Colum Crag, his disciple, abbot of it. It is thus that, next after this monastery, talking of Clonmanny (*Cluain-maine*) he says it was built by St. Columba, although Colgan has no such thing. (Compare with *Not. prec.*)

(118) Adaman (*L. 3. c. 23.*) makes mention of one Ernene, whose name, he says, may be interpreted *Ferreolus*, (from the Irish word *Earnach*, or *Iarran*, iron) and says that he was buried in *Dorso Tommae* (*Druim-Tomma*) among the remains of *other* monks of St. Columba. Accordingly there was a monastery in

that place, founded most probably by the saint himself. Adamnan had seen Ernene, when very old, but speaks of him as having been a strong working man at the time of Columba's death. He does not represent him as the founder of that establishment, as Harris does; nor does he even make him abbot there, although Archdall presumes to say, that we are informed he was. Who gave that information, is quite unknown to me; certainly not Adamnan, who exhibits him as a simple monk; nor even Colgan, who, expressly treating of him at 1 *January*, merely tells us, he spent a great part of his life at Druim-Tomma, and was buried there. In one passage indeed, (*Tr. Th. p. 490*) he calls him, but without adducing any authority, abbot of that place. This seems to have been a slip of the pen.

(119) Adamnan relates (*L. 1. c. 20*) that Baitan had, on a certain occasion, applied to Columba for his blessing, and that, having governed for many years a small establishment, *cellula*, at Sath-reginden, he died at Derry. This last circumstance seems to show, that he was a Columbian monk. Colgan conjectured that the true name of the place was perhaps *Rath-reginden*, and that, as Baitan died at Derry, it was in some not far distant tract and probably somewhere in Tirconnel, and in the diocese of Derry. Archdall, in his usual blundering manner, introduces Colgan as speaking positively on the subject; and, not content with so doing, instead of Tirconnel, he has that place under *county of Derry*, adding that Colgan says it was founded by St. Columba; whereas, on the contrary, Colgan expressly states (*Tr. Th. p. 377*), that Baitan was the founder of it.

(120) We read in Adamnan, (*L. 1. c. 50*) who latinizes its name into *Cella magna Deathrib*, that, on St. Columba's arrival there on some particular occasion, several presents were brought to him by the people of the neighbourhood. O'Donnel says (*L. 1. c. 110.*) that he kept a school in that monastery. This is stated also in the life of St. Munna of Taighmon. Adamnan's words prove indeed, that there was such a monastery in the saint's time, but make it only probable that he was the founder of it. Yet, combined with the latter authorities, they seem to form a strong argument in favour of the common opinion, which I shall not controvert, as I do not find any thing material in opposition to it.

(121) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 494.*) places it in Connaught, without

telling us in what part of that great province. Elsewhere he has it in Cavan. (See *Not.* 40 to *Chap.* x.)

(122) This monastery is mentioned by Adamnan (*L. c.* 43), who relates that one day, when St. Columba happened to be in Ireland (after the foundation of Hy) Columbanus drove a curricl in which they were both seated. He does not expressly say, that Columbanus was a disciple of his; but it cannot be doubted, that he was; for he appears as accompanying the saint, who had come to Ireland for some ecclesiastical purposes, “*aliquibus ecclesiasticis utilitatibus coactus.*” (*Messingh. ed L. 2. c.* 18.) Instead of *utilitatibus* Colgan’s edition (*lo. cit.*) has *visitantibus*, which makes no sense, and renders the author’s meaning quite confused. Adamnan then observes, that this Columbanus was the founder of the monastery, called *Snam-luthir*. But it does not appear, whether he founded it before or after St. Columba’s death. Archdall says, that Columbanus was, as we are told, the saint’s charioteer. This is like what he has about St. Brigid’s *coachman*. Did he imagine that St. Columba kept chariots? Or is it because Columbanus happened to drive the vehicle, in which the saint was travelling, that he must be called a charioteer?

(123) Adamnan (*L. 2. c.* 31.) speaks of Finten as young, when, among others, accompanying St. Columba in a journey across the *Dorsum Britannicum* (Drum-Albain) he became dangerously ill. The saint gave him his blessing, and foretold that he would live to a good old age; which was verified by his having afterwards founded Kailli-abinde and his not dying until far advanced in years. Adamnan does not mention his having ever returned to Ireland; nor could Colgan discover any place of that name. He says indeed, that there is a church in Carbury (Sligo), called *Caille*; but he could not find Finten there, instead of whom a St. Muadnata was revered. Besides, what becomes of *abinde*, the second part of said name, by which it was meant to distinguish Finten’s monastery from other establishments called *Kailli* or *Caille*? Archdall leaps over these difficulties, and gives us a monastery of Cailleavinde in the county of Sligo.

(124) O’Donnel (*L. 1. c.* 104.) relates, that St. Columba, having dedicated that place to God, left there as superior Dochonna, or, as he calls him, Dachonna. Colgan says, when expressly treating of him, (*AA. SS. ad 8. Mart.*) that he was more gene-

rally called *Mochonna*, but observes that his real name was *Chonna*, to which if *Mo* be prefixed, we have *my Chonna*; if *Do* or *Da*, *thy Chonna*. An author of a *Life of St. Columba*, quoted by Colgan (*ib.*), also calls him *Dachonna*, and tells us that St. Columba erected a monastery at *Eas-mac-neirc*, and gave him the care of it. Colgan states that he was of the family of a famous chieftain, *Erc*, from whom that place got the additional name of *mac-neirc*, signifying the *sons of Erc*. It is mentioned in the *Tripartite life of St. Patrick* (*L. 2. c. 101.*), where he is said to have foretold that *Columb-kill* would establish a monastery there. (See also *Joceline, cap. 90.*) *Ware* thought (*Ant. cap. 26 at Roscommon*) it might have been the same as *Inchmacnerin*, an island in *Lough-kee*. This cannot be reconciled with the older writers, who never speak of it as an island, and agree in placing it on the bank of the river *Buell* or *Boyle*. According to Colgan (*loc. cit. and Tr. Th. p. 494.*) it was the very monastery, which, many centuries later, fell into the possession of the *Cisterian* order, and became so famous under the name of *Abbey of Boyle*. The foundation of it is assigned by *O'Donnel, &c. &c.* to some time previous to the saint's departure for *Britain*; and here it will not be amiss to observe that, whatever monasteries were established in *Ireland* by himself in person, they were, as well as I can discover, all prior to that epoch.

§. XI. Besides the saint's exertions for establishing religious communities and churches, several other circumstances are related as forming part of his history. But, as they rest on very doubtful authority, we may pass them by, (125) and now proceed to inquire into the occasion or cause of his determination to leave *Ireland*. A silly story is told relative to this subject, and with circumstances quite unbecoming the conduct of holy men and even the gravity of common history. (126) The substance of it is as follows. *Columba*, happening to be on a visit with *St. Finnian of Maghbile at Druimfionn*, (127) borrowed from him a manuscript of some part of the holy scriptures, which he immediately set about transcribing, unknown to *Finian*. When he had nearly finished his copy of it, *Finian*, being apprized of the business,

was highly displeased at Columba's conduct, and told him that he ought not to have transcribed a book, his property, without his permission. Next he insisted on getting said copy from Columba, maintaining that he had a right to it, inasmuch as it was the offspring of his manuscript. (128) To this strange plea Columba replied, that he would leave the matter to the arbitration of Diermit then king of all Ireland, who, on the case being laid before him, decided in favour of Finnian. Columba, irritated at this unjust sentence, declared to him in the presence of all the by-standers, that it would not pass unrevenged. Then we are told how about the same time Curnan, son of Aidus king of Connaught, fled to Columba for protection against the fury of Diermit, and how, by his order, that young prince was dragged from the saint's bosom and immediately put to death. (129) This atrocity added still more to Columba's resentment, so that, addressing the king, he told him that he would make a complaint to the princes, his relatives, for the various insults he had received from him. Accordingly he secretly set out for his own country, and, having escaped some snares laid for him by Diermit, arrived safe in Ulster. Anmireus, his cousin, then chieftain of Kinell-Connuill, and the two brothers Fergus and Domnald, heads of Kinell-Eoguin (Tyrone), on being informed of Diermit's proceeding, soon raised an army, and, being assisted by Aidus king of Connaught, challenged him to battle. (130) The engagement took place at Culdremni, (131) while Finian was praying for the success of the king's party, and, on the other side, Columba for that of his relatives and friends. (132) The prayers of the latter being more efficacious, Diermit's army was defeated with the loss of 3000 men, whereas of their antagonists there fell only one man. (133) Then come some other circumstances, which it would be idle to mention; and the whole of this notable story ends with telling us, that Columba felt remorse for

the part he had acted in these troubles, and that he was directed by several holy men to undergo whatever penance would be enjoined on him by St. Lasrean, *al.* Molassius, of Devenish, who, on being applied to, ordered him to quit Ireland for ever, and to exert himself for the salvation of as many others as had fallen in that war. (134)

(125) It is really surprising that Smith, who, besides D. D. calls himself an honorary member of the Antiquarian society of Scotland, could have been so unacquainted not only with the true history of St. Columba, but likewise with the general history of the times, as to send him travelling to foreign countries before he settled in Hy, that is prior to A. D. 563, and representing him as caressed by king Sigebert (of Austria) and founding a monastery in Italy. He applies to him a passage of Walafrid Strabo, which is in this writer's Life of St. Gallus, a tract which Smith must not have seen, as otherwise he would have immediately perceived, that our Columba was not the person there spoken of, but Columbanus the disciple of Comgall and founder of the monasteries of Luxeuil and Bobbio. It is true, that these two great men have been confounded together by some former writers, and, among others, by Dempster, whose ignorance and impertinence on this point have been well exposed by Usher (*p.* 688). Smith followed Dempster, or some equally bad authority. But surely every one in our days, tolerably conversant in the history of Europe, knows that Columbanus, who became so celebrated in France and Italy, was a quite different person from Columbkille, and that he did not arrive in France until about the year 590. As to Columbkille, it is evident from his whole history, that he never visited any part of the Continent. O'Donnel's fable (*L.* 3. *c.* 27. *seqq.*) about his journey to Rome in the time of Gregory the great, and on his return stopping at Tours, is treated with indifference even by Colgan, who shows that some parts of it are absolutely false.

(126) O'Donnel has this story at great length in the beginning of his second book. Usher has given it, (*p.* 902. *seqq.*) in an abridged and less exceptionable form, from a foolish anonymous writer, who had the impudence to refer to Adamnan as his authority; although, as Usher observes, (*p.* 1194.) Adamnan could not

have written such trash. (Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 462.) copied it from Usher. The author was so ignorant as to call Gildas a Saxon. We find some similar stuff in Keating (*B. 2. p. 28. seqq. ed. a. 1723.*) taken from such documents as the Black book of Molaga.

(127) See *Not.* 89 to *Chap.* x.

(128) In the account published by Usher, instead of a question about a book, we have, according to his printed text, one about a freeman, pro “quodam *libero* respectendo.” And soon after he has “*liberi*.” This must be owing to his having misunderstood the MS. whence he took it, so as to read *libero* and *liberi* for *libro* and *libri*, as Colgan has them, who knew more about this foolish tradition than Usher did. Yet Usher might have been easily deceived, as the matter is introduced abruptly without any mention of Finnian, who, on the contrary, according to said account, could not have been, as will be seen lower down, the person, between whom and Columba any such dispute existed.

(129) This anecdote relating to Curnan does not occur in the narrative as given by Usher.

(130) The matter is differently and more rationally stated in Usher’s account, according to which Columba merely threatened Diarmot with the vengeance of God, and then left the court in disgust. It is added that the king, incensed at the declaration made by the saint, proceeded with an army towards Tirconnel for the purpose of extirpating all his connexions and subduing their country. Thus he, not they, was the aggressor in this war.

(131) Adamnan calls it *Culedreibhne*. It was in the territory of Carbre, not far from Sligo to the North. The battle was fought in the year 561, (See *Not.* 76.) as appears from the Annals of Ulster. Johnston must have fallen into some mistake, where in Extracts from those Annals he marks this battle at A. 559 (560). It was, I dare say, on Johnston’s authority, that Pinkerton also (*Not.* to Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 7.*) assigned it to the said year. Yet in a note to Cumineus (*cap.* 22) he agrees with Usher as to Columba’s arrival in Britain A. D. 563. Thus he must have supposed, that the true year of the battle was 561. The 4 Masters have 555 (556); but Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 452) rejects this date, and adopts that of Usher.

(132) In the account (*ap.* Usher) Columba alone is introduced

as praying for the protection of his friend, against the fury of Diermit's forces, for whom no saint is mentioned as interceding.

(133) According to what we find in Usher not even one man of this party was killed; and the slaughter of the king's troops is attributed to the appearance, in their camp, of an Angel in human form of an enormous size, in a military garb, heading a few men, at which sight they were so terrified that, instead of attacking their opponents, they fled precipitately, and in their hurry to escape, many of them killed each other.

(134) Not Lasrean but Finnian appears (*ap.* Usher) as the person to whom Columba applied for a suitable penance, and who prescribed it, omitting the part relative to perpetual exile. Following this account, Finnian could not have been the plaintiff in the pretended question about the book, nor his opponent during the battle.

(135) Adamnan relates, (*L. 3. c. 4.*) that, a short time before his sailing for Britain, Columba went to pay a visit to his venerable old master Finnian, who, on his approaching, saw him accompanied by an Angel, and said to some brethren then present; "Behold the holy Columba, who has merited the having a celestial being as his companion."

§. XII. Who does not see, that this is not history but poetry, and that there is scarcely a word of truth in it, except that such a battle was fought, and that it is very probable that St. Columba, without having been at all concerned in bringing it about, prayed for the protection of his kinsmen and their subjects against the fury of Diermit, who was bent on exterminating them? No one of common sense will admit the fable of the quarrel about the book, the groundwork of this ludicrous drama. And as to any dispute between Columba and Finnian, it is evident from Adamnan, that it did not occur, and that these two saints retained their mutual friendship and esteem to the last. (135) Equally groundless is his having been ordered to do penance for what occurred in that war, and to subject himself to perpetual exile. (136) Besides the retailers of this story differing among themselves as to the person, who imposed the penance,

and the nature of it, (137) we find Columba remaining in Ireland for about two years after the battle, instead of fulfilling his penitential task, and afterwards returning to it, notwithstanding that pretended condemnation to *perpetual* banishment. Nor does it appear, that the attempt at excommunicating Columba, which was frustrated by the interposition of Brendan of Birr, took place after the battle of Culdremni, it being much more probable that it occurred several years prior to it. (138) It is now clear that all that has been said about Columba having been the cause or occasion of that battle, and consequently of his departure from Ireland, rests upon no other authority than the jarring fictions of some poetasters, who strove to embellish their rhapsodies with tales of saints contending against each other in support of the respective armies, for which they implored victory. And yet even in our days persons have been found either so foolish or malignant as to rake out those stories from the obscurity, into which they had fallen, and to deal them out to the public. (139) The true, or, at least, principal cause of St. Columba's going to Britain was his zeal for the conversion of the Northern Picts, who were still in a state of paganism, (140) and for the better instruction of his countrymen who were settled in Argyle and other adjacent tracts. (141) Besides this cause another is mentioned, which, indeed, may be admitted, as it implies nothing absurd or contradictory. It is said, that not having been able to succeed in his endeavours to reconcile the princes his relatives, and to make them desist from the deadly feuds, in which they engaged, this unhappy state of things was an additional motive for his leaving Ireland. (142) That he communicated his plan to some of the distinguished saints of that period and consulted them concerning it, is very probable. (143) We know that, a short time before his sailing for Britain, he paid a visit to his old master Finnian of Maghbile; (144) and Bren-

dan of Birr is said to have directed him to form his establishment in the small island, which bore the name of one of the letters of the alphabet, *I*. (145)

(136) In the Life of St. Lasreanus referred to by Usher (*p.* 1066.) and quoted by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 461.) part of the sentence said to have been pronounced by him is thus expressed; “*Ut perpetuo moraretur extra Hiberniam in exilio.*” Hence O’Donnel took what he also has about a *perpetual* exile.

(137) See *Not.* 134.

(138) Adamnan (*L. 3. c. 3.*) gives a very clear account of this transaction. A certain synod, he says, had issued a sentence of excommunication, not justly as afterwards appeared, against Columba, on account of some venial and excusable proceedings. On his arrival at said synod, Brendan, who had seen him at a distance, rose up, saluted him with great respect, and embraced him. Some of the elders, then taking Brendan apart, expostulated with him for his having shown such attention to a person, whom they had excommunicated. He replied; “If you had seen what the Lord has been pleased to make manifest to me this day concerning this elect of his, whom you are dishonouring, you would have never passed that sentence; whereas the Lord does not in any manner excommunicate him, in virtue of your wrong sentence, but rather exalts him still more and more.” On their asking how this could be he told them, that he saw a luminous pillar advancing before this man of God, when on his way, and holy Angels accompanying him through the plain. “Therefore,” he added, “I dare not treat with contempt him, whom I see preordained by God as a guide of nations to life.” Upon which the proceedings were withdrawn, and the whole synod paid him the greatest respect and veneration. In Messingham’s edition (*L. 3. c. 2.*) there is a stupid note attributing that excommunication to Columba’s mode of observing Easter. There was no dispute in Ireland about the time of celebrating that festival until after his death. Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) places it in the year 561 after the battle of Culdremni, as if it had taken place in consequence of said battle. Were this the case, it would set aside at once the story of the penance laid upon Columba, whereas the synod acknowledged that he did not deserve any censure. But there is every reason to think that it occurred se-

veral years earlier. Brendan seems to speak of him as one not yet invested with much authority, or very generally respected, destined, however, to be a leader of souls to heaven. O'Donnel (*L. 1. c. 42*) represents him as a youth at that time; but Brendan's calling him a *man of God* shows, that he was not then very young. It is highly probable, that the whole transaction ought to be assigned to about 550 or somewhat later, when Columba was planning his monastery of Durrogh. (See above §. 8. and *Not. 97.*) at which time Brendan was already abbot of Birr. (*Not. 28* above; and *Not. 130* to *Chap. x.*) This supposition is confirmed by the circumstance of the synod having been held in a place called (Colgan's Adamnan, *L. 3. c. 3.*) *Hiseilte* or the district of Seilte, which Colgan conjectures, and I think justly, to have been the same as Maggesilde in Leinster, afterwards contracted into *Geisille*. Colgan's Geisille must be the now barony of Geashill in the King's county, which is not far distant from Durrogh, and lay convenient for the attendance of Brendan.

(139) Besides Warner, O'Halloran, an equally wretched authority as to our church history, repeats all this nonsense more than once. (*Hist. &c. B. VIII. ch. 4-7.*) Dr. Ledwich, notwithstanding his admiration of Columba and his pretended Culdees, says, (*Antiq. &c. p. 57*) that "he instigated a bloody war without just cause, of which being made sensible he abjured his native land by a *voluntary* exile." The reader is already able to judge, what truth there is in this assertion; nor would I have troubled him with a refutation of those fables, were it not for the purpose of guarding him against giving credence to such vile imputations against the character of that truly holy man. But why did not the Doctor give the story, as he found it? Why call his exile *voluntary* in opposition to O'Donnel, the only biographer of Columba, who has this story (although the Doctor talks of *biographers*), and who exhibits it as enjoined on him by St. Molassius? Perhaps our antiquary thought, that the injunction of penances smelt of Popery.

(140) Bede writes (*L. 3. c. 4.*) that he came to Britain for the purpose of preaching to that people: "Venit de Hybernia-Britanniam, prædicaturus verbum Dei provinciis septentrionalium pictorum."

(141) Adamnan (*Second Preface al. L. 1. c. 1.*) comprizes the

two objects in a few words ; “ De Scotia ad Britanniam, *pro Christo peregrinari volens, enavigavit.*” The phrase *pro Christo* alludes not to Columba’s own salvation, which he might have worked at home as well as any where else, but to the extension of the glory of Christ and the advantage of souls. The Martyrology of Donegall (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 483.*) has very well illustrated this subject. After stating his exertions for the good of religion in Ireland, it adds ; “ *Salutis animarum et propagandae fidei aestuans desiderio, in Albionem profectus ibi extruxit famosum illud Hyense et alia plurima monasteria et ecclesias ; et in ea regione, quam de tenebris idolatriae fidei luci asseruit, et in religionis ac bonorum operum principiis solidavit plura praestitit beneficia et obsequia Deo grata quam in patria Hiberniae regione.*” In the whole account or abridged Life of Columba, given in this Martyrology, there is not a word relative to his having been in any wise concerned in the war above treated of, or to the pretended penance laid on him, &c.

(142) Life of St. Farannan at 15 Feb. There were furious contests at that period between the southern and northern Nialls, to both of which parties Columba was related. The battle of Culdremni was one effect of their quarrels.

(143) Usher collected (*Ind. Chron. p. 563*) from anecdotes, which he had met with here and there, that Columba left Ireland in consequence of the advice of Finnian of Clonard, Brendan of Birr, and Lasrean *al. Molassius*. That he might have consulted several of his eminent friends is not improbable, but we are not to suppose, what Usher seemed to think, that his motives for quitting his country were of a merely prudential or political nature. In the passage now referred to Usher fell into a strange and with him unusual contradiction. He calls the Finnian, to whom, according to the document published by himself, and which he points out to the reader, Columba is said to have applied for advice and penance after the battle of Culdremni, (See *Not. 134*) by the name of Finnian of *Clonard*. Now he had already laid down, that this Finnian died in 552. Usher’s mistake proceeded from his not having been acquainted with the history of Finnian of Maghbile, who was the Finnian spoken of by Adamnan, Cumineus, and others, as the master and friend of Columba. (See *Not. 74 and 81. to Chap. x.*) This mistake stag-

gered for a while Colgan as to the time of the death of Finnian of Clonard. But he corrected himself afterwards. Harris blindly following the same mistake, (*Bishops. p.* 136.) among other bungling about Columba and said Finnian, makes the latter live until 563.

(144) See *Not. p.* 135.

(145) Life of Brendan, quoted by Usher (*p.* 1059.) and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 462.) *I*, which is one of the Irish names of an island in general, was probably the original name, by which *Hy*, *al. Iona*, as now more generally called, was known. By prefixing an aspirate to it was formed *Hy* as Bede calls it. In the annals of Ulster and Tigernach it is called *Ia*; in the Life of St. Blaithmaic by Walafrid Strabo *Eo*. See further variations of this name in Usher (*p.* 697.) and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 495), who says, that in old Irish documents it is sometimes spelled *Io*, from which, with great probability, he derives *Iona*, as an adjective, so that *insula Iona* means the island of *Io*. By degrees it became to be considered as a substantive, and, being declinable, was preferred by several authors when writing in Latin. Baxter (*Glossar. ad Sodorinas*) has a foolish derivation from the Irish *I*, and the Pictish *Onas*, both of which, he says, signify *island*. Who would have tacked together two names from different languages in this tautological manner? Nor do we even find that it was ever written *Ionas*. Some have said that *Iona* means *island of waves*. (Garnett's *Tour in the Highlands, &c. Vol. 1. p.* 246.) Where is to be met with a Gaelic word *ona* of that signification? In some editions of Adamnan *Iova* appears by mistake (*mendose*, as Usher and Colgan observe) for *Iona*. The mighty Ledwich, who talks about Gothic without any knowledge of its ancient dialects, says (*p.* 59) that "*I, Hy, &c.* are obviously the Gothic *Ai, Ei*, referring to its oval or egg-like shape." What a parade of learning! Why not, instead of *Gothic*, have said either the *German* or *Low Dutch*, in which *Ey, Ei* signify an egg? But *Gothic* has a more recondite sound. Now the Doctor, should have looked for the genuine Gothic name for an egg, and he would have found that it was *egg*, from which was derived the old Alemaniic *eig*, since softened into *ei*, (See Ihre, *Glossar. Suiogothic, &c. at Egg.*) The name *I* or *Hy* was in use before an egg was ever called *ei*.

§. XIII. Before St. Columba set out for the island, now known by the name of *I-Columb-kill*, but which for shortness sake I shall call *Hy*, he must have got permission from the proprietor of it to settle there. Accordingly the grant of it made to him by his relative Conall king of the Albanian Scots (146) ought to be placed before his departure from Ireland, as it can scarcely be imagined, that he would have directed his course, and attended by a number of followers, to that small island without his being allowed to inhabit it. For it must be observed, that he is generally represented as having sailed straight from Ireland to Hy, (147) together with twelve of his disciples. (148) The year of his arrival, after a short passage was 563. (149) Having erected a monastery and a church, and arranged such matters as were connected with his establishment, in which occupation, besides his visiting the territories of his relatives in the mainland of Britain, he may have passed about two years; (150) Columba, taking with him some assistants, undertook his wished for task of converting the Northern Picts, who inhabited the whole of modern Scotland to the North of the great range of the Grampian mountains. (151) He was the first Christian missionary that appeared in that then wild country. (152) When arrived at the residence of king Brude, (153) he found the gate closed; and the king gave orders that it should not be opened; upon which the saint, advancing with his companions, made the sign of the cross on it, and, on his then pushing it with his hand, it immediately flew open. Brude, being apprized of this prodigy, was, together with his council, struck with terror, and went forward to meet Columba, whom he welcomed in the most kind and respectful manner, and ever after treated with every mark of attention. (154) It is probable, that the king's conversion took place not long after; but the *Magi*, the chief of whom seems to have been one Broichan,

(155) exerted themselves to prevent the missionaries from preaching to the people ; and it is particularly related that, one evening, while the saint and a few of his brethren were celebrating Vespers near the royal residence or castle, some of those *magi* coming near them did all they could to hinder them from being heard by the inhabitants, but that all their efforts were fruitless. (156) The Almighty was pleased to confirm Columba's mission by various miracles, the most remarkable of which was the resurrection of a boy, who had died a few days after he and his parents, together with the whole family, became Christians, through the saint's preaching, and were baptized. From the circumstance of his death some *magi* took occasion to jeer and insult his parents, and to boast that their gods were stronger than the God of the Christians. Columba, being apprized of the whole matter, went to the parents' house, and, desiring them to confide in the divine omnipotence, was shown into the place where the body was stretched. Then, having ordered those who were assembled there to withdraw, he prayed most fervently for some time, and directing his eyes to the body, said ; " In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ rise, and stand upon thy feet." Immediately the boy returned to life, and opened his eyes. The saint, lifting him up, and taking him by the hand, conducted him to his parents, upon which the people raise a shout, lamentation is changed into joy, and the God of Christians is glorified. (157)

(146) We have seen above (*Not.* 73), that St. Columba was related to the Dalriadan dynasty, which formed the Scottish kingdom in Britain. To understand the relationship between him and Conall it is to be observed, that the latter was great grandson to Fergus brother of Loarn, one of the great grandfathers of the saint. Conall's pedigree is very clearly traced in the line of the first Scottish kings ; 1. Loarn. 2. Fergus his brother.

3. Domangard son of Fergus. 4. Comgall son of Domangard. 5. Gauran, brother to Comgall. 6. Conall son of Comgall, and nephew to Gauran. (See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* p. 472, 473.) That Conall was the prince, who made a grant of Hy to Columba, is proved from the Annals of Ulster and Tigernach, and from the circumstance that it was an appendage of his kingdom. Hence it appears, that Bede was mistaken (*L. 3. c. 4.*) in attributing that grant to Bridius king of the Northern Picts. For in the first place Hy was, as Usher remarks, (*p. 703*), too far distant from the Pictish territories to form a part of them; being near the S. W. angle of Mull, which lies adjacent to the coast then possessed by Conall. Next how is it to be supposed, that Bridius, who was still a pagan when Columba arrived at Hy, would have been applied to by him for any grant, or would have voluntarily made him one? Bede indeed thought, that Columba did not get possession of Hy until after the conversion of Bridius and his subjects; but this supposition cannot be reconciled with the series of the saint's history, as constantly given, from which it is plain that he did not undertake that mission before he had there formed his establishment. Without appealing to O'Flaherty, the 4 Masters, and several old Scotch authorities (See *Tr. Th.* p. 496.) Chalmers admits (*Caledonia Vol. 1. p. 265 and 322*) that Hy was granted to the saint by Conall. Those, who have called it a *Pictish* island, merely followed Bede.

(147) In the second Life, a work taken from older documents, (See *Not. 70*) it is related (*cap. 6.*), that St. Columba, thinking that the proper time was come for preaching to the Picts, left his country, and sailed for Hy, where having erected a monastery, &c. O'Donnel says, (*L. 2. c. 11.*) that directing his course to Albion he landed in Hy on the eve of Pentecost, and that, having driven some Druids out of the island, he set about erecting a monastery. And in the Life of Farannan we read; "Peregrinationis cursum direxit sanctissimus pater (Columba) in insulam Hi, ubi," &c. It may perhaps be objected, that Cumineus and Adamnan say, that he sailed from Ireland to *Britain*. But as Hy was a British island, although then possessed by the Scots, they might, without any inconsistency, have included it under that name, particularly as the saint intended to go not long after, as he actually did, to Britain strictly so called. I shall not stop to inquire into

the truth of a sort of story, that St. Columba landed in Knapdale in Argyle before he proceeded to Hy. (See *Statist. Acc. of Scotland*, Vol. XIX. p. 314.)

(148) Adamnan writes ; (*L. 3. c. 4.*) “ Sanctus cum duodecim commilitonibus discipulis ad Britanniam transnavigavit.” Usher (*p. 694*) has given their names from an appendix to a copy of Adamnan in the Cottonian library, now in the British Museum, and from which Pinkerton added them to his edition. Colgan justly observes (*Tr. Th. p. 487*) that Usher’s arrangement of the names is not all through correct, particularly in his making *Mocutheimne* and *Mocufir* proper names of distinct persons, whereas in reality they are surnames, meaning descendants of Theimne and Fir by prefixing *Mocu* or *Mocua*, which, as used by Adamnan and other other old Irish writers, has that signification. Yet Colgan’s own arrangement is in one or two points not very satisfactory. Without troubling the reader with further inquiries, or pointing out the mistakes of Hector Boethius and the lies of Dempster (See Usher, *p. 695*) concerning these twelve persons, I shall endeavour to mark them as distinctly as I am able. “ 1. Baithen, qui et Comin, sancti successor Columbae. 2. Cobtach frater ejus (*i. e.* of Baithen). 3. Ernaan, sancti avunculus Columbae. 4. Dermitius ejus ministrator. 5. 6. Rus et Fethuo, duo filii Rodani. 7. Scandal filius Bresail, filii Endei, filii Neil. 8. Luguid Mocutheimne. 9. Echoid. 10. Thorannu Mocufir. 11. Cetea. 12. Cairnaan filius Branduib filii Meilgi Grillaan.” Colgan has some doubts about Cetea, and was willing to put him out of the list. On the other hand, he makes *Grillaan* the name of a distinct person instead of joining it with Usher, as a surname to Meilgi. Pinkerton agrees with him as to Grillaan, and following a conjecture of his, adds *Cetea* to *Mocufir*, thus making Thorannu’s surname *Mocufircetea*.

(149) (See *Not. 76.* Bede says (*Epitome*, &c.) that Columba came to Britain, for the purpose of teaching the Picts, in the year 565 ; and elsewhere (*L. 3. c. 4.*) he observes, that his arrival was in the ninth year of the reign of Bridius king of the Picts. From a comparison of these dates Hermannus Contractus laid down in his Chronicle, that Bridius began to reign in 557. Hence, after passing through various hands, this notation of Bridius’ reign was thrust into an edition of Count Marcellinus without the authority of any

copy of said Chronicle in its genuine state (See Usher p. 692.) Yet I find this Chronicle still referred to for the beginning of that reign. (Chalmers, *Caledon. Pictish period.*) But, setting it and that of Hermannus aside, it is clear that Bede must have supposed, that the first year of Bridius' reign was either 557, or more probably 556, to which it is assigned by Innes in his Chronological table, and from him, by Chalmers, *ib.* They call him *Bridei*, which agrees with the *Bridius* of Bede. Adamnan calls him *Brudeus*, as does Buchanan (*Rer. Scot. L. 5. ad reg. 49.*). His real name was, I believe, *Brude*, which was a very common appellation of the Pictish kings, thirty of whom are spoken of, as having been so called in the *Chronicon Pictorum*, published by Innes (*Critical Essay, &c. Vol. 2.*); and Buchanan (at *reg. 68*) has two more of those kings under the name of *Brudus*. To return to Bede's date, 565, Usher has proved, and it is now universally admitted, that Columba's arrival in Hy ought to be assigned to 563. Yet, if it be considered that Bede alluded chiefly to the time, in which Columba commenced his mission among the Picts, the two dates may in some manner be reconciled. For, although he reached Hy in 563, he might not have gone into the Pictish territories until 565, after having spent about two years in forming his establishment in the island. And it is very remarkable that Bede (*L. 3. c. 4.*) makes Columba live about 32 years after his arrival in Britain, whereas Adamnan expressly states, (*Second Pref. al. L. 1. c. 1. and L. 3. c. 22.*) that he did not die until 34 years after his departure from Ireland. Now comparing all these dates, the result is the same as to the time of Columba's death; inasmuch as 32 added to 565 bring us to the same point as 34 added to 563. Adamnan alluded to the epoch of his having become an inhabitant of Hy, "per annos 34 *insulanus miles*;" Bede to that of his preaching to the Picts. It may be objected, that Bede mentions the foundation of Hy, but does not place it before 565. To this I answer, that Bede was mistaken as to the time of that establishment (See *Not. 146.*) and, it would seem so much so, that, according to his making it follow the conversion of the Picts, it should be placed even later than 565. For it is not easy to imagine, that said conversion could have been completed within the very year in which he began to announce to them the word of God.

(150) See *Not. prec.* Adamnan introduces Columba as holding a conversation in *Britain* with king Conall at the time of the battle of-Moinmor, that is, in the year 563, between the Northern Nials and the Irish Picts, in which the latter were defeated with great loss. (See Adamnan *L. 1. c. 7.* and Colgan's notes.) Hence it appears, that Columba paid a visit to Conall, not long after his arrival at Hy.

(151) Bede (*L. 3. c. 4.*) after stating, that Columba came to preach to the Northern Picts, adds; "hoc est, eis qui arduis atque horrentibus montium jugis ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestrati." As to the Southern Picts, he tells us that they had been converted long before by Nynia or Ninian. From the time of the arrival of the Scots the Southern Picts inhabited only an eastern part of Scotland between the Frith of Forth and these mountains mentioned by Bede. (See *Not. 149 to Chap. 1.*) The territories occupied by the Scots in the West lay between the Frith of Clyde and the western part of said range, by which they were separated from the country of the Northern Picts, as Adamnan informs us, (*L. 2. c. 4.*) where, having made mention of these Picts and the Scots of Britain, he says; "inter quos utrosque *Dorsi montes Britannici* disternini." By *Dorsum Britannicum* or *Drum Albin* was meant the highest part of the Grampian mountains. (See Buchanan *Rer. Scot. &c. L. 1. p. 18. Elzivir ed.*)

(152) Hector Boethius, not wishing to acknowledge that a great part of Scotland was until then immersed in Paganism, introduces Columba as merely reclaiming king Brudeus and his subjects from the Pelagian heresy. He lays the scene of his exertions in Lothian. But, as Usher observes (*p. 692*), Lothian did not at that time belong to the Picts, but to the Britons and Anglo-Saxons; and it is evident from Bede and Adamnan, that the conversion of Brudeus was not from heresy but idolatry. To this purpose Usher quotes (*p. 688.*) from a Scottish breviary, part of an office of St. Columba, in which we read;

" Per quem (Columbam) idonea *vitae primordia*
Rex gentis sumpsit Pictiniae."

(153) Smith (*Life, &c. p. 18.*) says that Brude reigned at Inverness. Pinkerton says (*Modern Geography, Vol. 1. p. 152*) that the Caledonian kings, when converted to Christianity, chiefly

resided there. Yet it is probable that Brude's castle, which was certainly near the river Ness, was not so far from the lake as Inverness is. (See Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 34.*) Pinkerton in his map of Caledonia places it close to the N. E. end of the lake, near where the river begins to flow out of it.

(154) Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 35.*

(155) Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 33.*) calls this *magus* Broichean the king's tutor, *nutricius*; and (*ib. c. 34.*) mentions his attempting to excite a storm in opposition to Columba.

(156) Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 37.*

(157) Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 32.* Cumineus also has recorded this miracle. He writes; (*cap. 22.*) "Post genuflexionem quoque et orationem surgens, in nomine Domini mortuum cuiusdam plebei filium suscitavit, et post celebratas exequias patri et matri reddidit." The boy's father is here said to have been a plebeian, and so he is called by Adamnan, who observes that he heard the word of life by means of an interpreter or expounder, on the preaching of Columba; *per interpretatorem, sancto praedicante vir.* From this passage it has been deduced, that said man did not understand the language in which Columba preached; if so, he must have been a foreigner, or so illiterate as not to understand the language of his own country, in the same manner as there are in all countries persons, who, being accustomed to some barbarous dialect or jargon, know so little of the correct manner of speaking, that it appears to them a sort of foreign tongue. It is not to be supposed, that Columba would have preached to the Picts in any other language than their own; and, without inquiring into whatsoever affinity there might have been between that and the Irish, it is sufficient to observe, that he might have learned it even before he went to Hy, as there was a colony of Picts settled in the North of Ireland long prior to that period. (See *Chap. 111. §. 3.* and *ib. Not. 25.*) Yet the words of Adamnan can, I think, be well explained without recurring to any question as to difference of language or dialect. His meaning probably was that, as said man was of an inferior rank and uneducated, he was instructed by a better informed person, or, as we may call him, a catechist, in the nature of the mysteries and truths announced by Columba in his sermons. *Interpretator*, or *interpres*, is more ge-

nerally used to signify an expounder of difficulties than an explainer or translator of words.

§. XIV. It cannot be doubted that St. Columba's exertions were attended with great success, and that he erected some churches and religious houses in that country even during the time of his first preaching there. But it is very probable, that he did not then remain until the conversion of the whole nation was completed. For we find that he visited those parts more than once, (158) and it appears that there were *magi* and Pagans still remaining in the times of some of his later excursions through the Pictish territories. (159) Yet we may be assured, that he left spiritual instructors to provide for the religious wants of the new converts, and to propagate the Christian faith during the times of his occasional absence. Who they were is very imperfectly recorded, so that, although two or three of them may be guessed at, an exact account of them is not to be expected. (160) In the same obscurity is involved the history of the churches and ecclesiastical institutions first established in the newly converted provinces. It will be easily admitted that a church existed, from an early time of Columba's mission, at the King's residence; but, although we find a great number of religious establishments, both in that country and in other parts of Scotland, called by his name or those of his disciples, yet the precise period at which the more ancient of them were formed, cannot, as far as I know, be ascertained. (161) It is said that he penetrated even into the Orkney islands and formed cells in them. (162) The history of St. Columba's proceedings in the Hebrides or Western Islands is better known. With indefatigable zeal he visited them frequently, preaching the Gospel, supplying them with religious teachers, erecting churches, and forming religious communities. The names of several of the islands, which were blessed with his ex-

ertions, are particularly mentioned. Hinba or Hymba, where he founded a monastery, over which after some years he placed his maternal uncle Ernan, (163) seems to have been a favourite retreat of Columba. We find him there on various occasions and at different periods. He was in this island, when visited by four holy founders of monasteries in Ireland, Comgall, Cainnech, Brendan of Clonfert, (164) and Cormac Hua Liathain; and when, while celebrating Mass at their request, and in their presence, Brendan saw a very bright flame, like a burning pillar, as if rising from his head, which continued from the time of the consecration until the termination of the sacred mysteries. (165) It was there also that on another occasion he had some extraordinary visions and visitations from heaven, which lasted for three days and three nights. (166) There were several monasteries founded by himself, or, in virtue of his orders, by his disciples, in an island called Ethica, (167) one of which was governed by Baithen, (168) who afterwards succeeded him as abbot of Hy. Another monastery in Ethica, at a place called *Artchain*, was founded by a priest Findchan, with whom St. Columba was once highly displeased for his having concurred in raising to the priesthood Aidus, surnamed the *black*, of the royal blood of the Irish Cruthens or Piets, a sanguinary man, who had killed, besides others, Diernit monarch of Ireland. (169) Lugneus Mocumin, one of his disciples, was placed over a monastery in Elena, which seems to have existed before he became superior of it. (170) That St. Columba formed some, or perhaps more than one establishment in the isle of Skey, is very probable, whereas it is related that he spent some time there, attended by others (171). We may be sure that he had no other motive for visiting Skey than the good of religion, in which case it will not be denied that he erected, at least, a church in that island. Nor can it be questioned, that monasteries

or churches were established, before his death, in many others of those islands, although the names of them happen not to be particularly mentioned by his biographers. (172) While St. Columba was thus engaged in converting and civilizing the inhabitants of the isles, he was at times obliged to struggle in their defence against certain desperadoes, calling themselves Christians, who made a trade of plundering them. (173) Having excommunicated some of the ringleaders, who were members of the royal family of the British Scots, (174) one of their adherents, determined on putting him to death, rushed against him with a spear, but providentially without effect. (175)

(158) This is clear from several passages in Adamnan. Thus (*L. 2. c. 35.*) he mentions the *first* journey of the saint to the residence of king Brude; in *prima Sancti fatigatione itineris ad regem Brudeum*. His calling it the *first* shows that others took place afterwards. He speaks of the saint as at *another time* travelling across Drum-albin, on which occasion young Finten fell sick. (See *Not. 123.*) In one place (*L. 2. c. 27.*) he introduces the saint as spending some months in the Pictish country, *Pictorum provincia*; in another (*ib. c. 32*) as spending there only some days.

(159) The conversion of the plebeian and his family (*Not. 157*) occurred during a visitation different from that, which lasted some months (*Not. 158*), and during which a miracle was performed by the saint, on which some barbarous *gentiles*, who were present at it, were forced to acknowledge the greatness of the God of the Christians. Hence we see that Paganism was not quite extirpated in the time of his first mission. Some other instances might be added, if necessary. Accordingly what Bede says (*L. 3. c. 4.*) of the Pictish (Northern) nation having been converted by Columba must, if applied to the great body of the people, be understood as the effect not of one mission but of several of his, together with, during the intervals, the cooperation of his disciples.

(160) We have already seen (*Not.* 123.) that Finten, on one occasion, accompanied St. Columba to Pictland. Adamnan (*L.* 2. c. 27.) makes mention of Lugneus Mocumin as having been also with him in that country. But he tells us (*ib.* c. 18.) that Lugneus when old, became superior of a monastery in the island called *Elena*, the same, I suppose, as Elen-ree, an island belonging to the shire of Argyle. If we are to believe O'Donnel (*L.* 3. c. 26.) one Mochonna, whom he represents as the son of an Irish king, became, by Columba's directions, a bishop among the Picts. Colgan says (*Tr. Th.* p. 452.) that a St. Mochonna's festival was kept on the 19th of May at Kill-chomharta, which, as no place of that name is to be found in Ireland, he thinks was in Pictland. It was probably the same as Cromarty. Chalmers (*Caledon.* Vol. 1. p. 322.) connects with the saint's mission in said country an account of the first bishop of Abernethy, who, he says, was Ternanus or Terrenanus, whose festival was held on the 12th of June. If this be true, we may fairly conclude that Ternanus was the same as Thorannu Mocufir mentioned above. (*Not.* 148.) But what has Abernethy to do with the conversion of the Northern Picts? That place was in the country of the Southern Picts, being situated in Stratherne, a part of Perthshire. They were Christians long before the mission of St. Columba. Some older Scottish writers call the first bishop at Abernethy *Tervanus*, and pretend that he was appointed by Palladius before the middle of the 5th century. (See Usher, p. 673.) Yet in the *Scotichronicon* quoted by Usher (p. 712.) the foundation of the church of Abernethy is attributed to the Pictish king Garnard successor of the Brude, in whose reign Columba came to Britain. Was Abernethy comprized within Brude's kingdom, although situated in the country of the Southern Picts? It is called in the said *Scotichronicon* the capital both civil and ecclesiastical of the whole kingdom of the Picts, notwithstanding our having seen (*Not.* 153.) that Brude's residence was far to the Northward near the river Ness. Some places more southerly than even Abernethy were subject to Brude. (See below *Not.* 162.) Leaving the illustration of this matter to the Scottish antiquaries, I shall merely observe that the circumstance of Ternanus' festival having been kept on the 12th of June favours the account given by Chalmers of the origin of the see of Abernethy. For on that

very day was revered at Bangor and Drumcliffe, a St. Terennanus or Torannanus, who is said to have been a disciple of St. Columba (See *Not.* 114.) and whom Colgan conjectures (*Tr. Th.* p. 492) to have been the same as Thorannu Mocufir. Hence it appears exceedingly probable, that the first bishop of Abernethy was this disciple of our saint. There might have been Christians in that place before Columba's time; but it does not follow that it was an episcopal see; and it is known that he superintended the ecclesiastical affairs, not only of such parts of Scotland as he and his disciples had rescued from idolatry, but also of other tracts in that country, where Christianity had been already introduced.

(161) Chalmers reckons (*Vol.* 1. p. 320.) several of those churches bearing the name of Columb-kill. We have just seen what may be thought concerning the see of Abernethy. Some writers have attributed to him the foundation of a monastery at Dunkeld in the territory of the Southern Picts. But, according to more correct accounts, (Usher, p. 713.) the church of Dunkeld was not erected until near 27 years after that of Abernethy, which did not exist prior to the death of Brude in 584 (Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) or 586 as marked by Innes and Chalmers. Hence it appears that said foundation at Dunkeld must be placed several years after the death of Columba. It was certainly directed to a St. Columba, who as Usher thinks, (p. 705.) was not Columb-kill, but a Columba, the first bishop of Dunkeld, who flourished towards the middle of the seventh century. As I have touched on these subjects, I may be allowed to mention two other establishments, still more distant than Abernethy or Dunkeld from North Pictland, which Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 495.) reckons among those of our saints, and for which he refers to Fordon's history of Scotland. The first is a monastery at Govan on the Clyde, attributed by Fordon not to Columba himself, but to Constantine a king of Cornwall, who, he says, came to Scotland with Columba, and preaching in Kentyre, converted all the inhabitants, and there suffered martyrdom. The latter part of this statement is, at least, very doubtful. The people of Kentyre were Christians long before Columba went to Hy. This Constantine is said to have been that once wicked king, whom Gildas has so severely scourged, and is treated of by Usher, p. 540 to 541.

Colgan has (at *xi. Mart.*) patched up a sort of Acts of his, and refers to Irish martyrologies, in which a British king Constantine is said to have retired to Ireland and to have placed himself under St. Carthagh Mochudda at Rathen (in Westmeath) where he afterwards became abbot and died. If so, he must have been alive after the year 630 or thereabouts, when Carthagh left Rathen. How then could he have been the Constantine of Gildas, who was king of Cornwall in 543? (See *Not.* 168 to *Chap.* ix.) Usher thought he was king there as late as 564, in consequence of his erroneous hypothesis in assigning to that year Gildas's Querulous epistle. Hence he argued (*Ind. Chron.* ad A. 590) that Constantine could not have accompanied Columba in his first departure from Ireland, but in what he calls the second. Yet, although this argument falls to the ground, and there is nothing to show that Constantine might not have ceased to be a king before 563, in which Columba first left Ireland, it is very extraordinary that neither Adamnan, Cumineus, O'Donnel, nor any Irish writer, who has recorded our saint's transactions, make any mention of his having been accompanied by this king, or of his having had him as a disciple. His name does not appear in the list of the twelve first companions. I strongly suspect that the account of this ex-king and martyr is merely a garbled alteration of the history of a king Constantine of the fifth century, mentioned by Buchanan (*L. 5. R.* 43.) and other Scotch writers, and whom, instead of *Scottish*, they should have called a *British* king, who, they tell us, was killed, not for religion but for a very different cause. Next after the monastery at Govan Colgan has, another in an island of the Frith of Forth, anciently called *Aemonia* and in Fordan's time *Saint Colmy's inche*. (See Usher, *p.* 704.) Fordon says that Columba lived there for some time, but does not speak of a monastery founded by him. He tells us that there was in said island a monastery of Canons Regular, which, as Chalmers states, (*Caledon. Vol.* 1. *p.* 320.) was erected by Alexander I. in the year 1123, and dedicated to St. Columba. From this dedication most probably is derived its name of *Inch-Colm* or Columba's island, and hence, I dare say, the supposition of its having been inhabited by him.

(162) Chalmers, *ib.* *Vol.* 1. *p.* 331. This is very probable, as much intercourse was kept up between those islands and

North Pictland. If Columba or his disciples preached there, it must have been after what Adamnan relates (*L. 2. c. 42.*) concerning Brude having, at his request, recommended St. Cormac Hua Liethain to the protection of the prince of the Orkneys, in case, during a northern voyage of his, he should arrive in any of them, (as the saint foresaw that he would.) That prince was then at Brude's court, and was present while Columba was making said request. Were he a Christian, there would have been no necessity for the mediation of Brude, as the saint could have directly applied to him, and would certainly have obtained what he wished for. Cormac in fact landed somewhere in the Orkneys, and was, through that timely recommendation, preserved from being put to death. This shows that the inhabitants were not then Christians, but pagans, as O'Donnel calls them, *L. 2. c. 62.* where he relates this transaction. And hence we may judge, what opinion is to be formed of the stories of some Scotch writers about Servanus having converted that people before the middle of the fifth century, and his pretended appointment to the bishoprick of the Orkneys by Palladius. (See Usher, *p. 672. seqq.*) To mend the matter, we are told, that Servanus was the master of St. Kentigern of Glasgow, who is stated to have been still alive during the pontificate of Gregory the great, that is, about 160 years after Servanus was a bishop. If he preached in the Orkneys, we may be certain that his mission there did not commence until after Columba had undertaken the conversion of the Picts. That there were Irish missionaries in the Orkneys at a period later than that, which we are now treating of, will be seen hereafter. It is very probable that Servanus was a disciple of Columba. According to the register of St. Andrews, Brude, king of the Picts, made him a grant of the island in Loch-Leven in Kinross-shire. (Chalmers, *Vol. 1. p. 437.*) If so, he was contemporary with Columba, and was, perhaps, the same as Silvanus or Sillanus, a well known disciple of his.

(163) Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 45.* We have seen that Ernan was one of Columba's 12 companions. Pinkerton says (*Not. to Cumineus, cap. 5.*) that he was not able to discover, by what name Hymba is called at present. I also have sought for it, but hitherto without being able to come to a decision. Might it be the same as Cannay, near the harbour of which is a rock called *Humbla?* or

rather the small but fertile island Mernoca, as Buchanan calls it, *al. Inch-Marnock*, near the Western coast of Bute? Its name signifies the *island of Mernoc*. Now *Mernoc* is the same name as *Ernan*, just as *Maidoc* is the same as *Aidan*. The old name *Humba* might have been changed into *Eran's isle*. Add, that there was a Columbian house in *Mernoca*.

(164) See *Not.* 118 to *Chap.* x.

(165) Adaman, *L. 3. c. 17.* Cumineus, *cap.* 12. This phenomenon is erroneously said by O'Donnel (*L. 1. c. 67.*) to have occurred at Swords, although Columba had no authority there. (See above, *Not.* 109.) He led astray Burke, who in the office of St. Columba mentions Swords as the place where it was seen.

(166) Adamnan, *L. 3. c. 18.* Cumineus, *cap.* 13.

(167) Ethica is called an island by Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 19.* Elsewhere he makes mention of it more than once under the name of *Ethica terra*. That it was not very small appears from its having been furnished with divers monasteries. (*L. 3. c. 8.*) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 377.*) doubted whether it might not be the *Hethlandia* of Buchanan, *i. e.* the largest of the Shetland islands. But, besides there being no reason to suppose that Columba ever proceeded as far as Shetland, the distance of Ethica from Hy was by no means as great as that of any of those islands. We find from Adamnan, (*L. 2. c. 15.*) that Baithen having set out early in the morning from Hy, arrived, with the help of a fine southerly breeze, at the third hour, or 9 o'clock A. M. of said day, in the harbour of *Campus Lunge* in Ethica. Pinkerton says (*Not. to L. 2. c. 14.*) that Ethica was perhaps the island now called *Lewis*. But how could Baithen sailing from Hy have reached Lewis as early as 9 A. M.? They are, at least, 90 miles asunder. Ethica, or according to the Irish pronunciation, *Ehica*, was no other, I believe, than *Eig* or *Egg*, an island about 36 miles to the north of Hy, and 6 miles long by two in breadth. Adamnan has indeed an island *Egea*, *L. 3. c. 18.* But his saying that Baithen was detained there by contrary winds seems to point to Ethica, which a late transcriber might have changed into *Eig*.

(168) See Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 15.* and *L. 3. c. 8.* Baithen's monastery was near the sea at what Adamnan calls *Campus Lunge*. Smith (*Life, &c. p. 151*) calls it *Achaluing* in Ethica.

(169) Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 36.* Aidus is called by the 4 Masters

king of Dalaradia. See *AA. SS.* at *xI. Mart.* where Colgan treats of Findchan. Adamnan does not make him a king, but states that, after having killed Diermit, he spent some years in Findchan's monastery. Then wishing to become a priest he applied to a bishop, who refused to ordain him, unless authorized by the approbation of Findchan, which the latter had the imprudence and weakness to give, testifying it by placing his right hand on the head of Aidus. Columba, on being informed of this transaction condemned it as highly uncanonical, as if a man, who had murdered the king of Ireland, could be admitted to holy orders, and declared that Aidus was a son of perdition and would be snatched away by a violent death in the midst of his crimes. As to Findchan he foretold that the hand, which he had made so improper a use of, would rot and fall off, but that he would survive the loss of it. What will those who abet the fable of Columba's exciting a war against Diermit, say of this transaction? Will they venture to assert, that he would not have scrupled to contribute to the death of that monarch, while he was fired with such indignation against the man who actually killed him?

(170) See *Not.* 160.

(171) We read in Adamnan; (*L. 1. c. 33.*) "Cum per aliquot dies in insula demoraretur Scia vir beatus— ad comites sic ait, &c." Messingham's edition, (*L. 1. c. 12.*) instead of *Scia* has *Scotia*. This is a mistake, as appears not only from *Scia* being the reading also of Pinkerton's copy, but likewise from the circumstance of Adamnan's, although he usually called Ireland *Scotia*, never adding to it *insula*, in the same manner as he does not to *Britannia*. For, notwithstanding their being both islands, they were too well known to require the addition of that epithet, besides their having been considered as a sort of continent in comparison with the Western isles. In said chapter of Messingham's edition, some lines lower down, a transaction is spoken of as having occurred in the *above mentioned district of Scotia*. But the account of it is here quite misplaced. The words *above mentioned*, &c. have no connection with the *Scotia* (that is, *Scia*) higher up in that chapter. They refer to the 38th chapter of said book, in which Adamnan, after relating various occurrences, which are omitted in Messingham's ed. says, that St. Columba was on a certain occasion in Ireland, &c. and then (*cap. 40.*) has the words, *above mentioned*, &c.

when proceeding to give an account of said transaction, which, as he informs us, took place in a monastery (not a Columbian one) at Trioit, now Trevet in the county of Meath. Hence it appears, that this monastery was very ancient, which Archdall ought to have remarked. Adamnan speaks elsewhere (*L. 2. c. 26.*) of Columba as having passed some considerable time in *Scia* with some brethren.

(172) The establishments formed by St. Columba, or his disciples, are, with the exception of Hy, mentioned only occasionally by Adamnan, &c. according as some remarkable circumstances occurred in them or to persons connected with them; so that, were it not for such circumstances, the origin of the greatest part even of those, which are known, would be still involved in darkness. Many churches in the Western isles were named from our saint; (Chalmers, *Vol. 1. p. 320.*) but the name alone is not a sufficient criterion for deciding at what time they were erected.

(173) Adamnan relates (*L. 2. c. 22.*) that one Joan or John of the royal family of Gauran, and consequently of the British Scots, having twice plundered the house of a Columbanus, for whom the saint entertained great friendship, attacked it a third time and carrying off much booty was met near his ship by St. Columba, who requested of him not to take it away. Despising the saint's remonstrances he set sail, but was soon after on the very same day overtaken by a violent gust from the North, which sank the vessel in the sea, so that both he and all his followers were drowned, as Columba had announced would be the case. Adamnan states, that the vessel was lost between Mull and Colossa (Colonsay) whence it might seem that Columbanus lived in some one of the islands West of Mull, whereas we may naturally suppose that John lived in the mainland of Scotland, and was perhaps directing his course thither when he was plunged into the ocean. Yet we must observe that the harbour, whence John sailed with his booty, is called by Adamnan *Aith-chambas-art-muirchol*. Smith (*Life, &c. p. 68.*) calls it Camus in Ardnamurchan (in Argyle). If he be right, Columbanus was not an islander, and St. Columba was then in Scotland. But John was proceeding on a piratical excursion through the islands; for Adamnan writes that the saint announced that he would not arrive at the other *lands*, which he meant to plunder, "*ad alias, quos appetit, terras;*" by which must be

understood some of the islands. Smith, through his aversion to miracles and prophecies, has most shamefully misrepresented Adamnan's meaning in the sequel of his narrative. He introduces Columba as pointing out, *at the time of John's departure*, a dark cloud forming in the North and fraught with destruction to him. Then he adds; "The cloud spread—the storm arose—sunk a boat, which no doubt the greed of plunder had too deeply loaded." Now Adamnan expressly states, that, when John set sail, and for some after, there was not a cloud to be seen, *die serenissimo*, but that, as the saint foretold, a northern cloud arose all of a sudden, whence proceeds the fatal blast, while all around the sea remained quite unruffled. Nor was it a mere boat, that John had. Adamnan calls it *navis*. When he mentions boats, he uses other words, *ex. e. navicula* (*L. 1. c. 34.*) or *cymba*; (*L. 2. 34.*) nor was John's vessel overloaded, as in such a case he would not have ventured to sail in search of further plunder. Add that Adamnan's object was to relate a miracle connected with prophecy. Such writers as Smith would do better not to touch on transactions, in which supernatural agency is said to have occurred, than to endeavour to corrupt the plain meaning of the authors, whom they pretend to follow.

(174) They were brothers of John, who also seems to have been comprized in the excommunication. That they were Christians is plain not only from their having belonged to the royal family, but likewise from the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them, which necessarily presupposed their having been considered as members of the church. Adamnan calls them *Ecclesiarum persecutores*, that is, persecutors of the congregations formed by Columba, and which with apostolical courage and impartiality he protected against those marauders, notwithstanding their high birth and their being kinsmen of his. This excommunication must have been prior to John's death, if, as appears probable, Adamnan meant to include him in the number of the persons, against whom that sentence was passed.

(175) Adamnan says (*L. 2. c. 24.*) that the name of the assassin was *Lam-dess*, that is, *Right hand*, and that, on his advancing against Columba, Findulgan a monk of Hinba, where this transaction occurred, putting on an outer garment of the saint, threw himself between him and *Lam-dess*, who, notwithstanding all his

might, was not able to drive his spear through it. Smith, not wishing to admit any thing extraordinary in the business, transforms (*Life, &c. p. 14.*) that garment into a thick leathern jacket; for so he is pleased to interpret the word, *cuculla*, used by Adamnan. Where did he find this new meaning for *cuculla*, or *cucullus*, as it is more classically written? Had he looked into Ducange, he would have discovered that the *cuculla* of the monks was a wide sort of mantle sometimes longer, so as to reach the knees, or even the feet, and sometimes shorter, merely covering the head and shoulders, and which they used to wear, when they appeared in public. Without going to Catholic countries where they are still worn, he might have seen various forms of the *cuculla* in several books of easy access, in which the monastic dresses are described and represented. But he never would have met with such an odd fashioned one as a *leathern jacket*. If the worthy Findlugan had waited to fasten on a jacket, he would not have been ready in time to shield Columba against the charge made by Lamdess. This faithful disciple was, according to Colgan, (*Tr. Th. p. 483.*) brother to St. Fintan of Dunbleisque (in the now barony of Coonagh in the county of Limerick) and accordingly of a family of a district in said county, anciently called *Ara-cliach*. See below *Chap. XII. §. 12.*

§. XV. The apostolical labours of St. Columba were not confined to the Pictish territories and the Western isles. He superintended also the ecclesiastical affairs of the British Scots, and formed some religious establishments in their kingdom. One of them near Loch-awe in Argyle was governed by a monk of his institution named Cailten. (176) The saint was wont to visit various parts of that country, and it was on an occasion of his being in the Southern parts of it that he called upon St. Kentigern, bishop of Glasgow, with whom he spent a few days. (177) Nor is it improbable, that he visited even some parts of N. Britain then possessed by the Anglo-Saxons. There were Christians of that nation in Hy before his death, who had in all probability been converted either by himself or his disciples. (178) Meanwhile

he did not neglect to keep a watchful eye over the monasteries of his institution not only in Scotland and the isles, but likewise those which he had formed in Ireland, (179) whither he often sent messengers on business relative to his establishments, or to various ecclesiastical and pious objects, (180) and occasionally repaired in person when matters of importance required his appearing there. (181) He was frequently visited by persons from Ireland, who were either former friends of his or came to consult him on various subjects. (182) These and all other strangers, no matter of what state or condition, he received with the greatest kindness, and entertained with the most becoming hospitality. (183) That Columba was held in the highest veneration as well by the clergy and people as by the sovereigns of his time, both Pictish and Scottish, whether in Ireland or Britain, is too well known to require any detail on this subject. A very remarkable instance of it occurs in his having been the person applied to for inaugurating, or, as his biographers express it, ordaining Aidan as king of the British Scots after the death of Conal. (184) The saint was unwilling to inaugurate him, as he would have been better pleased that Eogenan, or Eugene, Aidan's brother, were raised to the throne; but being repeatedly commanded in nocturnal visions to inaugurate Aidan, he consented to do so, and, on that prince's arriving in Hy, performed the ceremony. (185) Thenceforth Columba became much attached to Aidan; (186) and it was chiefly on his account, and for the purpose of adjusting some differences between him and Aidus king of Ireland, that he attended the assembly of Drumceat, of which we shall treat hereafter, it being now full time to see how ecclesiastical matters were going on at home during his absence.

(176) Adaman, *L. 1. c. 31.* Cailten died at Hy, having been sent for by Columba, who knowing that Cailten's end was near at

hand wished to give him his blessing, so that he might terminate his life in the spirit of true monastic obedience. His monastery was afterwards called Kill-Diuni from Diuni a brother of Cailten, who seems to have been his immediate successor. As to the many other religious houses in the old Scottish provinces or kingdom, bearing the name of Columba or his disciples, I am not able to ascertain their respective degrees of antiquity.

(177) Life of Kentigern, *cap.* 39. The place, where he was visited by Columba, is called *Mellindonar*. Pinkerton observes that a stream, called *Molendinar*, flows through Glasgow. Hector Boethius has a story about Kentigern having been present on an occasion of Columba's discoursing on religion before king Brude. (See Usher, *p.* 704.)

(178) Two of those Christian Saxons, or Anglo-Saxons, are mentioned by Adamnan. The first was Genereus, a baker, whom he calls (*L.* 3. *c.* 10) a *religious brother*. In Colgan's edition instead of *pistor* we find *pictor*, as if Genereus were a painter. The genuine reading is, I believe, *pistor*; whereas Adamnan expresses his occupation in Hy by the word, *opus*. Had he been a painter, he would have said *artem*. Smith (*Life, &c.* *p.* 115.) makes two persons out of Genereus, or as he calls him, Gueren the baker, one of whom is simply Gueren, and the other a Saxon baker in general. He is equally inaccurate in stating that the editions of Adamnan published by the Catholics have *pictor*, as if designed to indicate that there were images in Hy. This is a very unfounded insinuation; for O'Donnel, who lived before any disputes existed in our countries concerning image-worship, had read in his copy *pictor*. (See O'Donnell *L.* 2. *c.* 26.) Next it is to be observed, that there are, at least, two editions by Catholics, those of Canisius and Messingham, which have (according to their division of chapters *L.* 3. *c.* 7.) *pistor*, and express the employment of Genereus by *opus pistorum*. The other Saxon, who is mentioned as being in Hy, (*L.* 3. *c.* 22.) was called *Pilu*. These converts were not indebted for their faith to Augustin or the other Roman missionaries, who had not as yet arrived in G. Britain, nor to British preachers, whereas the Britons, as Gildas and Bede have complained, added to their other crimes the horrid sin of neglecting to announce the Gospel to the Anglo-Saxons. (See Bede *Hist. Eccl.* *L.* 2. *c.* 22. and *L.* 5. *c.* 23.) On the contrary the Irish clergy and monks

undertook that duty as soon as a fit opportunity occurred, and have been on that account often praised by Bede. It can scarcely be doubted, that they were the instruments used by the Almighty for the conversion of those early Anglo-Saxon Christians in Columba's time; and that, with regard to a part of that nation, they got the start of the Roman missionaries in the blessed work of bringing them over to the Christian faith.

(179) Adamnan has (*L. 1. c. 29.*) a very interesting anecdote relative to Columba's tenderness and affection for his monks at Durogh, at a time that during his absence they were governed by Laisran.

(180) Trenan, one of St. Columba's monks, is mentioned (*Adamnan, L. 1. c. 18*) as having been sent by him with some message to Ireland. Colgan says (*AA. SS. p. 726.*) that this Trenan was revered in the church of Kill-daalen on the 23d of March. Archdall has a Kildallan in the county of Cavan. But the person, whom Columba principally employed on these occasions, seems to have been Lugaid Lathir, who is called by Adamnan the saint's Legate. (See above *Not. 117.*) Besides the occasion of his going to Ireland with some dispatches or orders, on which Adamnan gives him that title, we find that at another time he was directed to sail thither in all haste and to proceed to Clogher for the purpose of relieving the holy virgin Maugina, one of whose hips had been broken in consequence of a fall on her returning from mass. Lugaid was bearer of a small box containing a benediction, which on his arrival at Clogher he was to dip in some water, which, when thus blessed, should be poured upon the broken part, and, joined with the invocation of the name of God, would effectually heal the fracture, as, says Adamnan, (*L. 2. c. 5.*) it instantly did.

(181) It is generally supposed that St. Columba after his first departure in 563 did not return to Ireland until 590, the year, in which was held the great meeting of Drumcèat. This is most probably a mistake founded on the fable of his having been condemned to a sort of perpetual exile (See §. 12.) O'Donnel having swallowed that trash, exhibits (*L. 3. c. 1.*) the saint as constantly remaining out of his own country until he was invited to attend at said meeting. Now Adamnan, a vastly better authority, gives us plainly to understand, that during the intermediate period between the years now mentioned Columba was to be met with in

Ireland, and probably on more than one occasion. For instance, he tells us, (*L. 2. c. 43. al. 18. See Not. 122.*) that the saint spent *some days* in Ireland arranging certain *ecclesiastical* affairs. Those days were not prior to his first departure; for, if so, Adamnan would not have used that manner of expressing himself, which evidently refers to a temporary visit. Nor were they at the time of the meeting of Drumceat. Besides that meeting having been not of an ecclesiastical but political nature, Adamnan, when relating any circumstance, that occurred while Columba was in Ireland on said occasion, usually makes express mention of it. Thus he has (*L. 1. c. 49.*) a conversation between him and Comgall after the *assembly of kings* at *Dorsum Cette* (Drumceat). He refers to it again in the following chapter, for the purpose of marking the precise period of a transactiſn which took place at Coleraine, and after which he mentions another similar one, that occurred on the saint's arrival at Killmore Deathreib (See *Not. 120. 121.*) And here arises a still stronger argument, particularly if connected with what O'Donnel has concerning the various parts of Ireland visited by Columba after the meeting of Drumceat. So many excursions would have required not *some days* but *some months*. And in fact Adamnan states, that Columba remained for *some months* at Durrogh alone at a time, which must have been after said meeting. (See *Not. 97.*) Accordingly when Adamnan speaks of those temporary abodes or excursions of *some days* in Ireland, we cannot refer them all to the period of that assembly, that is, to A. D. 590. In another place (*L. c. 38.*) he has one of them expressed just as above, during which the saint was in the plain of Bregh, which as often observed, now forms a part of the counties of Meath and Dublin. Afterwards (*L. 2. c. 36.*) we read that, being for *some days* in Ireland, "*aliquantis in Scotia diebus conversatus*, he paid a visit to the monastery *Duorum agri rivorum*. (See *Not. 117.*) Who does not see, that so many excursions, which are represented as of short duration, do not belong to the time of the meeting of Drumceat? Some of them might have taken place during only one occasion of Columba's coming to Ireland; but it seem very probable, that he visited his native country more than once between the years 563 and 590. As to his returning to it again after the latter year, I find no reason to think that he did.

(182) St. Cainnech or Canice, *al.* Kenny of Aghaboe, besides the visit made together with Comgall and others, of which above, paid him another, which is mentioned by Adamnan, (*L. 1. c. 4.*) after a prosperous passage notwithstanding the weather being very stormy. Cainnech was very much attached to Columba, and we find him praying at Aghaboe for the safety of him and some of his companions when on sea during a violent storm, having known by a revelation, as Adamnan relates (*L. 2. c. 13.*) and not by a sort of conjecture, as Smith strives (*Life, &c. p. 41.*) to make the reader believe, that their situation was very perilous. This author has mangled, as usual, almost the whole account of this transaction, as any one may see on collating his statement with the text of Adamnan. If he did not like revelations, why touch upon circumstances connected with them? In Pinkerton's edition it is said, that the part of the sea, in which Columba was at that time, was the gulf of Coire *vreccain* or *brecain*. Smith tells us (*p. 43*) that Coire-brecain lies between Jura and Craignish. Now it is well known, that it is no other than the gulf connected with Lough Foyle (See *Tr. Th. p. 374*), and extending eastward towards the island of Rachlin near which Adamnan places it, *L. 1. c. 5.* where he calls it *Charybdis Brecai*. Next he Scotticizes the name of Cainnech into Kenneth. But of St. Cainnech more hereafter. Another visitor of Columba was Columbanus, son of Beognai. Adamnan says that in the beginning of his voyage towards Hy he was in danger of being lost in the *Charybdis Brecai*. He must not be confounded with another Columbanus surnamed *Mocu-Loigse*, whom Cumineus (*cap. 8.*) and Adamnan (*L. 3. c. 12.*) call a Leinster bishop. Mabillon in a note on Cumineus makes him bishop of *Lagena* in Lagenia or Leinster. There was no such town in Leinster, nor does the text of Cumineus point to any particular spot. His *Episcopus Lagensis* means no more than that Columbanus was a bishop of the province of Leinster. Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p. 325*) that he was surnamed *Mocu-Loigse* from his being of the family of a prince Laigis, whence was derived the name of Leix, a large district of Leinster; and that he was bishop at a place called *Tulach-mac-comguil*, of which I wish he had told us how it was called in later times. St. Columba had a great friendship for this Columbanus, so that, being apprized by a revelation of his

death, he gave orders in the morning that the monks, who were preparing themselves for their respective occupations, should refrain from work on that day, and that some little addition should be made to their dinner, as he intended to celebrate the holy mysteries of the Eucharist. When every thing was ready for divine service, they, being clothed in white garments as on a Sunday or other solemn day, proceeded to the church along with the saint. When the choir had come to a part of the service, in which the name of St. Martin used be commemorated, he cried out; "This day you must sing for the holy bishop Columbanus:" and thus they became informed of his death. (See Cumineus and Adamnan, *loc. citt.*) A similar attention was paid by Columba to the memory of his friend Brendan by the celebration of mass in commemoration of his death on a day on which it was not expected by the community; (Cumin. *cap.* 7. and Adamn. *L.* 3. *c.* 11.) for it appears, that divine service was not celebrated every day in the monastery of Hy.

Among the many persons who went from Ireland to see this great saint one Aidan is mentioned, (Adamn. *L.* 1. *c.* 26.) a very religious man, who had lived twelve years with St. Brendan of Clonfert. On the day before his arrival Columba said to the brethren; "We intend to fast to-morrow, as usual, because it will be Wednesday; but on account of a stranger, who will be with us, the fast will be broken." So great was his discretion, that, although the fast of Wednesday was universally observed not only by our monks, but likewise by the whole Irish people, and even so late as Colgan's time (*Tr. Th. p.* 377.) yet he did not scruple to give the necessary refreshment to a fatigued guest, without obliging him to wait until the hour prescribed for taking food on fast days. His conduct on such occasions was like that of St. Apollon of Thebais (Tillemont, *Tom.* x. *p.* 38.) As Aidan arriving on Wednesday in the morning, was allowed to break the fast, thus, adds Adamnan, the prophecy was fulfilled. I shall mention only one more of those visitors, Cronan, a Munster bishop, who being with the saint, through humility, did all he could to prevent its being known that he was a bishop. Columba, not having yet discovered that he was one, desired him on a Sunday to celebrate mass "*Christi corpus ex more conficere.*" He did so, and when come to the part of it, where the

consecrated host is broken, called on Columba to join him as a priest in breaking the Lord's bread, "*ut simul quasi duo presbyteri Dominicum panem frangerent.*" Columba then coming up to the altar, and looking him in the face, said; "Christ bless you brother; do you alone break it according to the episcopal rite; for now we know that you are a bishop. Why have you hitherto endeavoured to conceal yourself so as not to let us pay that veneration due to you by us?" (Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 44.*) This anecdote (which is omitted by Smith, while he gives us many others much less worthy of notice) is more than sufficient to show the falshood of the silly and unfounded hypothesis of some Presbyterian writers, particularly Scotch, who represent Columba and his monks, whom they most ignorantly call *Culdees*, as members of their sect, and not acknowledging any superiority, by divine right, of bishops over priests. Of this more elsewhere. Colgan treats of Cronan at 9th February, (*AA. SS.*) and states that he was of the Nandesi country (in co. Waterford), and that some old writers call him Cuaran or Mochuaroe. But what was Cronan's see he could not discover. He adds that he was son of one Nethsemon, and surnamed the *Wise*. By the phrase, *episcopal rite*, an allusion is made, if I do not mistake, to the benediction, which used to be given by bishops exclusively, at least in most churches, after the breaking of the host, and before a part of it was put into the chalice. This benediction varied according to the various festivals, and the practice continued for many centuries, even as late as the pontificate of Leo X. (See Cardinal Bona, *Rer. Liturg. L. 2. c. 16.*)

(183) It would be an endless task to relate instances of the hospitable disposition of Columba, and of his beneficence to the poor. Of the latter a very singular trait is recorded by Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 41.* A thief, called Erc, had come over from Colonsay to Mull, where, having covered his boat with hay, he hid himself under it, with the intention of proceeding at night to a small island, where (seemingly in a sort of sea-water pond) sea-calves or seals were bred and reared, the property of the monastery, and of loading his boat with them after being killed. Before he could execute his plan, he was (the saint having pointed out the place of his concealment) taken and brought to him, who said; "Why do you, transgressing the divine commandment,

often steal what belongs to others? When you are in want, come to us, and on asking for it, you shall get what may be necessary." He then ordered a wether to be killed and given to the unfortunate man, lest he should return empty to his family. And foreseeing that Erc would not live long, some time after he gave directions to Baithen, who was then in Ethica, to send him a fat sheep and six bushels of corn, which, however, were not used by Erc, as he died suddenly on the day of their being brought to his habitation, but served for the celebration of his funeral obsequies.

(184) Aidan was son of Gauran, and consequently first cousin to Conal (See *Not.* 146.) He succeeded to the throne A. D. 574. (Usher, *Ind. Chron.* and O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. 473.)

(185) The whole transaction is related by Cumineus, *cap.* 5. and Adamnan *L. 3. c. 5.* Columba was in Hymba, when an Angel appeared to him during the night holding a book, which is called the *glass book of the ordination of kings.* Perhaps it was like a sheet of paper enclosed in glass, or its cover was encrusted with glass or crystal. The Angel ordered him to read it, and to ordain Aidan king, as commanded in said book. Columba refused to obey the order, in punishment of which the Angel struck his side as if with a whip, and left a mark, which remained during his whole life. He then told him that he must not doubt of his having been sent to him by the Almighty, and threatened to strike him again if he should persist in his disobedience. Having appeared to him in like manner the two following nights Columba went over to Hy, and there read over Aidan the words of inauguration and, placing his hand on his head, gave him his blessing. Martene says (*De Antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus*, *L. 2. c. 10.*) that the inauguration of Aidan is the most ancient instance he had met with of the benediction or inauguration of kings in Christian times. From the mention made of the *book*, &c. it may probably be inferred, that this practice was still more ancient among the Irish and British Scots.

(186) Adamnan has recorded (*L. 1. c. 8.*) an instance of the saint's anxiety for the welfare and prosperity of Aidan. At a time when he was commencing a battle against some enemies of his kingdom, Columba, who was then in Hy, ordered his attendant Diermit to strike the bell. "*Cloccam pulsa;*" upon which

the monks hastened after him to the church. He then desired them to pray for Aidan and his people, and after some time announced that the barbarians were defeated, and that Aidan had gained a victory, yet not without great loss on his side. Adamnan calls this battle *bellum Miathorum*, perhaps from its having been fought in the country of the *Meatae*, a people of N. Britain (See *Nct.* 149. to *Chap.* 1.) Usher thinks (*Ind. Chron.*) that it was the battle of Leithred, which, according to the Ulster Annals, Aidan fought against the Saxons, (Chalmers *Caledon.* Vol. 1. p. 282.) in the year 590. O'Flaherty (MS. note to *Tr. Th.* p. 341.) adds that it took place before Columba set out for the meeting of Drumceat. *Clocca* or *Clog* is frequently used by old Irish writers when speaking of bells. We find them mentioned at a very early period of our church history, *ex. c.* in the times of St. Senan and St. Brigid; and, if we are to follow the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (*L. 1. c. 7.*) they were known and made in Ireland even in his days.

CHAPTER XII.

Death of Feidlimid archbishop of Armagh—Succeeded by Cairlan—St. Molaisse of Devenish—St. Sinach, bishop of Clonard—St. Muredach first bishop of Killalla—St. Aidus Brec—founds the monastery of Enachmicbrivin—Consecrated bishop, and fixed his see at Killare—Eugene bishop of Ardstrath—Naithi, called Cruimthir Naithi—St. Fechin of Fore—St. Fachnan of Ross—Succession of various monarchs of Ireland—St. Cainech founds the monastery of Aghaboe—Eogin mac Laisre—Lugeus—Molua erects the monastery of Clonsfert-Molua—Drew up a rule for Monks—Church of Kill-da-lua or Killaloe—Cormac Hua Liathain—Colman of Cloyne—Lasrean or Molaisse of Devenish—St. Natalis—Barrindeus governed a monastery at Druimcuillin—St. Coeman—Comman—Conan-dil—Endeus—Berchanus—St. Mobhy Clairineach—St. Fintan of Clonenagh—Bishop Brandubh—Cormac prince of Leinster—Columbanus—Fintan of Dumbleische—Sinell of Cluain-inis—Nennidhlamhdearg—Mogenoch—St. Carecha—St. Maugina—St. Columba goes to the assembly at Dromceat—Suppression of the order of Poets prevented by St. Columb, but reduced in their numbers—St. Colman decides that Dalriada should belong to the monarch of Ireland—St. Columb visits Derry, Durrrough, Clonmacnois and Coleraine—Has a vision and foretels the day of his death—Gives his benediction to his community and dies.

SECT. I.

THE archbishop of Armagh since the year 551 was Feidlimid Fionn, (1) concerning whom I find no-

thing recorded, except that he governed the see until 578, in which year he died either on the 30th of October or 20th of December. (2) He was succeeded by Cairlan, a native of Hy-Niellan in the now county of Armagh, and a holy man, who had, prior to his promotion, been for some time superior of a monastery somewhere in that country. (3) Cairlan held the see for ten years. (4) According to some accounts, St. Tigernach of Clogher had as immediate successor one Sinell, after whom several others are mentioned, as following in regular succession down to St. Laisrean or Molaisse of Devenish, who died about 570, and who is pretended to have been bishop there. (5) Passing by these spurious documents, and not to enter into a detail concerning some bishops of the latter half of the sixth century, of whom as much as is known has been said already, (6) we find that St. Senach was bishop of Clonard in those times, having either been its first bishop or the immediate successor of St. Finnian. (7) Although he was one of the chief disciples of said Finnian, (8) yet scarcely any thing is recorded of him. He died in 588, on the 21st of August. (9) To the same period belonged Fergus bishop of Down, who died on the 30th of March in 584. (10) He was of a princely family, and founded, either before or after his promotion, a church at Killmbian. (11) It is very probable that Fergus was the first bishop of that see; for, as to Cailan or Coelan, whom some writers make his predecessor, there are no sufficient proofs to show that he was. (12) In those times must be placed also St. Muredach, who is usually called the first bishop of Killalla and has been erroneously supposed to have been appointed to that see by St. Patrick. (13) He was contemporary with Columb-kill, and is mentioned as one of the persons, who assembled at Easdara or Ballysadare (co. Sligo) for the purpose of paying him their respects on occasion of his being in that place soon after the meet-

ing of Drumceat. (14) Muredach was of the royal house of Leogaire. No account remains of the time of his promotion or of his death. The 12th of August has been assigned for his festival, and it was in all appearance the day on which he died. (15)

(1) See *Chap. x. §. 14.*

(2) *Tr. Th. p. 293.* I do not know why Ware and Harris represent Feidlimid as of a Hy-Niellan family. Colgan has not said so.

(3) *AA. SS. at Cairlan, 24 Mart.*

(4) *Ib. and Tr. Th. p. 293.* Ware had correctly stated that Feidhlimid died in 578 and Cairlan in 588. Harris comes forward, as usual, with some nonsense, as if Ware differed from the 4 Masters, who, instead of these dates, have 577 and 587. How stupid must he have been not to have discovered that such dates, although nominally differing by one year, were in reality the same as Ware's! He adds that the Psalter of Cashel also places Cairlin's death in 587; but had he looked into *Tr. Th. p. 292.* where said Psalter is quoted, he could have found that it does not mention the year of the Christian era, in which Cairlan or any archbishop of Armagh died. It merely states the number of years, during which each of them held the see, and gives ten to Cairlan.

(5) Ware (*Bishops at Clogher*) has, from the register of Clogher, after Sinell eight successors of his before we come to Laisrean. Now even supposing that Laisrean was bishop there, it cannot be believed that there were nine prelates of that see between Tigernach, who died in 549 (*Chap. x. §. 13.*) and the pretended accession of Laoisrean, which should have been prior to 570. What little confidence is to be placed in that register appears also from its making St. Enda of Arran bishop of Clogher after Laisrean, although he never was a bishop, and, as we have seen, died about 540. Then after three or four other prelates, as if succeeding Enda, it has by a most absurd anachronism, even Kieran of Clonmacnois!!! As if it were not universally known that Kieran died in 549. The compiler of that document, wishing to do honour to Clogher, did not scruple to reckon among its bishops the distinguished persons now mentioned, adding to them likewise the celebrated Adamnan, who, as

will be seen, never rose higher than to the rank of a priest. I am rather surprized that Ware gave himself the trouble of copying such trash. Colgan having searched for the successors of Maccarthen and Tigernach in that see does not mention any one of those now spoken of, and gives us only three of them between the latter and Foeldavar, who died in 731 (732). As to the particular times, in which those three prelates, *viz.* Liberius, Aitmetus, and Hermetius, held the see, he was not able to form an opinion. (See *AA. SS. p. 742.*) and Harris, *Bishops at Clogher.*

(6) Ex. c. Moena Bishop at Clonfert (*Not. 116 to Chap. x.*); Dagaëus (*Chap. x. §. 14.*); Lugidus (*ib. Not. 196*); Dallan, Sedna, and others (*Chap. xi. § 4*); Etchen (*ib. §. 9. and Not. 101-102*); Columbanus Mocu-Loigse and Cronan (*ib. Not 182.*)

(7) See *Not. 70, 71, to Chap. x.*

(8) Finnian's Acts, *cap. 19.* Senach is there expressly called *bishop.*

(9) *AA. SS. p. 406.* Colgan has, from the 4 Masters, A. D. 587, which, however, was the same as our 588.

(10) Ware (*Bishops at Down*) quotes a passage of the Annals of Ulster, in which the death of Fergus is assigned to A. 583. The 4 Masters also have 583. (See Colgan *AA. SS. at 30 Mart.*) Considering the mode of computation followed by those Annalists down to about the eleventh century, that date is the same as 584. In both said Annals Down is, on this occasion, called by its ancient name *Druim-leith-glais*, for which several old writers use *Dun-da-leth-glas.*

(11) Annals *ib.* Colgan (*loc. cit.*) without being authorized by them, calls that church a monastery. Archdall, following him, gives us one of that name in the county of Down. It is natural to suppose, that Killmbian was in that country. But I find no reason for introducing a monastery there, unless we are to believe that every church, to the name of which *Kill* is prefixed, had one added to it. Now Colgan has heaps of names, so beginning of places, to which he assigns merely churches, while as to others with similar names he does not forget to mark such monasteries as were annexed to them.

(12) See *Chap. VIII. §. 14.* Had there been any bishop of Down, prior to Fergus, it should seem odd, that he is the first

mentioned in both the Annals above referred to, and that, notwithstanding Colgan's frequently alluding to Down and naming several persons called Cailan, (See *ex. c. Ind. tert. ad Tr. Th.*) he has no bishop of that name in said see.

(13) See *Chap. v. §. 12.* Ware fell into this mistake, (*Bishops at Killala, and Antiq. cap. 29.*) and hence assigns Muredach to the 5th century Harris, wishing to appear more accurate has added that he was promoted about A. D 440.

(14) Life of St. Farannan at 15 February. It may be objected, that in said Life other persons are named as present at at Ballysadare, who certainly could not have been there at that time. But there are other convincing arguments to show, that Muredach did not live prior to St. Columba's time. We read in the Life of St. Cormac (26 March) that St. Patrick, St. Brigid, St. Columb-kill, St. Cannech, and St. Muredach bishop had blessed the port of Killala. Would Muredach have been placed so low down in the list, had he been contemporary with St. Patrick? Next it is evident from his pedigree, as given from old documents by Colgan. (*AA. SS. p. 339.*) that he belonged to a much later period. In tracing his descent from Leogaire, king of Ireland, Muredach appears in the sixth generation.

(15) In the old Calendars it is marked as his *Natalis*, by which is meant the day of a saint's death.

§. II. Another holy bishop of that period, and whose history is much better known than that of the above mentioned prelates, was St. Aidus or Aedeus, as he is called in the catalogue of the second class of saints. (16) He is usually surnamed *son of Brec*, this being the name of his father, who was a descendant of Neill Neigilliach by his son Fiach. (17) His mother was a Munster lady of the country now called Lower Ormond (18) in the county of Tipperary. The time of his birth is not recorded; but it is probable that it was between 520 and 530. (19) Although Aidus seems to have been born in Meath his father's country, (20) he was, after being baptized, and from his infancy, reared among his mother's relatives in Munster and well educated as to the duties

of a Christian layman. Not having been intended for the ecclesiastical state, he did not apply in his younger days to the preparatory studies and course of learning necessary for it. On his father's death Aidus, being a grown up lad, went to Meath for the purpose of recovering a part of the inheritance, the whole of which his brothers had divided among themselves. Not succeeding in his endeavours he set out for Munster, and on his way thither passing near the monastery of the holy bishop Illandus (21) was taken notice of by him. The bishop sent him word that he would be glad to see him, and, on his coming up, asked him, why he was so uneasy about an earthly inheritance, and desired him to look for a vastly better one, that of heaven. Aidus answered, that he was ready to submit to whatever the holy man would direct him to do, and then became an inmate of the monastery, where with the duties of religious obedience he united the study of the Holy Scriptures and of literature. Notwithstanding his high rank he worked at the plough, when ordered to do so, and displayed in every respect such a truly monastic spirit, that after a certain lapse of time, Illandus thought it advisable that he should return to his mother's country and there form a monastery. Accordingly he repaired thither with some companions assigned to him and founded one at Enachmicbrivin. (22) Some time after, but when we are not informed, he went to Meath and being there consecrated Bishop fixed his see at Killair or Killare. (23) After his promotion he visited Munster occasionally, and is said to have erected some other religious houses both in that province and in Meath. (24) A nunnery at a place, called Druiard, (25) is mentioned as having been favoured with a visit of his. He was on a certain occasion entertained by St. Riach abbot of Inisbofinde in Loughree; (26) and we find him paying him a visit to Henan a holy hermit at Druiard, (27) who, on the arrival of Aidus, had nothing to treat him with except

herbs and water. Without enlarging on some other matters of this kind, let it suffice to add, that several miracles have been attributed to him, and that he died on the 10th of November, A. D. 589. (28)

(16) See *Chap. x. §. 4.* Colgan has a life of St. Aidus at 28 February. It bears marks of considerable antiquity, and the narrative is much better arranged than in many other lives of our saints.

(17) Colgan observes, (*AA. SS p. 422.*) that from this Fiach the district of Kinel-fiacha in the ancient Meath got its name, and that from him were descended the illustrious families of O'Molloy and M'Geoghegan. Kinel-fiacha was about Kilbeggan and to the East of it.

(18) In the *Acts Muscrige-Thire.*

(19) Aidus is mentioned (*Acts, cap. 3.*) as a boy when St. Cainnich was a senior, that is a respected and venerable man. Now Cainnich was not born, at the earliest, until 516. If we allow only ten years between his age and that of Aidus, the birth of the latter may be assigned to 526. It can scarcely be placed later, because Aidus died in 589, and is represented as old before his death. But according to this calculation he would have been then only 63 years of age, an age at which men merely begin to be called old. Perhaps Cainnich was not, when the circumstance there related occurred, a senior, properly speaking, although he might have been called so, inasmuch as he afterwards became one. It may be even supposed, that he was not then above three or four years older than Aidus. Or, what is not improbable, the whole anecdote is founded on some mistake. It is hard to believe that Aidus was born later than about 520. In another Life of him, which Colgan considered unworthy of publication, although he quotes it, (*Tr. Th. p. 605.*) he is spoken of as a bishop in the times of St. Brigid. We need not stop to expose the absurdity of this supposition.

(20) The particular place of his birth is not mentioned; but it was most probably in Kinel-Fiacha. See *Not. 17.*

(21) That monastery was at Rathlibhthen in the now King's county. See *Chap. x. §. 3.*

(22) In some MSS. it is called *Enachmidbrenin* or *Enacmid-*

bren ; but Colgan thinks, (*AA. SS. p. 422.*) that the true reading was *Enachmicbrivin*. As it was in Muscrige-Thire (Ormond and particularly the part called Lower Ormond) it was perhaps Nenagh (*N* prefixed as in *Nendrum* for *Aendrum*, Antrim) or more probably the place was known by the name of *Annagh*. *Enachmicbrivin* means Enach of the sons of Brivin, seemingly the same as the O'Brien family. Harris, who calls it *Enachmidbrenin*, was right in placing it (*Monasteries*) in the county of Tipperary, and in remarking that Allemand misplaced it in the county of Cork. Smith (*Hist. of Cork, Vol. 1. p. 206.*) fell into the same mistake, in consequence, I suppose, of his having confounded Muscrige-Thire with the Muskerry of said county, where he found a place formerly called *Kilibrenin* now *Strawhall*. He then confounded Killbrenin with the monastery founded by Aidus, referring to Usher and Colgan, neither of whom gives the least indication that said monastery was in that county. Usher merely says (*p. 963.*) that Enachmidbrenin was in Muscray-tire ; and as to Colgan, he expressly states (*Tr. Th. p. 186.*) that Muscrige-Thyre was in Ormond. That it was so, is evident from the account of the course pursued by St. Patrick on his return from Munster. (See *Chap. vi. §. 8.*) Archdall (at *Strawhall*) has with great simplicity copied the mistakes of Smith.

(23) In the now barony of Raconrath, county of Westmeath.

(24) One of them is specially mentioned, and as called from his name *Rath-aodh* or *Rath-hugh* in Kinelfiacha, now Rahue in the barony of Moycashel (Westmeath.) See Archdall.

(25) Colgan was not able to point out the situation of Druimard. Was it Dromard in the barony of Ikerin, co. Tipperary ? This is much more probable than his conjecture, followed by Archdall, of its having been the same as Killaird in the now county of Wicklow, a part of Ireland with which Aidus had nothing to do.

(26) See *Chap. x. §. 3.*

(27) Archdall makes Drumrath the same as Drumrany, and says that it is in the barony of Kilkenny West in Westmeath. Others place it in the adjoining barony of Brawney (See Seward *ad loc.*) A monastery was erected there in honour of St. Henan, apparently after his death. Archdall assigns the foundation of it to A. D. 588, for no other reason, as far as I know, than his having read that Aidus died in that year. What had the death

of Aidus to do with the establishment of that monastery? The festival of St. Henan was kept at Drumrath on the 19th of August.

(28) 4 Masters and *AA. SS.* p. 193. They have A. 588. *i. e.* 589. The day of his death marked by them and in his Acts is 10th Nov. which appears also in several martyrologies, &c. Yet Colgan having found in some others the name of Aidus at 28 February, was induced to annex the Acts to that day.

§. III. According to some writers Eugene bishop of Ardstrath, now Ardstraw, (29) was contemporary with Aidus, having been distinguished about the year 570. (30) But, if he lived, as some say, until 618, (31) he was in all appearance rather a junior, in comparison with Aidus. Be this as it may, he cannot be placed earlier, as a bishop, than in the latter part of the sixth century, although it has been pretended that he had been a disciple of St. Patrick. (32) Eugene was of a Leinster family by his father's side, and of an Ulster by his mother's. (33) He was a great and zealous preacher, and died on the 23d of August. (34) The see of Ardstraw is said to have been transferred to Maghera; (35) and at a late period it was united to Derry. (36) In those times Achonry must be allowed to have been an episcopal see, if it be true that the celebrated Nathi of that place was a bishop. But it is much more probable, that he was not. He is constantly called *Cruimthir Nathi*, that is, *priest Nathi*. Had he been raised to the episcopacy, surely that is not the title, by which our hagiologists and calendarists would have handed down his name to posterity. (37) Having now made mention of him; we may here add that Nathi was placed at Achonry by St. Finnian of Clonard. (38) The time of his being fixed there was very probably not long prior to Finnian's death. (39) Nathi's school became highly distinguished, particularly by its having been that, in which the great St. Fechin of Fore received his ecclesiastical and literary

education. (40) His name is always mentioned with the greatest respect; (41) and his festival was and is still observed in the diocese of Achonry on the 9th of August.

(29) In the barony of Strabane, county of Tyrone. Seward (at *Rathlure*) is shamefully wrong in placing Ardstrath and the river Derg in the county of Antrim.

(30) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* He mentions a Life of St. Cainnich, in which Eugene is said to have been contemporary with him and Comgall of Bangor. (See *Pr. p. 957.*) Hence he deduced that Eugene flourished in 570.

(31) Ware (*Bishops at Derry*) observes that Eugene died, *as it is said*, in 618. Harris refers to Usher as placing his death in 570. But Usher says nothing about it. Harris misunderstood *flourished* for *died*. Archdall (at *Ardstraw*) following Harris has in like manner misrepresented Usher's meaning.

(32) Colgan has (*Tr. Th. p. 269*) Eugene of Ardstrath in his huge list of the disciples of our Apostle; and yet (*AA. SS. p. 406*) reckons him among those of Finnian of Clonard. This is not enough; for elsewhere (*ib. p. 438.*) he makes him study in Britain under the abbot Monenus the master of Tigernach of Clones, Finnian of Maghbile, &c. (See *Not. 17 to Chap. ix.*)

(33) In his Life quoted in *AA. SS. p. 438*, his father is said to have been *Cainnechus de Lagenia*. This sets aside Usher's conjecture (*p. 958*), that he might have been the same as Eogen mac Laisre, or son of Laisre, mentioned in the second class of saints. His mother is called *Muindecha* of the race of the Mugdorni, the inhabitants either of Mourne in Down, or more probably of the territory, of which Cremourne in Monaghan now forms a part (See *Not. 30 to Chap. vi.*) As Eugene's maternal connexions were in Ulster, it is easy to understand how he became known in that province and was there appointed bishop.

(34) Ware, *Bishops at Derry*. Colgan intended to publish his Acts at that day.

(35) Ware, *ib.* He had no right to place this translation as early as he has done. The time of it is not known. Maghera is in the now county of Derry. Its church was dedicated to St. Lu-roch, whose festival was kept there on the 17th of Febru-

ary. Whether he was a bishop or not, Ware does not inform us. Colgan has at said day St. Lurec, but merely gives his name and genealogy. Ware thought that it was on account of St. Luroch that the see of Ardstraw was otherwise called that of Rathlure.

(36) Ware, *ib.*

(37) Ware having observed, (*Antiq. cap. 29.*) that Nathi is called only *presbyter* in the Life of Finnian of Clonard, says he cannot believe but that he was afterwards made bishop of Achonry. And in *Bishops* he actually lays him down as one, without however, alleging any authority. Nor is it only in Finnian's Life, or relatively to any particular transaction, that he is called *Cruimthir* or priest; whereas this is the title, which, as Colgan observes (*AA. SS. p. 399.*) is given to him *passim*. In Colgan's works, as far as I can discover, he is never called *bishop*. It is true that in one of the lives of St. Fechin Nathi is styled *antistes*. Yet a few lines before he is called *presbyter*. Besides, the title *antistes*, is often given to priests.

(38) We read in the Acts of Finnian (*cap. 25.*) that he went to a place where dwelt a man of God named Nathi a priest, and that, having performed a miracle there, the dynast of the district gave him the place on which it occurred, and called Achadchonaire, which Finnian then made over to the said priest Nathi. Hence Colgan, Ware, (*Bishops*) Harris, &c. make Nathi a disciple of Finnian; but Nathi was a priest before Finnian seems to have been acquainted with him.

(39) Finnian's excursion to Connaught and his meeting with Nathi are related as having taken place after almost all his Clonard disciples had left his school, and formed establishments of their own. Ware is therefore wrong (*Antiq. cap. 29.* and *Bishops*) in assigning the foundation of the church of Achonry to about 530; for at that time Finnian had scarcely begun to teach at Clonard. (See *Chap. ix. §. 8.*) I should rather assign it to about 550; and according to the series of his transactions, as given in his Acts, it appears as one of the last of his life.

(40) Life of Fechin, 20 *January*. From his having been a scholar of Nathi and even a priest before his death, it follows that Nathi must have lived to a great age. Fechin did not die until A. D. 665, when he was carried off by a plague. Now sup-

posing that he lived to the age of 90, he would have been born in 575, and might have been ordained priest in 605. Nathi must have lived until, at least, this year. And as he had been a priest since the days of Finnian of Clonard, who died in 552, and some time prior to this event, Nathi's birth cannot be placed later than 520. On the whole, it is plain that he could not have lived less than about 90 years, or probably more, there being no sufficient reason to think, that his disciple Fechin reached the age which we supposed he did. It is very probable, that he did not pass his eightieth year, in which case he would not have been ordained priest until 615. In this hypothesis Nathi would have been still alive in this year; for, as we have seen, he survived Fechin's ordination. If Ware's statement, according to which Nathi should have been a priest in 530, were to be admitted, it would follow that he was born as early, at least, 500. How could this be reconciled with his having lived until Fechin also became one?

(41) Compare with *Not. 65. to Chap. vii.*

(42) The martyrology of Cashel, quoted in *AA. SS. p. 596*, gives him the title of *bishop of Ros-alethir*. Accordingly Ware (*Bishops at Ross*) says that he could not but be of that opinion. This title does not appear in the *Life of St. Pulcherius*, at 13 March, in which he is mentioned several times; but there is nothing in opposition to it. He is there called *Fachnan the wise and virtuous*.

§. iv. If St. Fachtna or Fachnan of Ross was a bishop, as there is good authority for admitting, (42) the see of that place existed at the period we are now treating of, and very probably before the year 570. (43) He was certainly established at Ross before that year, notwithstanding its having been supposed by some modern writers, that his monastery was not founded until many years later. (44) Hence it appears, that instead of having been a disciple of St. Barr or Finbarr of Cork, as is usually said, (45) he was prior to him. Fachnan was surnamed *Mongach* or *hairy*, as some authors explain it, while others think it should be written *Mac Mongach*, that is, son of Mongach. (46) He was for some time, and in

all appearance before he settled at Ross, abbot of Darinis Moelanfaidh, now Molana, a small island of the river Blackwater in the county of Waterford. (47) His school at Ross was one of the most celebrated and frequented in Ireland, (48) and continued so after his death, the precise time of which is not known; it merely appearing that he lived until towards the close of the sixth century. (49) He died on the 14th of August, this being the day marked as his *Natalis* in the Calendars. (50) This saint must not, I think, be confounded with the St. Fachnan, to whose memory the church of Kilfenora has been dedicated. (51) He is said, but without any foundation, to have been succeeded at Ross by a St. Finchard. (52)

(43) Fachnan was at Ross before the death of St. Ita, which was in 570. Having lost his sight there, while living in a monastery founded by himself, he went to consult St. Ita upon a point relative to certain means, which he had been directed to use towards the recovery of it. The whole transaction is related in the Life of Pulcherius, *cap.* 4. where we read; “Tunc temporis (a short time before the birth of Pulcherius) S. Fachnanus sapiens et probus aliquo eventu factus est coecus, et nihil videbat. Ipse sanctus in australi Hiberniae plaga juxta mare in suo monasterio quod ipse fundavit (ubi crevit civitas, in qua semper manet magnum studium scholarium, quae dicitur *Ross-alithre*) habitabat—Et ait ad suos sanctus; scio quid faciam; ibo ad Dei prophetissam B. Itam,” &c. The surname *alithre* or *alithri*, or, as now spelled, *oilithre*, by which the episcopal town of Ross was distinguished from many other places of that name, was given to it on account of having a great resort of pilgrims.

(44) Ware says, (*Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Co. Cork*) that Fachnan founded the monastery of Ross about the *end* of the 6th century. Yet (*ib. cap.* 29. and *Bishops at Ross*) he tells us, that he flourished in the *beginning* of said century. It is odd that so accurate a writer could have contradicted himself. He ought to have said, that Fachnan flourished and founded that monastery about the *middle* of the sixth century. Colgan states (*Ind. Chron. Tr. Th.*) that

he flourished in 590. It is probable, that he was still alive in that year; but he had *flourished* long before it. From those few words of Colgan Archdall (at *Molana*) deduced, by a strange sort of logic, that Fachnan founded the abbey of Ross about 590.

(45) Usher has (*p.* 971.) Fachtna or Fachnan among several persons, who are said to have studied under St. Barr. He is named also in a long list of those supposed disciples *ap.* Colgan, *AA. SS.* at *St. Garvan, 26 Mart.* It is plain that these lists have been made up at random, and that little or no dependence can be placed on them. That of Colgan differs very materially from Usher's. The compilers of them, wishing to do honour to St. Barr, thrust into them the names of many distinguished men, whom they had happened to hear of, without any regard to time or place. Of this more hereafter.

(46) In the martyrology of Cashel he is called "Fachtna *Mongach quia cum caesarie natus.*" In some Irish calendars the surname is *Mhicmongaigh*, and hence Usher's *filius Monghich, p.* 971. But, as some old writers pretend (*AA. SS. p.* 596) it was meant to signify not the son of one Mongach, but *hairy son* or *child*. Yet others have understood it as meaning *son of Mongach* or rather *Moenach*, who, they say, was descended from Maccon a celebrated Irish hero.

(47) In the above quoted martyrology we read of Fachnan; "Fuit etiam abbas de Dar-inis Moelanfaidh in regione Desiorum in Momonia." Ware says (*Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Co. Waterford*) that a monastery was founded in Molanna or Darinis by St. Molanfide, as he calls him, in the sixth century, and is followed by Harris and Archdall. I wish he had told us something further concerning this saint. It is probable, that he only guessed at him from that name being added to Darinis. Colgan gives us no account of him, at least under the name of *Moelanfaidh*. But he makes mention (*AA. SS. p.* 188.) of several saints called *Moeloc* or *Mailoc*, which, he observes, is the same name as *Moelan*. One of them was probably the founder of that monastery; for *faidh* is, I believe, a surname, *fada* or *fad* long. At what time he lived, I cannot form any conjecture; and, for aught I know, he might have belonged to the 5th century. Archdall's huge mistake concerning Ferdachrioch, (Maccarthen of Clogher) having been abbot of this Darinis has been already animadverted upon. (*Not,*

132 to *Chap. vi.*) There is another Darinis near Wexford, in which a monastery was founded most probably by St. Cayman about the beginning of the sixth century (See *Not. 121 to Chap. ix*) and not, as Archdall thought, by St. Nemhan, who lived in the seventh.

(48) Above *Not. 43*. Usher, *p. 907*. Ware, *Antiq. cap. 15*.

(49) According to a statement in the *Life of Pulcherius (cap. 30.)* we find that Fachnan was alive not only after Pulcherius had founded a monastery, which he could scarcely have done before A. D. 580, but likewise 14 years prior to the death of Colman Mac-Feraidhe, prince of Ossory. Now this Colman died in 601, *i. e.* 602, (4 *Masters, Tr. Th. p. 375*, and O'Flaherty's *MS. note*) and consequently Fachnan lived until, at least, 588. Perhaps it may be said, that the Fachnan here spoken of was different from Fachnan of Ross mentioned in a former part of said *Life* (above *Not. 43.*); and in fact Colgan seems to distinguish them in his third *Index to AA. SS.* But, if that were the case, would not the author of said *Life*, who in both places exhibits Fachnan as a great saint, given us some clue towards discovering that he alluded to more than one of that name? particularly as the *Life* is written with great order, regularity, and a cautious precision in discriminating, when necessary, certain names by the addition of a surname or some other distinctive mark, lest the reader might confound different persons together.

(50) *AA. SS. p. 596*. Archdall says (at *Ross*) that his festival is held on the 14th of August, and yet he tells us (at *Molana*) that it is on the 19th of January.

(51) The history of the see of Kilfenora or, as Ware calls it, *Fenabore* is so obscure, that he was not able to decide by whom it was founded. In one place (*Antiq. cap. 29.*) he says, "it may be judged that St. Fachnan was the founder." In another (*Bishops*) he merely states, that its cathedral was dedicated to his memory. He clearly seems to have meant St. Fachnan of Ross. And so the matter appears to be understood at present in the diocese of Kilfenora, whereas the festival of the patron saint is kept there on the 14th of August, as if St. Fachnan of Ross was he also of Kilfenora. But it is much more probable, that they were different persons. That Fachnan of Ross did not found that see, or even a monastery there, is evident from its not being mentioned in the

Calendars, where treating of him, notwithstanding the care taken not to omit that, besides Ross, he had governed also a house in Darinis. Why not mention likewise Kilfenora, had he been there? especially as it became an episcopal see. It may be said, that Fachnan was revered there not as founder of the see, but as the saint, in whose name the church was dedicated, long perhaps before there was any bishop of Kilfenora. Yet I can hardly believe that Kilfenora had not a Fachnan or Fachtna of its own. Among the real or pretended disciples of St. Barr we find, besides Fachnan of Ross, a St. Fachna de Ria. (*AA. SS. p. 750.*) He is the *Fachtnanus* of Usher, (*Pr. p. 971.*) a distinct person from Fachtna Mongich, or of Ross, there mentioned. Whether this Fachna, or Fachnan de Ria was a scholar, or not, of St. Barr, is of little consequence; but it cannot be doubted that such a person did exist in old times, probably in the seventh century. Why may we not suppose, that he was the founder of Kilfenora? Its very name seems to lead to this conclusion. Fachnan is often called *Fechnan*. *Kilfenora* is a compound name, thus probably formed; *Kil-fen* (a contraction of *Fechnan*)—*o de*, or from—*Ra*, or *Ria*.

(52) Ware (*Bishops at Ross*) fell into a singular mistake on this occasion, having been led astray by the confusion in arranging names and the errors of the press, that occur in one part of the *AA. SS.* where Colgan is reckoning up the so called disciples of St. Barr. He quotes (*p. 750*) a long passage relative to them, in which we read; “*S. Finchadius de Domnachmor, S. Fachna seu Facundus de Ria, S. Facundus* (Fachna) *de Ros-alither.*” Elsewhere (*ib. p. 607*) quoting the same long passage, it has happened that the words here marked in Italics were omitted by the printer, so that the text runs, “*Finchadius de Ros-alither,*” while *Domnachmor* and the two *Fachnas* are left out. Had Ware looked to *p. 750*, he would not have changed *Finchad* of *Domnachmor* into a *Finchad* of *Ross*. There is in the martyrology of Charles Maguire at 5 *Mart.* as cited in *AA. SS. p. 471*, a passage, whence, if it deserves credit, it might seem that one *Conall* succeeded *Fachnan* at *Ross* and elsewhere. *Kieran* of *Saigir* is made to foretell, that *Conall* would govern monks and monasteries after *Fachnan* of *Ross-alithir*. But there are so many fables concerning *Kieran*, that this is perhaps one of them. Yet in said passage it is not expressly said, that *Conal* was to govern the institutions of

Fachnan; and it can be explained as simply indicating, that one would be later in time than the other. At any rate Archdall had no sufficient authority (at *Ross*) for representing Conall as the immediate successor of Fachnan.

§ v. Before I proceed to inquire into the history of other eminent ecclesiastics of those times, it is necessary to give some account of the changes that took place in the succession of the Irish monarchs between St. Columba's departure from Ireland and his attending at the meeting of Drumceat. Diermit, son of Cervail, having reigned 21 years, (53) was, as already observed, killed by a prince Aidus, surnamed the *black* (54) in 565 at a place called Rathbeg. The crown now reverted to the Eugenic branch of the northern Nialls, and two sons of Murchertach Mac Erca, (55) Domnald and Fergus, who had fought with great success against Diermit and the southern Nialls, (56) were raised to the sovereignty of all Ireland, which they held in partnership for only one year. They were succeeded by two other copartners on the throne, Boetan a brother of theirs, and his nephew Eochad son of Domnald, who ruled during two years. (57) After them Anmireus, son of Sedna of the Tirconnalian line, was in the year 568 raised to the throne, which he possessed during three years. (58.) He also met with a violent death, having been killed by one Fergus son of Nellin. (59) Anmireus was succeeded in 571 by his first cousin Boetan the second, whose short reign of less than a year was terminated by his having fallen in battle. (60) The next monarch after Boetan II. was Aidus or Hugh son of Anmiraeus. He began to reign in 572, (61) and occupied the throne for full 26 years, until, having marched against the people of Leinster for the purpose of exacting a tribute claimed by him, he was killed on the 10th of January, A. D. 599, in the battle of Duinbolg, in which his opponents were commanded by their celebrated king Brandubh. (62)

(53) See *Chap. x. §. 3.*

(54) See *Chap. xi. §. 14* and *ib. Not. 169.* Ware (*Antiq. cap. 4.*) following the 4 Masters calls Aidus son of Suibne and king of Dalnaraida or Dalarida. In the English translation of Keating by D. O'Connor he is called Hugh Dubh Mac Swyny, who killed Diernit at Rathbeag in Muighline. O'Flaherty writes; (*Carm. Chronograph.*) "Dernitius ferro, fluctibus, igne perit." Diernit was buried, according to Keating, in a place called *Cuinniry*; O'Halloran (*B. VIII. ch. 4.*) says, at Clonmacnois.

(55) See *chap. ix. §. 2.*

(56) *Ex. c.* in the battle of Culdremni. See *chap. xi. §. 11.* and Usher, *Ind. Chron. ad a. 561.*

(57) Neither Usher in his list of the Irish sovereigns of those times (*p. 947*) nor Ware (*Antiq. cap. 4.*) has these two kings Boetan and Eochad. The 4 Masters and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 448.*) have them in their catalogue, and state that they were killed in battle, fighting against Cronan dynast of Kiennacta. (See *Not. 63. to Chap. VII.*) They are also in O'Flaherty's list, *Ogyg. p. III. cap. 93.* He differs from the 4 Masters and Colgan as to the years of the Christian era, in which these and other kings of that period reigned, but agrees with them in most part, as to the length of their reigns. As it is not my business to dive into the civil history of Ireland, I here follow his chronological suppositions, having enough to do in endeavouring to arrange the ecclesiastical department.

(58) Usher and Ware (*loc. cit.*) assign the beginning of Anmiracus', or Anmirach's, reign to A. D. 566, in consequence of their placing him immediately after Domnald and Fergus. Yet they agree with the 4 Masters and O'Flaherty as to his having reigned three years. We have already seen, (*Not. 95. to Chap. XI.*) that Anmiracus was first cousin to St. Columba.

(59) *Tr. Th. p. 448.* and Ware, *loc. cit.*

(60) The 4 Masters and Colgan, (*ib.*) say that Boetan II. was killed fighting against two princes Cumanii, or Cuimin, not brothers, but probably relatives, (see Keating, *B. 2.*) Ware makes this Boetan or Beotan (the first of the name mentioned by him) brother to Murchertach Mac-Erca, and places the commencement of his reign in 569. But, as Murchertach died in 533 or 534 (See *Chap. ix. §. 2.*) it is not probable that a prince, who did not be-

gin to reign until 569, was a brother of his. He associates with him on the throne Eochan a son of Murchertach, and adds that, having reigned three years, they were slain by Cronan in the battle of Glengevin. This is the Cronan mentioned above; (*Not.* 57.) and the Boetan and Eochan of Ware (whom Usher also has as reigning three years, without, however, stating to what family they belonged) are in fact the Boetan I. and Eochad of the 4 Masters and O'Flaherty, whom they place prior to Anmireus. There is also this difference that the Boetan I. of the latter appears not as brother but son of Murchertach, and Eochad or Eochan as grandson, not son of the same prince. The three years, assigned by Ware and Usher to these joint sovereigns, are divided by O'Flaherty, &c. allowing two years for Boetan I. and Eochad, and one for Boetan II. whom they place after Anmireus. Boetan II. is stated (*Tr. Th. p.* 488.) to have been a grandson of Fergus of the Tirconallian line by his son Ninnidh. Consequently he was a first cousin of Anmireus, and also of St. Columba.

(61) Ware, Usher, and O'Flaherty agree as to this date, in consequence of the two former having allowed three years for the immediate successor or successors of Anmireus, which O'Flaherty divided as explained in the preceding Note.

(62) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* and Ware *loc. cit.* assign this battle to A. 598. O'Flaherty writes 598-9, which, on account of Aidus having been killed in January, corresponds to our A. 599. And, as Usher (*p.* 947) allows him 26 full years from A. 572, it is plain that his death must be placed in 599, unless we should suppose that he had been crowned before the 10th of January of the year 572. (*Not.* 182 to *Chap.* xi.)

§ VI. In the second class of Irish saints next after St. Columba is mentioned, his friend Caineus, commonly called St. Kenny. (63) He was a native of Kiennacta (64) in the North of Ireland. His father was a celebrated poet Laidec of the sept of Mocudalan or the race of Dalan, (65) and his mother's name was Melda. (66) Cainech was born in the year 516, (67) and, when arrived at the age of discretion, wishing to acquire learning and lead a religious life, (68) went to Britain and there placed himself under the venerable abbot Docus, (69) with

whom he remained for some years in close application to his studies and in the practice of monastic obedience. Passing by a pretended tour of his to Rome, for which there is no sufficient authority, we find him afterwards at the school of Finnian of Clonard. (70) Having left this school, he is said to have preached for some years in the northern parts of Ireland; (71) and were we to believe some accounts, he passed over to North Britain, where he lived as a hermit in the land of the Picts. (72) After some time Cainech proceeded towards the South of Ireland, and, having stopped for a while in some religious house, wrote a copy of the four Gospels, which was preserved for a very long time, and was called *Glass-Kinnich*, or *Chain of Cainech* (73) Thence he went to the country now called Upper Ossory, and, being kindly received by the inhabitants, founded the great monastery of Aghaboe. (74) The time of its foundation is not known; but it was prior to the year 577. (75) Aghaboe became, in course of time, the residence of the bishop of Ossory, the see of Saigir having been transferred to it. (76) It is said, that Cainech, being patronized by Colman Mac Feraidhe prince of Ossory, (77) formed some other establishments in that country. His visits to St. Columba, and their mutual attachment, have been already mentioned. (78) He was likewise connected, by ties of friendship, with other great men of his time, such as the Brendans, Comgall, Fintan of Clonenagh, (79) &c. and, in his old days, with St. Pulcherius of Laithmor. Cainech was occasionally endowed with supernatural gifts, (80) and was versed in the art of composing works, so as to appear as a biographer and poet. (81) Having governed in person, as abbot and priest, the monastery of Aghaboe, he died in the 84th year of his age, on the 11th of October, A. D. 599. (82)

(63) It has been already observed, that Smith (*Life of St. Columba*) calls the saint Kenneth. He has never been known by

that name in Ireland. We have had Keneds or Kineds, now Kennedys; but *Cainech* is a different name, and has been anglicized only into *Canice* or *Kenny*. Smith says that one of the Hebrides (Inch Kenneth) near Iona or Hy bears his name. I believe some person different from Cainech must be looked for in searching for the origin of that denomination, perhaps a Columbian monk, such as St. Kinaeth who became abbot of Durrough and died in 789. (*Tr. Th. p. 507.*) There is no reason to think, that Cainech formed any establishment in the Hebrides; nor did he belong to Columba's institution. I need not tell the reader, that the city of Kilkenny has got its name from a church having been there dedicated to St. Cainech or Kenny. Yet Ledwich, (*Antiquities of Irishtown, &c. in 2d Ed. p. 382.*) to show his learning, would fain derive it from *Coil* (which he changes into *Kyle*) *ken-ui*, or, he says, *Wooded head near the river*. This is a truly wooden-headed etymology. Where did he find that *ui* means river? He says the natives call it *Cilcanuigh*. Is not that evidently the *Cell of Cainic*? The Doctor will not allow saints any where.

(64) (*Tr. Th. p. 182.*) The Kiennacta here mentioned was that, of which the barony of Kenaght, (co. Londonderry) now forms a part. Colgan says that Cainech is the patron saint of that country.

(65) Ware, *Writers, L. 1. c. 13. al. 15.* and Usher *p. 1065.* Burke in the Office of St. Cainech (11th October) calls his father Lyadec. In the Life of St. Cormac (*AA. SS. p. 752*) he is called *Lugad*; and by Hanmer (*Chronicle, p. 124. new Ed.*) *Lugaid Lechteag*. Adamnan (*Vit. S. Col. L. 3. c. 17.*) gives to Cainech the surname *Mocu-Dalon*.

(66) Ware, *ib.*

(67) Colgan, after the 4 Masters, *AA. SS. p. 190.* and *Tr. Th. p. 182.* The year marked by him is 515, which, however, following the rule often mentioned was the same as 516. Usher has (*p. 957*) the year 527, which is that assigned also by Burke (*Office. &c.*) for the birth of Cainech. This date cannot be reconciled with Cainech's having been older than St. Aidus bishop of Killare; who was in all probability born about or not long after the year 520. (See above *Not. 19.*) Cainech's birth must therefore be placed some years before 527, and we may safely assign it to 516.

(68) Usher quotes from a Life of Caineach the following passage; “ Cum S. Cainnicus crevisset, et *perfectus esset sensu*, voluit scientiam discere et religiosae vitae vacare perrexit ad mare transnavigavitque ad Britanniam,” &c. Harris (*Writers, at Caine,*) and Burke (*Office*) say, that he was only 13 years of age, when he went to Britain. But surely a boy of that age would not have been considered as *perfectus sensu*.

(69) See *Chap. ix. §. 11.*

(70) In Finnian's Acts, *cap. 19.* and several other documents, Caineach is reckoned among the principal scholars of that great man.

(71) He is spoken of (*AA. SS. p. 752.*) as having been on some occasion at the mouth of the river Moy, which empties itself into the bay of Killala.

(72) Harris (*Writers*) and Burke in the *Office*, mention this Pictish hermitage of Caineach. Adamnan, who often makes mention of him, gives us no hint to this purpose, and, when touching on his visit to St. Columba, seems to exhibit them, all through, as having been made between Ireland and one or other of the Hebrides. I suspect that what is said of his having been in Pictland is founded on a mistake as to the meaning of a *voyage to Britain*, as if it always referred to the mainland. But it was not uncommon to use that phrase for a passage from Ireland to the isles adjacent to Britain, as even Adamnan has done. See *Not. 147 to Chap. xi.*

(73) Usher, *p. 1065*) from a Life of Caineach. In the passage quoted by him the place is called *insula Roscree*; and Burke (*Office, &c.*) calls it *fluminis insulam Roscreensem*. But Roscrea, a well known town in Munster, is not in an island. I believe that instead of *Roscree*, we ought to read *Lochree*, a lake formed by the Shannon, in the islands of which, as we have often seen, there existed religious communities prior to the time that Caineach moved towards the South, while at the same period there does not seem to have been any such establishment at Roscrea? Or might it have been the *stagnum Cree*, mentioned in the Life of St. Cronan, the same, I suppose, as Monelabog, in which is the island of Monaincha? Ware, quoting the same passage (*Writers at Caine*) omits the words *insula Roscree*, for this reason, we may conjecture, that he could not conceive why Ros-

crea should be placed in an island. Yet Harris has added them to Ware's text. The name, *Glass-Kinnich*, seems to indicate, that Cainech wrote a continued commentary on the Gospels, of that kind, which in the middle ages used to be called *Catena*, or *Chain*, for instance, *Catena in Job*. It may be that *Catena*, in this sense, was adopted from the old Irish divines.

(74) Adamnan, (*L. 2. c. 13.*) calls it *Achad-bou*, "quod latine *Campulus bovis dicitur.*"

(75) Cainech had, as is plain from Adamnan, (*L. 3. c. 17.*) founded the house of Aghaboe, before he accompanied Brendan of Clonfert on a visit to St. Columba then in the isle of Hymba. Brendan died in 577. Hence it appears, that Harris (*Writers*) and Burke (*Office &c.*) were wrong in assigning that foundation to the time, in which Colman mac Feredach or Feraidhe ruled Ossory; whereas he could not have been sovereign of that territory until A. D. 582 (583) in which his father Feredach was killed. See the 4 Masters, and *Tr. Th. p. 450.*

(76) Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Ossory*) say, that the see of Saigir was transferred to Aghaboe, perhaps in 1052. But, as will be seen in its proper place, this translation occurred at a later period.

(77) This was the Colman mentioned above, *Not. 49* and *75.* His father's name is variously written, *Feraidhe*, *Feradach*, *Feredach*. Our old writers allowed themselves too great a latitude in spelling proper names, so as often to excite doubts as to the identity of one and the same person. Hundreds of instances might be adduced. Thus the very saint we are now treating of appears as *Cainech*, *Cainnich*, *Cannich*, *Kinnich*, &c. In the *Life of St. Pulcherius (cap. 30.)* we read, that St. Cainech had prayed for the eternal salvation of Colman, and that he would assist him in every thing.

(78) See *Not. 182.* to *Chap. xi.*

(79) In Fintan's *Acts, cap. 7.* it is related, that, his rules being so strict as not to allow either himself or his monks the use even of milk, Cainech, accompanied by some other holy men, went to Clonenagh for the purpose of inducing him to relax somewhat of the severity of his discipline. Fintan yielded as for his monks, but declined to change his own manner of living.

(80) Adamnan relates one instance of them. (See *Not. 182*

to *Chap. XI.*) Some others are mentioned in the *Life of Pui-cherius*.

(81) Ware (*Writers at Cainic*) attributes to him a *Life of St. Columba* and *Hymns in praise of him*. We may, I dare say, deduce another instance of his authorship from what has been remarked above, *Not. 73*.

(82) *Four Masters and AA. SS. p. 190*. They have 598, *i. e.* 599. Usher agrees (*p. 957.*) as to the year of his death, but, in consequence of his supposition that Cainech was born in 527, (above *Not. 67*) says that he died at the age of 72. Yet he observes, that in a *Life of Cainech* he found his death assigned to his 84th year. Ware, upon what authority I do not know, (*Writers and Antiq. cap. 26. at Queen's County*) places it in 600, and, as he gives him, with Usher, only 72 years of age, he must have supposed that Cainnach had been born in 528.

§ VII. In the same class, after Cainech the first named is Eogin mac Laisre, concerning whom I can find nothing satisfactory. (83) Then comes Lugeus, who, according to every appearance, was the same as the celebrated Ligidus or Molua of Clonfert-Molua. As he is more generally called *Molua*, (84) I shall, in my endeavours to give a sketch of his history, make use of that name. He was of a distinguished family of Hy-Figinte, a district of Munster. His father was Carthar, surnamed *Coche*, and his mother Sochla, a native of Ossory. (85) Of the time of his birth I do not meet with any account. Were it true that he had been at Finnian's school of Clonard, (86) he should have come into the world several years previous to the middle of the sixth century. Supposing that he was at that school, it was undoubtedly in his younger days, and before he became a disciple of Comgall of Bangor, which he could not have been earlier than about A. D. 559. (87) Under this great master he remained for, probably, a considerable time, and, having embraced the monastic state, became so distinguished by his virtue and abilities, that Comgall,

finding him duly qualified for governing others, directed him to form an establishment for himself and to nourish the servants of Christ. (88) Accordingly Molua returned to Munster, and, being attended by some disciples, repaired to Mount Luachra in the now county of Limerick. (89) Wishing to establish himself in that district, he was advised not to remain there by the dynast, a worthy man, whose name was Foelan. (90) He then removed from that country, although it is probable that he left some of his disciples there, and went to Mount Bladhma, now Sliebh-bloom, near where his maternal relatives resided, and erected a monastery at a place since called *Clonfert Molua*, now Clonfertmulloe, (91) to which a vast number of monks resorted from various parts, who were all received with great kindness by Molua. Afterwards he returned to Hy-Figinte, where he founded several cells and monasteries. (92) He is said to have established many other religious houses, so as in all to have been as many as a hundred, (93) which however ought, I believe, to be understood not only of those founded immediately by himself, but as including others formed by his disciples, and belonging to his order or institution. For Molua drew up a particular Rule for his monks, which, we are told, was read and approved of by Pope Gregory the great (94). One of his regulations was the perpetual exclusion of women from the monastery of Clonfert-Molua. (95) The church of Killaloe, in Irish *Kill-da-lua*, or cell of Lua, is supposed to have got its name from the saint, either from his having lived there for some time, (96) or from its having been dedicated in his name. This is not improbable, (97) although far from being certain. It has been said by some writers, that Molua was afflicted with a leprosy, that is, with some cutaneous complaint, for 20 years before his death; but there is reason to think, that Molua, surnamed the *leper*, was a different person,

and the real Molua of Killaloe. (98) A short time before his death he is said to have called upon Dagan, bishop of Achad-Dagan, for the purpose of consulting him as to the appointment of a successor for his monastery. Dagan told him that he would be succeeded by Lactan, a choice with which he was highly pleased. (99) St. Molua departed this life not long after the beginning of the seventh century. (100) The day assigned for his death is the 4th of August. This saint was reckoned among the Fathers of the Irish church (101).

(83) It has been already observed (*Not. 33.*) that, as he is called son of Laisre, he was different from Eugene, bishop of Ardstrath. Usher has (*p. 958.*) another conjecture, *viz.* that he might have been the same as the holy elder Eogan, one of those to whom St. Kevin's parents entrusted him, when he was 12 years old (See *Chap. x. § 10.*) But how could a man who was a senior when Kevin was so young, belong to the second class of saints? He must have flourished many years before that class began.

(84) His original name was *Lua*, whence *Mo-Lua* or *my Lua*. Some of our old writers have latinized it into *Lugidus*, and hence Usher (*p. 943*) and Ware (*Writers*) speak of *Lugidus* and *Molua* as one and the same person. St. Bernard calls him *Luanus*, by which name he is mentioned also in *AA. SS. p. 57*. There is in Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra* a Life of St. Molua taken from a MS. of Armagh. The fables, with which it abounds, show that it is not very ancient.

(85) Ware (*Writers, L. 1. c. 13. al. 15.*) quotes from a Life of Molua the following passage. "Beatissimus abbas Lugidus, *generosis* ortus parentibus, patrem habuit Cartharium, genere Mumeniensem; mater autem dicta est Sochla natione Osrigenensis." The English translator has most strangely rendered *generosis* by *gentile*. In the Life *ap. Fleming* we read (*cap. 1.*); "*Fuit vir vitæ venerabilis de provincia Mumoniae, de regione Hua Fidhgenti de plebe Corcoiche, nomine Mo-Lua, cujus pater vocabatur Carthach, sed vulgo Coche dicitur; mater vero ejus Sochla, id est, larga, vocabatur, quæ erat de occidentali Laginiensium plaga, id est, Osraigi, oriunda.*"

O'Flaherty (*Ogyg. p. 381.*) follows this account. Instead of *Hua-Fidgenti* Hanmer has (*Chronicle, p. 121 new ed.*) *Hua-fi* in Munster. In the now quoted *Life (cap. 27.)* *Hua-Fidgenti*, or, as some call it, *Hy-Figinte*, is described as a country or people at the south side of the Shannon to as far as Mount Luachra in the west. It was in the now county of Limerick, although Harris (*Antiq. ch. 7.*) places part of it in Kerry. Many tracts in Ireland were denominated *Corcach* or *Corcoick*, which signifies *moor, marsh, or low swampy ground*. That Molua's father was called *Coche*, appears from several other documents, such as the *Life of St. Moedoc cap. 20*, and that of *Pulcherius cap. 11*. Colgan in his notes to them applies what is said of Molua, son of *Coche*, to the Molua whose festival was held on the 4th of August, that is, to the Molua, whom we are treating of. I do not find that he calls his father *Carthar*. As the name *Carthar* or *Carthach* was that of several princes and nobles of Munster, it became necessary to distinguish them by surnames or epithets. These, as in many other cases, were often used alone to designate persons; omitting, for conciseness' sake, the real names. Thus, although Molua's father was a *Carthar*, yet he might have been more generally called simply *Coche*.

(86) Colgan refers (*AA. SS. p. 405.*) to Molua's *Life* for his being a scholar of Finnian; and, in fact, it is mentioned, but I believe erroneously, in *cap. 26.* and as having occurred after he left Bangor.

(87.) See *Chap. x. §. 12.* That Molua was a disciple of Comgall, is universally admitted. See Usher, *p. 919*) Ware, (*Writers at Molua*), *Molua's Life, passim.*

(88) *Life of St. Pulcherius, cap. xi.* By *nourishing the servants of Christ* is meant not only the relieving of the bodily wants of the poor, &c. but likewise the supplying them with spiritual food.

(89) See *Not. 6. to Chap. xi.* Mount Luachra adjoins the country called *Hy-figinte*, of which Molua is said to have been a native (See *Not. 85.*)

(90) *Life ap. Fleming, cap. 27.*

(91) In said *Life* (see *cap. 30.* and Usher, *p. 943.*) Clonfertmolua is stated to have been at the very boundary of Leinster and (the ancient) Munster, between Ossory, Hele (Ely O'Carrol for-

merly in Munster) and Leix. Slieve-Bloom was in old times a boundary between Munster and Leinster. (Seward *Topogr. &c.*) According to the modern division Clonfertmulloe is in the King's county, and is now a parish. In the Life the origin of the name is thus explained; "Cluain-ferta-Molua, id est, *Latibulum mirabile S. Moluae*, eo quod ipse in sua vita multa miracula in ea fecit, et adhuc gratia Dei per eum patrantur." The former name of that place is said to have been *Ross-Bulead*, and the dynast, with whose permission Molua erected his monastery, Berach of *Laigy* or *Leix*.

(92) Said Life, *cap.* 31.

(93) St. Bernard makes mention of this hearsay as to the 100 monasteries. (See *Not.* 203 to *Chap.* x.) I am surprized that Usher has (*Ind. Chron.* ad a. 620.) applied St. Bernard's words to a Lua, who is spoken of in Jonas, Life of St. Columbanus, *cap.* 20. This Lua was one of those, who went to France with Columbanus, and was undoubtedly different from the Luanus of St. Bernard. It is plain from the text, that he meant a founder of monasteries in Ireland; nor does he speak of Columbanus or such other disciples of Comgall as went to the Continent, until after his touching upon the foundations of Luanus, who could have been no other than Molua of Clonfert-Molua, of whom we may assert that he did not go abroad with St. Columbanus.

(94) Molua's Life, (*cap.* 48); Usher (*p.* 920); Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 585;) &c. It is said that the abbot, afterwards bishop, Dagan of Achadh-Dagain going to Rome, took with him a copy of Molua's rule, which, on being read by the Pope, pleased him so much, that he highly praised it and sent his blessing to the author. Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigns this transaction to A. D. 599. But it is more than probable, that no such transaction took place. It is, I dare say, a mere flourish made up by some monk of Molua's order, in honour of the Rule, which he observed. As to Dagan, it may be doubted, whether he was ever at Rome, if, as there is every reason to believe, he was the bishop Dagan mentioned by Bede (*Eccl. Hist. L. 2. c. 4.*) as a determined opponent of the Roman missionaries on the Paschal question.

(95) "Ut nulla mulier ibi *semper* intraret; et ab illo die usque hodie nulla mulier in illud monasterium audet intrare." (See

Usher, p. 943.) Hanmer translates *semper* by *always*, not knowing that *semper* there means *at any time for ever*, being the same as *in sempiternum*. (Compare with *Not. 60 to Chap. x.*)

(96) Ware says, (*Antiq. cap. 29.*) that he lived there about the *end* of the 6th century. Harris, (*Bishop at Killaloe*) through some mistake or other, changed *end* into *beginning*. Archdall, (at Killaloe) has copied this mistake. I wish Ware had produced some authority for our Molua having lived in that place at any time. The want of that circumstance would not, however, prevent its church from having been called by his name. Or did Ware mean another Molua? (See below *Not. 98.*)

(97) I say *not improbable*, because we find about those times, other persons called *Lua* or *Molua*. That *Kill-da-lua* is derived from some one of that name was never called in question, until the mighty Ledwich appeared, who, ever anxious to exterminate saints, styles that derivation a *childish analyses*, (*Antiq. p. 144.*) and tells us that “St. Molua is an ideal personage.” And why? Because *Kill-le-lua* signifies the church upon or near the water, *i. e.* the Shannon. He ought to have written *Kill-da-lua*. But pray, were there not hundreds of churches near the Shannon and other waters in Ireland; and how has it come to pass that the church of Killaloe alone has got its name from *water*? Will this charlatan maintain, that there is no such family name as *Waters*, and that, wherever said word occurs, it must be understood of the element water? Supposing even that his derivation of Killaloe is correct, will it follow that no St. Lua or Molua ever existed? Whence then the name of Clonfert-Mulua, a place known at this very day? The Luanus of St. Bernard must have been a phantom, notwithstanding all the monasteries, which he or his disciples (phantoms also,) had founded. The churches, &c. erected by them must be considered as castles in the air. St. Moedoc of Ferns, Pulcherius, &c. and even Congall of Bangor must likewise be ideal personages, who, as appears from numberless authorities, were connected with Molua. Who can bear with patience the falsehoods and equivocations of an ignorant scribbler, who, while he never ceased to endeavour to cast ridicule upon Vallancey, a man vastly more learned and honest, as dealing in etymologies, recurs himself to the most extravagant and unfounded ones, whenever it suits his vile purposes to do so?

(98) According to Ware (*Writers*) Molua or Luaid, that is, he

of Clonfert-Molua died of a leprosy. But in the Munster histories referred to by Vallancey (*Law of Tanistry, &c.* in *Collect. Vol. 1.*) it is related, that Molua-lobhar, or the *leper*, was brother to Aodh-Caomh, king of Cashel, or all Munster, and son of Conall the grandson of Carthan Fionn, who had been baptized by St. Patrick. Aoad-Caomh and Molua-Jobhar, were contemporaries with Brendan of Clonfert. The same account is given of Molua-lobhar also by O'Flaherty, (p. 389) who distinguished him from Molua of Clonfert-mulua, as appears from the manner in which he speaks of the latter at p. 381. If the latter had been brother to the king, such a circumstance would not have been omitted by the author of his Life; and, instead of his parents being called *generous* or distinguished, (See *Not. 85*) some higher epithet would have been applied to them. Next comes an essential difference founded on the one, Molua-lobhar, being expressly represented as the son of Conall, while the other is called son of Carthar or Coche. If they were distinct persons, as there is every reason to think, it may be fairly admitted, that the surnamed *Lobhar* was the founder of the church of Killaloe. In the above mentioned tract (*Law, &c.*) he is called the first bishop of Killaloe; but it would have been more correct to give him only the title of abbot. A *Lugar Lobhar* is named in the Calendars at 11 May. (*AA. SS. p. 628*) Might he have been Lua or Molua-lobhar? The whole subject is so obscure, that I cannot form any decisive opinion on it. Supposing that these Moluas were different, yet they were contemporaries; and hence it may be easily accounted for, why they have been sometimes confounded together.

(99) *AA. SS. p. 585.*

(100) The 4 Masters and Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 210.*) assign his death to A. D. 605 (606); Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) to 608; Ware (*Writers*) to 609. Archdall, (at *Clonfert-mulua*) having stumbled on a passage of the *AA. SS.* where Lactan, abbot of Clonfert-Molua, is said to have died in 622, makes Molua also die in said year.

(101) See Cumnian's Paschal Epistle, (*Sylloge, &c.*) in which he is called *Lugidus*.

§. VIII. Next after Lugeus, or Molua, is mentioned Ludeus. It is probable that the name ought

to be read Lugdeus, in which case he might have been one of the St. Lugads of those days, perhaps that of Lismore in the Hebrides, who died in 589. (102) As to Moditeus, who follows him in the list, I can scarcely form a conjecture. (103) Cormac is better known, if, as appears most probable, he was the Cormac Hua Liathain, who is often mentioned by Adamnan, under the surname of *nepos Liathain*, and is generally supposed to have been a disciple of St. Columba. (104) His being called a descendant of Liathain seems to indicate that he was of the sept of the Hua Liathains, in the now county of Cork (Barrymore, &c.) If so, he must have left his own country and settled elsewhere, probably in the now county of Mayo; whereas we find him setting out from that country on one of his voyages in quest of a desert island. (105) We may also admit, that it was in some part of said country that he established a monastery; for although no particular account of it has reached us, it cannot be doubted that he founded one somewhere or other, (106) It is related of Cormac, that he, and some companions of his, sailed three times in search of some uninhabited spot in the ocean, adapted to the accommodation of a religious community, but without being able to discover one. (107) In the second of these voyages he was obliged to take shelter in one of the Orkneys; (108) and in the third, being driven for fourteen days to the Northward, he was in danger of being lost until, the wind having providentially changed, he was enabled to get out of those high latitudes. (109) It was probably after these fruitless expeditions that he founded his monastery. At what time he died I cannot discover. (110) His memory was revered on the 21st of June. (111) Colman, who is placed next to him in the class, was very probably the bishop Colman, founder of the see of Cloyne. It is true, that there were about those times several other holy men of that name; (112) but such of

them, as we have any account of, flourished at periods later, more or less, than that of said class. (113) Accordingly we may fairly suppose that St. Colman of Cloyne was the person alluded to. He is said to have been of the royal blood of Munster by his father's side, whose name was Lenin or Lenine, and brother to one of the St. Brigids. (114) He is sometimes surnamed *Mitine*, (115) whence it may be justly inferred that he was a native of the country called *Muscrighe Mitine*, now Muskerry in the county of Cork. (116) The time of his birth cannot be ascertained; but it was probably about the year 522. His early years seem to have been dedicated to the study of poetry, and we are told that he became domestic poet to the prince Aodh Caomh, who was raised, about the middle of the sixth century, to the throne of Cashel, and that he was present, together with Brendan of Clonfert, at his inauguration in Magh-femyn, between Cashel and Clonmell. (117) Colman, following the advice of Brendan, soon after renounced his worldly pursuits, and is said to have repaired to the school of St. Iarlath of Tuam. (118) Some writers have called Colman a disciple of St. Finbar of Cork; a statement, for which there is not the least foundation. (119) Of any further transactions of his, or at what precise time he became bishop of Cloyne, I am not able to give an account. He died, according to some, in the year 601, and according to others, in 604. (120) The day of his death was the 24th of November. (121) Among several works, which, it is probable, were composed by Colman, I find only one particularly mentioned, viz. a metrical Life of St. Seuan, of Inniscatthy, written in Irish, and in a very elegant style. (122)

(102) 4 Masters and *AA. SS. p.* 193. This *Lugadius, alias, Molugedus, Molugadius, &c.* whose death is assigned to the 25th of June, *a.* 588 (589), is mentioned in several Calendars, and in some of them with great praise. In one of those drawn up by Aengus he

is called *lucerna Lismori de Albione*. It is very probable, that he was the same as Luguid one of the 12 companions of St. Columba. (See *Not.* 148 to *Chap.* xi. and *Tr. Th.* p. 481.) Archdall places him at Lismore in co. Waterford. Had he looked into *Tr. Th. ib.* he would not have fallen into this mistake. Whether he was bishop or only abbot in the island of Lismore, Colgan does not undertake to decide. Usher thought (*p.* 958) that Ludeus might have been the same as Lugad Laithir the messenger of St. Columba. (See *Not.* 180 to *Chap.* xi.) But, besides his not having been as celebrated as Lugad of Lismore, it seems that he was not old enough at the period of the second class of saints to be reckoned among them.

(103) Usher (*p.* 958) threw out a *quære*, whether Moditeus might have been a St. Medocius, of whom he says a Life is extant. I cannot find any thing concerning such a Life or Medocius himself. There is a considerable difference between the two names. Moditeus is most probably a compound one, made up of Mo and Diteus. Might Diteus be a contraction of Diermitius or Diermiteus? If this be allowed, it may be supposed that Moditeus was either Diermit of Inis-clothrann, of whom above, *Chap.* x. §. 3. or Diermit of Glean-Ussen, *ib.* §. 14.

(104) I do not find sufficient authority for making Cormac a disciple of Columba. Adamnan seems to speak of him as merely a friend of his, and reckons him (*L.* 3. c. 17.) among the founders of monasteries in Ireland. Yet O'Donnel represents him (*L.* 2. c. 64.) as having been for some time abbot of Durrough, in which case he should have belonged to Columba's institution. Hence Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 360.) has given him that title. It is, however, very odd, that Adamnan never alludes to it, and that he should have joined him with Cainech and others, as persons who had establishments of their own.

(105) Adamnan (*L.* 1. c. 6.) introduces Cormac as sailing "ab illa regione, quae ultra Modam fluvium sita Eirros Domnonn dicitur." Moda is, as Colgan justly observes, the river Moy, and Eirros, &c. the now called *Irros*, &c. that is, Erris. Usher having read, in his copy of Adamnan, *Cirros*, instead of *Eirros*, fell into a mistake (*p.* 959.) with regard to Moda, thinking it might be the Modona of Ptolemy, or the river Slaney of Wexford, and that *Cirros*, as he called it, was somewhere near said river.

(106) See *Not.* 104.

(107) Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 6.* The phrase used by him here and elsewhere is, that Cormac was searching for *Eremum in Oceano*. Perhaps his meaning was not such, as I have endeavoured in the text to explain, but that those voyages were undertaken for the purpose of discovering some particular island, the existence of which Cormac had heard of, in the same manner as Brendan is said to have sailed in quest of an unexplored island or country.

(108) See *Not.* 162. to *Chap.* xi. (109) Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 42.*

(110) O'Donnel says (*L. 2. c. 64.*) that Cormac died at Durrough, but does not specify the time. I wish we had better authority for Durrough having been the place of his death. See *Not.* 104.

(111) *Tr. Th. p.* 489. and *AA. SS. p.* 360. This date for his festival shows, besides other circumstances, that Cormac Hua Liathain was different from St. Cormac or Corbmac, whose Life Colgan has at 26 March. In some respects their history seems to agree. If the former Cormac was of the Hua Liathain of Munster, we have one point of coincidence; for the latter was a native of that province; next, both of them lived in the sixth century. Then it is stated that the latter left his own country for the sake of leading a religious life, and went to the now county of Mayo, where he established a monastery on the banks of the Moy. (Compare with *Not.* 105.) But in every other respect the accounts differ. Nothing is said of the latter having visited Columbkil, nor of any voyages made by him, &c. &c. He is represented as of the Eugenic line of the royal house of Munster, and is said to have been in Connaught before the year 537 (538). For we are told, that on his way to Mayo he called at the court of Eugene Bel, son of Kellach king of Connaught. Now Eugene Bel was killed in that year, according to the 4 Masters and Colgan. (*AA. SS. p.* 755.) There are indeed some circumstances mentioned in Corbmac's Life, which would bring his times down to a rather late part of the seventh century. Colgan thinks that they are interpolations; nor shall I endeavour to reconcile these anachronisms. Let it suffice to observe, that, unless we are to reject what is stated in this Life of his having been a brother, and apparently an elder one, of St. Evin of Rosmic-trevin (see below *Chap.* xiv. §. 3.) Corbmac must have lived in the sixth century. In the transactions attributed to him I find nothing worthy of particular notice, at least, that can be depended

upon. Even the day of his death is doubtful. According to Colgan it was either a 26th of March or 13th of December.

(112) Usher (*p.* 960) makes mention of Colman of Dair-mor, Colman-Elo, and Colman Dub-culinn. The two former were, as will be seen lower down, later by some years than so as to be reckoned among the saints of the second class. And as to Colman Dub-culinn, he was still much later; for it can scarcely be doubted that he was bishop Colman son of Cuidel dubh, whose death, as Usher himself tells us, (*p.* 964) is assigned in the Annals of Ulster to A. D. 653, and who was abbot of Clonard and afterwards bishop, according to the 4 Masters and Colgan, (*AA. SS. p.* 406.) who place his death in 652, and spell his father's name not *Cuidel-dubh*, but Hua-Tel-duibh. Usher seems not to have been acquainted with the history of Colman of Cloyne.

(113) Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 247.) marks the respective years, in which nine or ten Colmans died. All these dates, excepting that of the death of Colman son of Lenine, *i. e.* the bishop of Cloyne, belong to the times of the third class rather than of the second.

(114) *AA. SS. p.* 104. Colman is there called *frater germanus superioris S. Brigidæ*, that is, of a just before mentioned St. Brigid virgin, daughter of Lenin, who was revered on the 6th of March in the church of Kill-naninghean. Smith in his pitiful account of Colman, (*Hist. of Cork, Vol. I. p.* 142.) translated *frater germanus* "cousin german," and *superioris S. Brigidæ* "the celebrated St. Bridget of Ireland," that is, of Kildare. A school boy could scarcely have fallen into such mistakes. Colgan's text is as plain as possible. Having mentioned Brigid, daughter of Lenin, he proceeds immediately to her brother Colman. Surely, even without the help of the context, Smith might have easily known, that Lenin's daughter could not have been Bridget of Kildare, and that the sixth of March was not the day of this great saint's festival. And was he so ignorant of Latin as not to know the meaning of *frater germanus*? From what Colgan adds concerning Kill-naninghean it seems that it was somewhere in the now county of Wicklow. (See Archdall *ad loc.*)

(115) See *AA. SS. ib.* (116) See *Not. 74 to Chap. vi.*

(117) Vallancy, *Law of Tanistry, &c.*

(118) Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 309) deduces from a passage of a Life of Brendan by Magraidin, that Colman studied under Iarlath.

Yet the matter is far from being clear. Magraidin says, that Brendan, (not when a boy, as he tells us, see *Chap. x. §. 7.*) going from Munster to visit Iarlath, met a man named Colman son of Lenin, and advised him to do penance, telling him that he was called by God to the way of salvation. To make an incidental observation, this statement shows that Brendan was then not a boy, but a respected man, and, as he certainly was, older than Colman. But it is not quite plain from what follows, that Colman accompanied Brendan to Iarlath's monastery. Be this as it may, Colgan was strangely mistaken in placing Colman at that school about the beginning of the 6th century, and at a time when he was a grown up man, as if he could have afterwards lived until 600 (601), the year, to which Colgan himself repeatedly assigns his death. (Compare with *Not. 140 to Chap. x.*) Magraidin adds; "This Colman son of Lenin was distinguished among the saints by his life and learning. He was the founder of the church of Cloyne, a celebrated cathedral in Munster."

(119) Ware is, as far as I know, the author of this opinion. Having found a Colman among the real or pretended scholars of Finnbar, he supposed him to be Colman of Cloyne. That Colman is not called *son of Lenin*, by which appellation Ware constantly distinguishes the bishop of Cloyne, but Colman *de Doiron-Dhuncon*. (*AA. SS. p. 750.*) Usher has (*p. 971.*) two Mocholmogs, or Colmans, among Finnbar's disciples, one the son of Gillem, and the other surnamed *Cainnich*. The son of Lenin is not mentioned any where as one of them. Colman of Cloyne was, I believe, older than Finnbar.

(120) The 4 Masters and Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 247 and 539*) have A. 600 (601). Ware A. 604. (*Antiq. cap. 29. and Bishops at Cloyne.*)

(121) Colgan, quoting (*ib. p. 104.*) several martyrologies and calendars, says that Colman's festival is celebrated on the 24th of November in the church of Cluain-uamhach (Cloyne) in the district of Uibh-Liathain. How Ware (*loc. cit.*) happened to assign his death to the 4th of November, I do not understand; but this date is certainly wrong, whereas Colman's festival has been, and is still, held on the 24th. Harris (at *Cloyne*) makes a silly addition to Ware, as if there might have been two Colmans sons of Lenin, one who died in 600 (601) on the 24th of said month, and

was revered at Cloyne, and the other the Colman of Ware. Now it is evident, that although Ware's and Colgan's dates differ, they were treating of one and the same person viz. the Colman son of Lenin and bishop of Cloyne. Smith (*Hist. of Cork, Vol. 1. p. 142.*) having copied that trash of Harris, adds from himself, that, according to the Calendar of Cashel, &c. referred to by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 310*) the bishop Colman died on the 4th of November. What a strange want of correctness! In that very passage Colgan has not the 4th but the 24th of that month. In a similar strain of inaccuracy Smith quotes (*p. 141*), as if from Magraidin, some words by Ware, which he subjoined to the passage from Magraidin given above *Not. 118. Uibh-Liathain*, in which Cloyne was situated, is the territory alluded to in *Not. 105.* and has been called, at least a part of it, until a late period, also *O* or *Hua Liathain*, *al. Leathan*. (See Smith *ib.* and *p. 41.*)

(122) *AA. SS. p. 539.*

§ ix. The history of Nesson, who is named after Colman, although he had been prior to him in the order of time, has been sketched already. (123.) We shall now proceed to Lasrean, who was undoubtedly the celebrated St. Molaisse of Devenish. (124) Although this saint was greatly respected both before and after his death, yet his history is but little known. (125) He was son of one Natfraich, and a native, it seems, of some part of Connaught. (126) Nothing else occurs concerning him, until we find him at the school of Finnian of Clonard, among whose chief disciples he is particularly mentioned. (127) It was probably soon after leaving said school that he retired to the island Daimh-inis, now Devenish, in Lough Erne, (128) where he erected a monastery, which became very famous, and continued to be so for many centuries. He was certainly settled there some years before Columbkil's departure from Ireland in 563. (129) Molaisse is said to have formed a rule for his monastery, (130) and was considered as one of the principal abbots of his time. He was visited by divers holy men of that period, among

others by St. Aidus bishop of Killare, (130*) and was held in such estimation, that to do the honour to the see of Clogher, it has been pretended that he became bishop of it. (131) A journey of his to Rome is spoken of, (132) for which there is no foundation, except his having been confounded with his illustrious namesake of Leighlin. The year of his death is uncertain, it being assigned by some to 563 (564), and by others to 570 or 571. (133) As to the day, there is no question, it having been a 12th of September. (134) Whether or not St. Molaisse was succeeded at Devenish by a St. Natalis, has been inquired into elsewhere. (135) Barrindeus, who follows in the second class, was of the Niall family, if, as there is every reason to believe, he was the same as Barrinthus or Barrindus, who is mentioned in the account of the voyages of St. Brendan. (136) He governed a monastery at Druim-cuillin, now Drumcullin, in a part of the ancient Meath, adjoining Munster, now called the barony of Eglisli, and which in those days belonged to the Southern Nialls. (137) I do not find any thing further concerning his transactions, unless I should amuse the reader with an account of his supposed voyage to a western country or great island, and his travels therein, prior to the expedition of Brendan. (138) Barrindeus died on the 21st of May, (139) but in what year I cannot discover. (140)

(123) *Chap. xi. §. 6.*

(124) *Molaisse* or *Molaisre* the same as *My Laisre*. Usher was right (*p. 961*) in supposing that the Lasrean of the second class was he of Devenish. The St. Laserian, Lasrian, or Molaisse of Leighlin belonged to a later period. Laisran, disciple of St. Columba. (See *Not. 179 to Chap. xi.*) was not celebrated enough to be particularly named in that list; nor was Lasrean abbot of Drumliag, of whom *ib. Not. 20.*

(125) Ware mentions (*Writers, L. 1. c. 13. al. 15.*) a, so called, Life of his, and Colgan also had a copy of it. From some scraps

quoted by him, (*Tr. Th. p.* 209 and 461) it seems to be not a biography, but a mere panegyric discourse pronounced on the day of his festival. And hence it is, I suppose, that they have given us so little concerning the transactions of this saint.

(126) He is constantly called the son of Natfraich. As to his having been a native of Connaught there is a passage of the *AA. SS. p.* 339. in which the virgins Osnata of Gleandallain, either in Carbria or Breffnia and Muadhnata of Caille in Carbria are said to have been sisters of Molaisse of Devenish. Carbria is the now Carbury of Sligo. Hence we may infer, that his family was either of that country or of some other not far distant part of Connaught. This supposition is confirmed by what we read in the Life of St. Maidoc of Ferns, (*cap. 7.*) concerning his having been a companion of Molaisse, before the latter went to Devenish. Now Maidoc was of a family of Breffny. Hence it is very probable, that Molaisse was also from that country. It is true, that in this narrative there is an anachronism; for Molaisse was already an abbot, when Maidoc was no more than a boy. Yet this does not invalidate their having been natives of the same territory.

(127) Finnian's Acts, *cap.* 19. and elsewhere *passim*.

(128) We read in Maidoc's Life (*cap. 7.*) "B. Lasserianus ad aquilonalem plagam Hiberniae se conduxit, et construxit clarissimum monasterium in stagno Erni nomine Daimh-inis, quod sonat latine *Bovis insula.*"

(129) However silly the story of Columba's having been ordered by Molaisse to leave Ireland, (See *Chap. xi. §. 11.*) yet it presupposes, that he was a renowned abbot about 461, the year of the battle of Cul-dremni, and consequently one not of new standing.

(130) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Fermanagh*. In *Tr. Th. p.* 605. Molassius is reckoned among eight chief authors of monastic rules in Ireland. Yet it may be doubted whether this Molassius was not the one of Leighlin.

(130*) Life of Aidus, *cap.* 37. (131) See above *Not.* 5.

(132) *AA. SS. p.* 222.

(133) The 4 Masters and Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 192.) have 563 (564); Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) 570, following one date of the Ulster Annals, which elsewhere place Molaisse's death in 563 (564). But, instead of 570, Usher ought to have said 571, as

this was in fact the same as the 570 of the Annals; and accordingly Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 26) has A. 571. Whether this date or 564 be the true one I am not able to decide.

(134) Colgan and Ware *loc. citt.*

(135) *Not.* 53. to *Chap.* ix.

(136) See *Not.* 108 to *Chap.* x. Barrinthus is called (*AA. SS.* p. 721) *nepos Neill*. Colgan adds, (p. 725.) that he was of the branch of Conal Gulbanus.

(137) Usher quotes (p. 962) the following passage from the Life of St. Carthagh of Lismore; “*Druim-cuillin, quod est in confinio Mumoniensium et Lageniensium et nepotum Neill; sed tamen est in terra nepotum Neill, in terra quae dicitur Fearceall.*” We have often met with Fearceall or Fercall. It was a territory of S. Meath belonging to the Neills, of which the barony of Eglisli forms a part. Drumcullin in said barony is well known at this day. (See Seward *ad loc.*) Archdall has it there, but, as if through fear of being mistaken, gives it to us again, together with its abbot Barrindeus, in Westmeath. Surely he ought to have known that, as Druim-cuillin was near the frontier of Munster, it could not have been in any part of Westmeath.

(138) *AA. SS.* p. 721. *seqq.* See also *Not.* 108 to *Chap.* x. The Western country, in which Barrinthus is said to have travelled, is called “*Terra repromissionis sanctorum, quam Dominus daturus est successoribus nostris in novissimo tempore.*” There is a curious coincidence between this passage and the great emigrations to America in the late times, in which we live.

(139) *AA. SS.* p. 725.

(140) Usher says (*Ind. Chron.*) that Barrindeus flourished in 591. But, if he was an abbot at the time Brendan is supposed to have undertaken his great voyage, he must have flourished much earlier, and we may conclude that he was dead long before said year.

§ x. Who the Coeman was, whose name now occurs, it is perhaps impossible to determine, as there were several saints of that name in those times. Coeman, a brother of St. Coemhgen or Kevin, is said to have been abbot at Airdne-Coemhain (141) near Wexford. He must, as brother to Coemgen,

have flourished during the period of the second class. To this period belonged also St. Coeman one of the disciples of Columba of Tirdaglas, and abbot of Annatrim in the now Queen's county, (barony of Upper Ossory) and contemporary with St. Fintan of Clonenagh. (142) He was not only abbot, but apparently the founder of that monastery, (143) where he spent the remainder of his days in great sanctity, and died highly respected on a third of November. (144) The year of his death is not known. (145) Another Coeman, said to have been called also Comman, is spoken of as living in those times; and were we to believe some accounts, from him Roscommon, where large grants of land were made to him, got its name. But the little I find related of him is of so pompous and vague a nature, that it cannot be depended upon. (146) Next come Cemanus and Conanus, (147) the former of whom was probably one of the Coemans of that period, but which of them I cannot point out. (148) Conan is sufficiently well known, (149) and is mentioned in several calendars by the name of *Conan-Dil* or *Conna-Dil*, that is, Conan the beloved. He was of the Tyrconnel line of the Nialls, being son of Tigernach, who was a great grandson of Conal Gulbanus. Hence it follows, that he was a relative, although somewhat distant, of Columbkil. From his having been only the fourth in descent from Conal Gulbanus, it is natural to conclude, that he lived in the sixth century. Conan governed a monastery, (150) probably of his own foundation, at Cnodain near Easruaidh (Astrath) on the North bank of the river Erne in the now county of Donegall. According to some accounts he became bishop at Easruaidh, where his festival was celebrated on the 8th of March, the anniversary of his death. (151) As to Endeus, who is mentioned after Conan, it can scarcely be admitted that by that name was meant the great St. Enda of Arran, whose history has been already given. (152)

Considering the time at which he died, (not long after 540) it is more probable, that the Endeus of the second class was a different person. We find an Enna or Endeus, a disciple of Columb-kill, and abbot at Imleachfoda, now Emlaghfad in the county of Sligo. He is usually called son of Nuadan, and his memory was revered on the 18th of September. (153) Nothing occurs to prevent our supposing that he was the saint alluded to in the list. Aedus or the bishop Aidus has been treated of above in this chapter. (154) Byrchinus must have been one of the distinguished men of those days, usually known by the name of Berchanus or Berchan. (155) St. Mobhy Clairineach, of whom we have seen already, (156) was called also *Berchan*; (157) and I am greatly inclined to think, that, as he was a much respected holy man, he is the person alluded to under the name of Byrchinus. (158) Or we may suppose, that he was the Berchan, a contemporary of St. Coemhgen, in whose Acts he is spoken of as having lost his sight, and being endowed with the gift of prophecy. (159)

(141) *AA. SS. p. 584 586.* Archdall (at *Airdne-Coemhain*), referring to these very pages, makes Coemhan brother to Dagan. He looked over them in too great a hurry. Dagan is there exhibited, in as plain a manner as possible, not as brother but nephew to Coeman, having been son of his sister, Coemaca. In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (*L. 2. c. 54.*) Coeman of *Airdne-Coemhain* is said to have been brother to St. Attracta, and consequently of a Connaught family. Following this statement, Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 177*) contradicts what he has in *AA. SS. ib.* concerning Coeman, and tells us, that the brother of Coemhgen was Coemen of Enach-truim. He adds that Coeman brother of Attracta, and called of *Airdne-Coemhain* was perhaps the Coeman, to whom the church of Kill-coemain was dedicated in one of the Arran isles, called from him *Ara-coemain*, now Ardoilen. O'Flaherty in a MS. note (at *Tr. Th. p. 177*) maintains that the Coeman of *Airdne-Coemhain* was the brother of Coemhgen, and that he was also the one of Kill-coemain. Whether he was bro-

ther or not of Coemhgen, he was certainly the person revered in that church; whereas both there and at Aairdne-Coemhain his festival was held on the 12th of June. (See *ib.* and *AA. SS. p.* 715.) The name *Airdne-Coemhain* has a reference to an Arran or Aran island; for *Airdne* or *Airne* is the oblique case of *Aran*. The monastery near Wexford got that name from having been founded by, or dedicated to, a Coeman, who was well known in the isles of Arran. The only question now remaining is, whether he was the brother of St. Coemhgen; and there appears to be better authority for this opinion than for that, which makes him brother of *Attracta*.

(142) See *Chap. x. §. 13.* and *ib. Not. 232.* Usher (*p.* 962) laid down Coeman of Enach-truim, now Annatrim, as the Coeman named in the list, but afterwards introduced another Coeman, as will be seen lower lower down. Colgan in his perplexed account of divers Coemans (*Tr. Th. p.* 177) calls him brother of St. Coemhgen. (See *Not. prec.*) That he was not is evident from a passage in the Life of Fintan of Clonenagh (*cap. 3*) where Fintan's two fellow students under Columba of Tirdaglas are mentioned, viz. Coeman of Enachtruim and Mocumin, who succeeded Columba. Mocumin was a brother of St. Coemhgen. (*AA. SS. p.* 586.) Now, if Coeman also had been a brother of his, would not the author of Fintan's Life have, when touching on Coeman and Mocumin, have remarked that they were brothers, as they must have been in case each of them had been a brother of Coemhgen?

(143.) In Fintan's Life (*cap. 3.*) Coeman is called *pater sanctus monasterii Enach-truim*. The title of *holy father* seems to indicate, that he was the author or founder of it. This is much more credible than that Pulcherius, as is said in his Life, (*cap. 12*) founded this monastery, and afterwards made it over to Coeman. Pulcherius was much younger than Coeman, and if, as can scarcely be doubted, the latter was at Annatrim soon after the death of his Master Columba, which occurred in 552, (See *Chap. x. §. 13.*) it cannot be admitted that said monastery was founded by Pulcherius, who was not perhaps born at that time, or, at most, was then a mere boy. Hence I think, that Archdall among some other mistakes (at *Annatrim*) was wrong in attributing it to Pulcherius, and that Harris was right in making

Coeman its founder. The authors of these lives were too apt to assign to the particular saints, whom they meant to panegyricize, foundations, that belonged to others.

(144) *AA. SS.* p. 597.

(145) The death of Coeman of Enachtruim is by a strange mistake assigned to A. 550 in the third Index to *AA. SS.* with a reference to p. 192. In this page we merely find a quotation from Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) who says that said Coeman flourished in 550.

(146) Colgan appears not to have known any thing about a Coeman or Comman of Roscommon in those days, except what he met with in Usher, (p. 1066) who, searching for the Coeman of the second class, gives, from a so called Life of his, an account of him, in which he is said to have been of a royal family of Ulster, son of one Fealcon and Scribside. It is added, that he studied under Finnian of Clonard, and that he was sent by him to preach in Connaught. If so, he lived in the sixth century, and hence he appears in Usher's *Ind. Chron.* at A. 540. But neither in Finnian's Life, in which his proceedings in Connaught are related, nor any where else, is there any mention of this disciple, or of his preaching in that country. Many a scholar, who was never at his school, has been given to Finnian, *ex. c.* Carthagh of Lismore, who was scarcely born when Finnian died. Then we are told, that the king of Connaught was so pleased with him, that he made him a grant of the entire beautiful valley of *Ross*, which, by adding his name to it, was afterwards called *Ross-Comman*, and in which he erected a famous monastery. Who does not see that grants of this kind smell of times later than the sixth century? Ware (*Ant. cap. 26*) has Coeman at Roscommon, and says that he flourished in the year 550. His only authority was, I believe, that of the Life quoted by Usher. Archdall adds (*at Roscommon*) that this Coeman wrote a monastic rule, which was very generally observed in Connaught. Strange that this rule is overlooked by so many of our old writers! That there was a Coeman or Comman at Roscommon is well known; but he lived much later than the times we are now treating of. Archdall says, that he was succeeded by Aodan, and then tells us that Aodan died in 777. A fine leap from 540, in which, according to himself, Coeman flourished! Comman of Roscommon was undoubtedly no other than the bishop Comman of that place, who died in 743 or 746. His monastic rule, called

the *Law of Comman and Aodan*, was received in three parts of Connaught in 771, (Ware, *Writers at Coman*.) This is the Rule attributed by Archdall to the pretended much older Comman. Even Ware was so led astray by the story of Comman having been a disciple of Finnian, that he admitted two Commans at Roscommon, one in the 6th century, and the other, framer of the Rule, in the 8th.

(147) In the London edition of the *Primordia*, (p. 474) owing to errors of the press, instead of *Cermanus* and *Conanus* we find *Cerannus* and *Comanus*.

(148) *Ceman* or *Keman* is nearly the same as *Coeman*. The spelling it *Ceman* was perhaps for the purpose of distinguishing one *Coeman* from another. Usher's conjecture that *Ceman* might have been the same as *Comin*, *al.* Baithen the successor of Columbkil in Hy, cannot stand, whereas the names are much different from each other.

(149) Usher, not finding any St. Conan of that period, threw out (p. 962) a conjecture, that by Conan of the class might have been meant *Comain* surnamed *Brece*, who died in 615. But, independently of other considerations, the names are too different to allow us to suppose that Conan and *Comain* were one and the same person. Had he seen the account, imperfect as it is, of Conan given by Colgan, (*AA. SS. ad 8 Mart. p. 563.*) he would not have been thus puzzled.

(150) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 489*) reckons Conan or Conna-Dil among the disciples of Columbkil. If so, his monastery would have been of the Columbian order. The thing is not improbable; but Colgan gives no authority for his position.

(151) See *AA. SS. p. 563.* (152) *Chap. VIII. § 7. x. §. 13.*

(153) *Tr. Th. p. 490.* Compare with *Not. 88. to Chap. VIII.*

(154) § 2.

(155) In the third Index to *AA. SS.* there are several Berchans. But in the passages referred to the times of most of them are not marked. For instance a Berchan of Inis-rocha in Lough Erne is mentioned, p. 713, without any time being assigned, except the day of his commemoration, the 24th of November. Archdall adds from himself, that Berchan lived about the beginning of the sixth century. How did he find it out?

(156) *Chap. x. §. 14.* (157) See *Not. 240. to Chap. x.*

(158) The only objection to this hypothesis is, that, if we are to believe the 4 Masters, Mobhy died in 545, and consequently

very soon after the commencement of the second class of saints. I doubt, indeed, of his having died so early; but if he did, he must have finished his career at an early age, and consequently might have been reckoned in the second class as well as his fellow student Kieran of Clonmacnois, who died in 549. For in that case Mobly, *al.* Berchan, was too young to have been placed among the saints of the first.

(159) See Usher, *p.* 963. and *Ind. Chron.* where he says, that Berchan flourished A. 570.

§. XI. Having now gone through, as well as I was able the history of the saints named in the second class, excepting only what belongs to the latter days of Columbkil, I shall proceed to give an account of some of the many others, who, as our author says, belonged to it, although he has omitted their names. We have met with several of them already, that is, holy persons, who flourished between about 542 and the close of the sixth century; and as much has been stated concerning them as was necessary. Yet some still remain, whose transactions cannot be passed over in silence. To begin with St. Fintan of Clonenagh the celebrated master of Comgall of Bangor, (160) he was a native of Leinster, and son of Gabhren and Findath, both Christians. On the eighth day after his birth he was baptized at a place called *Cluain-mhic-trein*, whence it appears very probable that Fintan was born in the neighbourhood of Ross. (161) The time of his birth is not known; but it must have been a few years after 520. (162) He received his first education under the holy man, by whom he had been baptized, and, when arrived at a certain age, attached himself to St. Columba son of Crimthann, with whom he remained, until, by his advice, he established himself at Cluainednach, now Clonenagh, where he founded a monastery. (163) Fintan was only a young man, when he set about this foundation; (164) but it must be supposed that he was not less than 23 years of age, in which case we may assign its commencement to about A. D. 548. (165) Yet, young as he was, his reputation for sanctity soon

spread far and wide, so that numbers of persons from various parts of Ireland flocked to Clonenagh, and became members of his institution. His monks not only lived by the sweat of their brow, but cultivated the ground with the spade or hoe, not having as much as a cow to assist them in their agricultural labours. The discipline of the house was in every respect exceedingly severe; (166) and the fasting part of it seemed almost intolerable, even to some very holy men, on whose interference Fintan somewhat relaxed it, though not with regard to himself. (167) Among the persons, who applied to him for admission into his monastery, is mentioned Brandubh a holy bishop from Hy-kinselagh, who waited upon him in the monastery of Achadh-Finglaiss in the district of Hua-drona (Idrone), where Fintan then happened to be. On Brandubh's declaring his wish to spend the remainder of his days at Clonenagh, Fintan advised him to remain at Achadh-Finglaiss, where the discipline was less strict than in *his own* monastery of Clonenagh; an advice, to which the bishop humbly submitted. (168) It is related that Cormac a young prince, son of Diarmad king of Hy-kinselagh, was kept in chains by Colum or Colman king of North Leinster, (169) who intended to put him to death, and that St. Fintan, having gone with some of his disciples to this king's residence for the purpose of procuring the deliverance of Cormac, so terrified Colum by his miraculous powers, that he gave up the young prince, who, having afterwards ruled Hy-kinselagh for a considerable time, ended his days in the monastery of Bangor. (170) Fintan was gifted also with a prophetic spirit, an instance of which is stated on occasion of his having happened to hear an unworthy priest offering the sacrifice, at which being horror-struck he foretold, that said priest would abandon his order and habit, and returning to the world die in the midst of his sins. (171) Columbkil is said to have had such an esteem for Fin-

tan, that he directed a young religious, named Columbanus, of the district of Laighis (Leix), who was returning from Hy to Ireland to take him for his spiritual director and confessor. Accordingly Columbanus waited upon him, and told him what Columbkil had said. Fintan requested that he would not mention it to any other person during his life time, and died very soon after. (172) A little before his death, which, as appears from what has been now stated, was prior to that of Columbkil, (173) he appointed, with the permission and benediction of the brethren, and of other holy men who had come to visit him, Fintan Maeldubh his successor as abbot of Clonenagh. (174) Then blessing his people, and having received the Lord's sacrifice, he departed this life on a 17th of February. (175) His name is mentioned with particular respect, in various martyrologies, both foreign and Irish.

(160) See *Chap. x. §. 12.* Colgan has (at 17 Feb.) a Life of Fintan, which he thought was written very soon after his death. It would be easy to show, if necessary, that in this he was mistaken. It is, however, a very respectable tract, of a correct biographical kind, and bears marks of considerable antiquity.

(161) In the Life published by Colgan the place of Fintan's birth is called simply Cluain; but in another, which he quotes, (*Not. 4. ad loc.*) it is *Cluain-mhic-trein, i. e.* Cluain of the sons of Trein. Now the ancient name of Ross (in Wexford) is *Ros-mhic-trein*. Hence it may be justly inferred, that said Cluain and Ross lay in one and the same district.

(162) Columbkil, who was born in 521, is spoken of as a young man at a time, in which Fintan was considered as a boy. *Life of Fintan, cap. 2.*

(163) We have already seen, (*Not. 233 to Chap. x.*) that Fintan, not Columba, was the real founder of this monastery, as is most clearly expressed in his Life, (*cap. 5.*) where we read, that Fintan "habitavit ibi, et vitam durissiman tenuit, et monasterium famosum illias coepit edificare." The author then observes, that *Cluain-Ednech* means in Latin *latibulum haederosum*, the retired

spot covered with ivy. Clonenagh is now a village in the barony of Maryborough, Queen's county.

(164) See *Life*, *cap.* 5.

(165) If it be admitted, that Fintan, as being younger than Columb-kill, was born in 525, he would have been 23 years old in 548. The foundation of Clonenagh cannot be placed much later than this year, consistently with Comgall's having been there as a disciple of Fintan. Compare *Not.* 192. and 199 to *Chap.* x.

(166) See *Cap.* x, §. 12.

(167) See above *Not.* 79.

(168) *Life of Fintan*, *cap.* 20. From this narrative it is evident, that Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 355) Harris and Archdall (at *Clonenagh*) are wrong in representing Fintan as abbot of Achadh-Finglaiss. Had he been such, would he have spoken of it as one distinct from his own? Or would the discipline there observed have been different from that of Clonenagh? Hence it appears, that Fintan was merely a visitor there. Who was its abbot I cannot discover. Colgan says (*ib.* 354) that it was not far from Sletty. If so, it was more probably in the part of Idrone (co. Carlow) west of the Barrow than in that to the east of it, where it is placed by Archdall. As to Hy-Kinselagh, see *Not.* 45 to *Chap.* vi.

(169) This Colman died in 576 (577), 4 Masters and *AA. SS.* p. 354.

(170) *Life of Fintan*, *cap.* 18. Compare with *Not.* 202 to *Chap.* x.

(171) *Ib.* *cap.* 16.

(172) *Ib.* *cap.* 22. Colgan thought, that this Columbanus was the Columbanus Mocu-loigse, afterwards a bishop in Leinster, for whom Columbkil had a great regard. (See *Not.* 182, to *Chap.* xi.) His being of Leix agrees with the surname *Mocu-loigse*; but it is not easy to reconcile this hypothesis with the circumstance of Mocu-loigse having died a bishop prior to the death of Columbkil, unless we should suppose that he died very soon after his promotion. The Columbanus, who called on Fintan, appears as a young man, *juvenis*, and that a short time before Fintan's death. Now Fintan is spoken of as an old man before he died; and it is therefore probable that he reached the age of about seventy, and died about 595 (See *Not.* 165), or two years sooner than Columbkil. It is true that *juvenis* may be understood of a person near 30 years of age, and that said Columbanus might

have become a bishop soon after the death of Fintan, and have died not long after. Yet, on the whole, it appears more probable, that the bishop Columbanus was a different person, although they were both natives of the same country.

(173) Usher in his conjectural manner assigns, (*Ind. Chron.*) without any authority, Fintan's death to A. 603. Archdall (at *Clonenagh*) amidst a heap of blunders says, that he died before 590. He followed an error of the press in *AA. SS. p. 485*, where 590 appears instead of 592, which Colgan has (*p. 355.*) when treating expressly of Fintan. To understand this, it must be observed, that from the circumstance of Fintan having died before Columbkil Colgan concluded, that his death was prior to either 592 or 597. He mentions 592, because it is the date (a wrong one indeed) assigned by the 4 Masters for the death of Columbkil, and which Colgan himself rejects elsewhere; whereas, as will be seen, its true date is 597.

(174) Life of Fintan, *cap. 24.* Fintan Maeldubh was a native of the neighbourhood of Cashel on the North side, *de regione Eoghanach Cassil*, and, as stated in the Calendar of Cashel, one of the masters of St. Fechin. He died in 625 (626); and his memory was revered on the 20th of October. (*AA. SS. p. 355.*) Archdall is intolerably incorrect with regard to the first abbots of Clonenagh. Having said that it was founded by Fintan, he makes him be succeeded by Columba, (son of Crimthann) thus directly contradicting his master Colgan in the very passage to which he refers. Then after Columba he makes Fintan, son of Gabhren, the next abbot. Surely the poor man, if he only knew how to read, might have seen, that this son of Gabhren was the very Fintan, who, according to himself, founded the monastery. Next after him he places another Fintan, son of Crimthann, for whom he refers to Usher, without marking where, as in truth he could not. There was no Fintan, son of Crimthann, at Clonenagh, although Ware (*Writers cap. 13. al. 15.*) mentions such a person from a corrupt Life of Fintan. (See *AA. SS. p. 353.*) The son of Crimthann was Columba the master of its founder. Archdall adds, that this pretended Fintan, son of Crimthann, was also bishop of Clonfert, and died on the 17th of February. Now this Fintan, bishop of Clonfert, (*ap. AA. SS. p. 356*) concerning whose times we know almost nothing, was Fintan Corah, and

died on a 21st of February. Not content with all this blundering, he assigns the death of this Fintan of his to A. D. 603. And why? because Usher says that Fintan of Clonenagh (whom he never calls son of Crimthann) died in the said year. At length Archdall condescended to mention Fintan Maeldubh as successor to his Fintan, son of Crimthann. Thus out of two Fintans viz. the founder, called the son of Gabhren, and Fintan Maeldubh his immediate successor, he made out four; 1. a Fintan in general. 2. Fintan son of Gabhren. 3. Fintan, son of Crimthann. 4. Fintan Maeldubh. And it is curious to see with what composure he refers on these and numberless other occasions to Colgan, Ware, Usher, 4 Masters, &c. &c. for facts and dates, which they never even thought of. I suspect that, to help him in his citations, he employed some blockhead of a clerk, who threw together such dates, &c. as first fell in his way, without inquiring to what circumstances they were relative.

(175) *Life, &c. cap. 24.* Archdall, having bungled so much concerning the Fintans, could not but bungle also as to the day of this saint's death. He says, that he died on the 13th of March, and for this learned reason, that the *AA. SS.* to which he refers, assign his death to the 13th *Cal. Mart.* Bravo! But finding that Colgan modernized that date into Feb. 17. he tells us, that Fintan, son of Gabhren, died on this day, to which he affixes also the death of his Fintan son of Crimthann.

(176) See *AA. SS. p. 356.* In one of them he is called a bishop, but in the others, more correctly, only a priest.

§. XII. Another Fintan, usually called Fintan of Dunbleische, flourished in those times: (177) He was of a noble family of Ara-cliach, (178) and is said to have studied for some time under Comgall of Bangor, on which occasion he became acquainted with Finian of Maghbilē. We find him afterwards at a place called, from his name, Kill-fintan, (179) somewhere in Munster. Thence he went to Dunbleische in the district of Cuanagh (now Coonagh, Limerick) where he seems to have spent, with some companions of his, the greatest part of the remainder of his life. He died on a 3d of

January. An eminent saint of this period was Ruadan, founder of the monastery of Lothra (Lorrah) in the county of Tipperary. (180) He is said to have been of noble extraction ; but I am not able to tell where his family resided or where he was born.- His birth, however, must be assigned to the early part of the sixth century, whereas he studied under Finnian of Clonard, and was reckoned among his chief disciples. (181) He was abbot of Lothra before the death of Kieran of Saighir, (182) and had probably founded it about the year 550. (183) He died in 584, (184) and his festival was held on the 15th of April. (185) Some writings have been attributed to this saint, concerning which let others inquire. (186) Another of the distinguished disciples of Finnian-was Sinell, son of Maynacur or Moenach, and abbot of Cluain-inis in Lough Erne. (187) Accordingly he flourished in the middle and latter half of the sixth century, and must have lived until, at least, 597 ; whereas that was the year in which the great Fintan Munnu, after having spent eighteen years under Sinell in Cluain-inis, went over to Hy. (188) This saint's memory was revered on the 11th of November. (189) In another island of the same lake, Inis-muigh-samh (Inismacsaint) Nennidh Lamhdearg, also a principal disciple of Finnian, and who became a bishop, established a monastery, perhaps as early as 534 or 535, the time about which, it seems, Kieran of Clonmacnois repaired to it. We have already seen (190) that this Nennidh was confounded with Nennidh Lamh-ghlan, and have given elsewhere (191) as much of his genuine history as is known. Among those eminent scholars of Finnian is mentioned Mogenoch Kille-comly, who was most probably the Genoc a Briton, who followed him to Ireland. (192) I cannot discover any thing particular concerning him, except that, if he was the same as a Mogenoch, bishop of Kill-dumha-gloinn, his memory was revered on the 26th of December.

(193) As to the holy virgins of this period, besides some already treated of (194) we find two very distinguished ones, both of the princely house of Orgiel and relatives of Enda of Arran. The first was St. Carecha, who died, in 577 (578) on the 9th of February, (195) after having governed a nunnery in some part of either the now county of Galway or that of Roscommon. (196) The second was St. Maugina of Clogher, for whom Columbkil had a particular regard, and whom he called a *holy virgin*. (197) Her death may be assigned to about the end of the sixth century, (198) and to a 15th of December. (199) It is not improbable, that she had some religious establishment at Clogher; but we have not sufficient authority for deciding on this point.

(177) Colgan has (at 3 January) a sort of Acts of this Fintan. They are so interspersed with fables, that little or no dependence can be placed on them.

(178) See *Chap. vi. §. 8.*

(179) Probably Killfinan in the county of Limerick.

(180) In the barony of Lower Ormond.

(181) Acts of Finnian, *cap. 19.* (182) *AA. SS. p. 463.*

(183) Compare with what has been said of the times of Kieran, *Chap. x. §. 2.*

(184) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* and Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26.* at *Tipperary.*

(185) This was the day, at which Colgan intended to publish the Acts of Ruadan. (See *AA. SS. p. 398* and *465.*) Ware (*Writers*) assigns for his festival the 17th of April.

(186) See Ware (*Writers,*) &c.

(187) Archdall calls it Clinish. Sinell is named as a disciple of Finnian in the Acts of the latter, *cap. 19.*

(188) See Fintan Munnu's Life quoted in *Tr. Th. p. 460* and Usher, *p. 1063.* The year of Fintan's visit to Hy was that of Columbkil's death, viz. 597.

(189) *AA. SS. p. 398.* Archdall (at *Clinish*) was wrong in writing *October* instead of *November.*

(190) *Chap. ix. §. 5.*

(191) *Chap. x* §. 11. and *ib. Not.* 170, 173.

(192) See *Chap. ix.* § 8.

(193) *AA. SS.* p. 405. Colgan (*ib.*) makes them one and the same person. (Compare with his 13th and 24th Notes to the Life of Finnian, *ib. p.* 398.) Now the Mogenoch of Kildumha was reckoned among the pretended nephews of St. Patrick, (*ib. p.* 362, &c.) But, as St. Patrick had no nephews in Ireland, it can scarcely be doubted that this was the Mogenoch, a disciple of Finnian, and so far I think Colgan was right. Kildumha, or Kildumhagloin was in the district of Bregia (somewhere in the tract from Dublin towards Drogheda.) Colgan thought, that the Mogenoch of that place, although allowed by himself to have been a follower of Finnian, was a nephew of St. Patrick ! But he does not say, as Archdall does, (*ad loc.*) that St. Patrick founded a church there. Whether *Kill-dumha-gloin* or *Kille-comly* were the names of two different places or only of one is not worth inquiring into.

(194) See *Chap. x.* §. 14.

(195) *Tr. Th. p.* 381 and *AA. SS. p.* 193. Carecha is usually called sister of Enda. If so, she must have lived to a prodigious age. For Enda was very old himself when he died. Now it is difficult to suppose, that she survived him by about 35 years, as must have been the case, if she lived until 578. (See above § 10.) Then it is said that a sister of Enda was married to Aengus king of Cashel. (See *Chap. VIII.* §. 7.) who was killed in 490. In the supposition that Carecha was also a sister of his, these circumstances and dates cannot be reconciled. Perhaps she was niece to him, and even so must have been very old in 578. In our ancient genealogical tables *sister* often occurs for *niece*, or some other name of relationship, in the same manner as *son* does for *grandson* and even *great grandson*. Instead of 9th of February, Archdall has, (at *Cluain-borean*) perhaps through an error of the press, the 5th.

(196) The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p.* 193) call Carecha the *virgin of Cluain-buirren*. Colgan tells us, (*p.* 713.) that this place was in Hy-maine, a territory partly in Galway and partly in Roscommon. Yet (*ib.*) he says, that Carecha was of Dergain, which in his Topographical index he places in Connaught. The 4 Masters (*loc. cit.*) represent her as merely surnamed *Dergain*.

But I believe the surname meant the place where her nunnery was situated. In the Life of St. Ita (*cap.* 17.) we read that Aeneas, abbot of Clonmacnois arrived, on some occasion, at the nunnery of St. Chinreacha Dearcain, “*ad monasterium sanctae virginis Chinreacha Dearcain pervenit.*” It is clear from other circumstances, that by *Chinreacha* was meant Carecha. And the text seems plainly to indicate, that the spot, on which the nunnery stood, was called *Dearcain* or *Dergain*. The matter can be easily settled by supposing that Dearcain lay in a small district of the name of *Cluain-buirren*.

(197) Adamnan *L. 2. c. 5.* See *Not.* 180 to *Chap.* xi.

(198) Adamnan (*ib.*) relates, that St. Columba foretold that Maugina would survive the recovery there spoken of by 23 years. This must have been said after A. D. 563; for Columba delivered that prophecy in Hy. Supposing it to have been in 570, the death of St. Maugina would have fallen in 593.

(199) Colgan observes (*AA. SS.* p. 713.) that a St. Mugania was revered on the 15th of December in the church of Cluain-buirren. It is very probable, that she was the same as Maugina, who might naturally have been greatly respected there, not as once abbess of the nunnery, but as a relative of St. Darecha. It is evident from Adamnan, that Maugina's residence was Clogher; and Archdall had no right to say that she flourished at Cluain-buirren.

§. XIII. To return to the history of the great St. Columba, we have seen, (200) that, having inaugurated Aidan king of the British Scots, he became much attached to that prince. His wish to help in adjusting a dispute between him and Aidus the monarch of Ireland, together with some other motives, (201) induced Columba to go to Ireland in the year 490, at the time of the assembly of the States general of the kingdom at Drumceat. (202) Having set out in a small vessel, accompanied by Aidan and some monks, (203) it is said that, when out in the wide ocean, they were overtaken by a violent storm. (204) On its having abated they entered Lough Foyle, and landed in some part near the mouth of

the river Roe. (205) He then went to Drumceat, which was not far distant, and, if we are to believe some accounts, was, on his appearing in the assembly, received very disrespectfully by the monarch Aidus, who considered him as an opponent of his and an adherent of Aidan. (206) Be this as it may, Aidus soon discovered, that Columba appeared there as a peace-maker, and thenceforth treated him with the greatest attention and veneration. A subject of no small national importance was then under discussion. Aidus and a majority of the members were so dissatisfied with the privileged order of the antiquaries and poets, (207) that their suppression and even banishment was on the point of being decreed by the assembly. It was alleged, that their numbers were become so great as to be over-burdensome to the kingdom, and that their impertinence was intolerable, inasmuch as, while they praised beyond measure such nobles as paid them well and pampered them, they vilified and abused others more worthy, merely because they refused to comply with their exorbitant demands for remuneration. (208) Columba allowed that such abuses should not be tolerated, but argued against the total abolition of the order, on the ground of its being in itself a useful institution. He was listened to; and it was agreed, on his motion, that they should be reduced to a limited number, proportionate with the various provinces and districts, and that they should be bound to observe certain regulations, which were then made relative to their conduct and the duties they had to perform. (209) This matter being thus decided, an inquiry now took place into the claim of Aidan, who pretended that he had a right to the sovereignty of the territory of Dal-rieda (in Antrim,) (210) and that said territory should be exempt, if not in the whole, at least in part, from paying tribute to the king of Ireland and from such burdens as other parts of the kingdom were subject to. (211) He founded

this claim upon Dalrieda's being the hereditary principality of his family from as far back as the time of Carbre, surnamed *Rieda*, from whom it, as well as the sept of the Dalriedans, had got its name. (212) Aidus, on the contrary, notwithstanding that dynasty having been raised to a throne, insisted on considering said territory as a part of the Irish kingdom, and on its being as much subject to himself, and as chargeable with imposts, &c. equally with the rest of Ireland, as it had been to and under his predecessors, before the Dalriedans became sovereigns in Britain. The question being referred to St. Columba for his arbitration, he declined giving any opinion on it, but referred them to a St. Colman, son of Comgellan, (213), a man deeply versed in legal and ecclesiastical learning, who decided against Aidan on the consideration that Dalrieda being an Irish province could not but be subject in every respect to the king of Ireland. He proposed, however, a privilege in favour of the British Dalriedans, that, as descended from those of Ireland, they might hold them as allies, so that the Dalriedans of both countries should, in case of just necessity, assist each other, if called upon. This compromise was agreeable to both parties, (214) and nothing now remained to be done by Columba at Drumceat, except to procure the liberation of the young Ossorian prince Scanlan, whom Aidus had then with him in chains at that place. (215) The saint's exertions for this purpose were fruitless, and all that he could do was to give his blessing to Scanlan, and to encourage him to keep up his spirits; telling him, that he would survive Aidus and rule Ossory for many years. (216)

(200) *Chap. xi. §. 15.*

(201) O'Donnel (*L. 3. c. 2.*) reckons among these motives the saint's desire to obtain the liberation of the young prince Scanlan of Ossory. This is indeed a fact, Columba did, as will be seen, exert himself for that purpose. In this supposition we may also

admit what O'Donnel has about messengers having been sent to him from Ireland to request his attendance at Drumceat. The relatives of Scanlan were, I dare say, the persons by whom they were deputed. Had they no other claims on Columba's condescension, they might have applied for a recommendation to his friend St. Cainech, who was particularly attached to Colman the father of Scanlan. (See above *Not.* 77.)

(202) Drumceat or Druimcheat, which Adamnan has latinized into *Dorsum-cette*, was situated, as Colgan observes, (*Tr. Th.* p. 375.) in the Ulster Kiennachta, now Kenaght in co. Derry. He had a copy of the Acts of that assembly, and tells us that it was attended not only by Aidus and many other kings and nobles, but likewise by the heads of clerical bodies. (See also Keating, *B.* 2.) Accordingly Columba had a right, as chief of his Irish establishments, to a seat in it. Colgan says (*ib.*) that it was held in 586, but corrects himself p. 452. and in his *Ind. Chron.* by assigning it to 590, which is the true date, as O'Flaherty remarks, (*MS. Not. ib.* p. 341. and *Ogyg.* p. 475) and as appears from Usher, (*Ind. Chron.* ad A. 590) Smith (*Life of St. Columba*, p. 23.) was strangely mistaken in placing it in 574, for which he refers to the Annals of Ulster. He confounded the year of king Aidan's inauguration, which was 574, with that of the assembly. Campbell went still more astray (*Strictures, &c.* p. 112.) where he says, that it was convened by the monarch Hugh in 558. What a shame not to have known, that Hugh did not become monarch until several years after that date, and Columba was not at Hy until 563! How then could he have come thence to Drumceat in 558?

(203) There is a ridiculous story, not worth refutation, of Columba having been accompanied by, at least, 20 bishops, 40 priests, 30 deacons, and 50 minor members of the clerical order. (See O'Donnel, *L.* 3. c. 3.) and Colgan's note.

(204) O'Donnel, *ib.* This was probably the storm, during which Adamnan says that St. Cainech prayed for Columba and his companions. See *Not.* 182. to *Chap.* xi.

(205) O'Donnel says, (*L.* 3. c. 4.) that they sailed up that river until they arrived at a place very near to Drumceat. He attributes this to a miracle; and indeed a sailing for some miles against its current might be considered as such. (See Mr. Sampson's *Stat.*

S. of *Londonderry*, p. 123, *seqq.*) Adamnan makes no mention of it; and, as we are not bound to admit miracles on such authority as O'Donnel's, we may be allowed to suppose that Columba landed near the river's mouth. On the whole, however, it appears, that the saint's object on sailing from Hy was to proceed straight to the assembly, to show which I have touched upon these minutiae.

(206) O'Donnel, *L. 3. c. 5.* where he adds a silly fable concerning the insolent behaviour of Conall, one of the sons of Aidus, towards the saint and his followers. On the other hand he says, that Domnald, another son, treated Columba with great distinction, and placed him on his own seat in the assembly. This is an altered account of a fact, related by Adamnan (*L. 1. c. 10.*) viz. that Domnald, being still a boy, was brought by his attendants to Columba, then at Drumceat, to be blessed by him, and that the saint, having complied with their request, foretold that Domnald would in the course of time become a celebrated king (of all Ireland,) and that he would live to a good age, and die peaceably in his bed.

(207) The nature of that order is described by O'Donnel (*L. 3. c. 2.*) in the following words. "The Irish nation, greedy of praise, and very solicitous about its antiquity, was accustomed, from its very origin, to hold in high estimation professors of antiquities, of whom there was a great number, and who in heathen times were called *druids* (wise men), *soothsayers*, and *bards*, but after the establishment of Christianity, *antiquaries* and *poets*. It was their official duty to describe the transactions, wars, and triumphs of kings, princes, and heroes; to accurately register the genealogies and prerogatives of noble families; and to mark and distinguish the boundaries of districts and lands. They wrote in verse preferably to prose, partly for the purpose of helping the memory, and partly to guard against the diffusiveness of prosaic writing." In this account of their functions there appears nothing relative to religion; and hence it seems that the author alludes only to such parts of their original institution as they were allowed to retain in Christian times. If they were, as he says, called *druids* and *soothsayers* (*vates*) at a former period, they had, although different from the British and Gallic druids, (See *Not. 45. to Chap. v.*) a sort of jurisdiction as to religious concerns. But I am inclined to think, that O'Donnel was wrong

in placing the bards in the same order with the druids, &c. The Irish druid was, as we have often seen, (ex. c. *ib.*) the same as the *magus*. Now we find, that as far back as the first preaching of St. Patrick the poets, or bards, were distinguished from the *magi*. Thus Dubtach and his scholar Fiech were poets, (See *chap. v. §. 5.*) not *magi*. Of these poets we meet with several, in the early times of our church, who became Christians, while a converted *magus* is hardly to be found. The bardic order comprized the antiquaries and historians, as their writings were, in general, of a poetical kind. I scarcely doubt, that at all times this order of men was distinct from that of the druids or *magi*; and, in fact, Ware has treated of them as separate classes. Toland also (*History of the Druids*) held them as distinct orders, and is followed by Walker (*Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards, p. 29*), who tells us, however, that the bards used to be taught by the Druids (*ib. p. 6.*), and that some of their Ollamhs or Doctors were admitted into the order of the Druids (*ib. p. 8.*). Be this as it may, the orders were still different. Some writers say that the Bardic order was, according to a regulation of the famous Ollam Fodla, hereditary, yet under certain conditions. (See *ib. p. 26.*) I believe this is no better than some other stories about Ollam Fodla. It does not accord with what Keating says (*B. 2. p. 31. ed. A. 1723*) of the vast numbers, who *entered themselves* into said order.

(208) Smith (*Life, &c. p. 93.*) has misrepresented the charge against the bards, as if it were for their having been adverse to the views of those, who propagated the Christian religion, and connected with the Druids. No such charge was brought against them, nor any other than the one I have mentioned. He misrepresents also the punishment intended to be inflicted upon them. He says it was death. Now O'Donnel expressly states, (*L. 3. c. 2.*) that it was to be only exile or deportation, *exilio vel exterminatione*. Perhaps Smith thought, that *exterminatio* signifies death.

(209) O'Donnel, *L. 3. c. 7.* (210) See *Not. 24 to Chap. v.*

(211) Smith (*Life, &c. p. 23*) says, in direct opposition to every authentic account, that the question between Aidan and Aidus was concerning the right of succession to the Scottish throne. What did he mean by *Scottish throne*? If that of Ireland, Aidan never thought of claiming it. If the small one of Argyle, &c. Aidus did not pretend to deprive Aidan of it. See below *Not. 214.*

(212) Carbre-Rieda lived in the third century, and was son to Conar or Conary II. monarch of Ireland. In reward of his military services a grant was made to him of the territory afterwards called *Dal-rieda*, that is, *of the descendants of Rieda*. He was the ancestor of Loarn and the other founders of the Scottish kingdom in Britain, who, even after their being settled in that country, continued to be called Dalriedans; and we find their new kingdom sometimes named *Dalrieda*, as if we should say the kingdom of the Dalrieda or Dalriedans. As Carbre-Rieda was son to Conar, hence some old Scotch writers speak of their kings as of his race, *de semine Chonare*. See on these subjects Usher, (*p.* 610 *seqq.*) and O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. vind. chap.* 12.

(213) Of this Colman I find no further account, except that he died in 620 (621). *Tr. Th. p.* 352.

(214) O'Donnel, *L. 3 c.* 10. Notwithstanding the manner in which O'Donnel has stated the whole question, and his giving us clearly to understand, that the claimed immunity from tribute regarded merely the territory of Dalrieda in Ireland, Keating pretends, (*B. 2. p.* 30.) that Aidus insisted on receiving tribute from that of Britain, as if the Scoto-British kings owed homage to the monarch of Ireland. He adds, (what does not distinctly appear in the wretched English translation) that Aidan's predecessors, although sovereigns in their new kingdom, paid a certain tribute, as vassals, to the Irish kings; and that Aidan was the first of that dynasty, who, with the assistance of St. Columba, became totally independent of the crown of Ireland. O'Flaherty (*Ogyg. p.* 475.) agrees with Keating, and, in proof of his assertion, refers to the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, (*L. 2. c.* 135.) in which it is said that the prophecy concerning the posterity of Fergus, viz. that they would enjoy sovereignty, was fulfilled in Aidan, son of Gauran, who seized upon the kingdom of Albany. (See also Jocelin, *cap.* 137.) From this he argues, that the predecessors of Aidan were a sort of provincial kings or limited sovereigns, who acknowledged the supremacy of the Irish monarchs, and that Aidan was the first really independent king of the British Scots. Chalmers (*Caledon, Vol. 1. p.* 283,) follows O'Flaherty, merely adding an *it seems*, and refers likewise to Adamnan, from whom, however, no argument can be drawn on either side of the question. Adamnan give the title of *king* not only to Aidan, but likewise to his predecessor Conall. (See *L. 1. c.* 7.) It may be that, as Aidan was the most

renowned of those early kings of British Scots, he was the only one supposed, by some persons, worthy of being mentioned as the first Irish king of Albany.

(215) Keating amidst a heap of fables (*B. 2. p. 32.*) concerning Scanlan says, that he was confined at a place called *Dubh-Eaghluis* in Inishowen, and that the saint went to visit him there. Now Adamnan, who mentions the visit, (*L. 1. c. 11.*) expressly states, that it took place at Drumceat. Keating calls Scanlan king of Ossory; but it is evident from Adamnan (*ib.*) that Scanlan had not reigned before he became a prisoner. Besides, his father Colman, as Adamnan calls him, was still alive. (See above, *Not. 49.*) O'Donnel is more correct as to this point than Keating. He relates (*L. 3. c. 2.*) that the prince of Ossory, whom he calls *Kinnfael*, (probably a surname to Colman) being suspected by Aidus of some act of disobedience, gave up to him his son Scanlan as a hostage for one year, on condition of his being released at the end of it, and of other hostages being substituted for him. At the expiration of the year, Aidus refused to liberate Scanlan, and hence the necessity of St. Columba's application.

(216) Adamnan *L. 1. c. 11.* O'Donnel and Keating have some foolish stories of how Scanlan was, in virtue of certain strange miracles, delivered, in spite of Aidus, from his confinement on the very night after Columba had applied for his liberation. To this and some other stuff, connected with said stories, it is sufficient to oppose the text of Adamnan.

§. xiv. Columba remained at Drumceat but for a short time. (217) Thence he went to visit some monasteries; but how many or which of them were honoured with his presence on this occasion cannot be ascertained; (218) excepting that of Derry, which, particularly as lying at a short distance from Drumceat, he undoubtedly visited, (219) and his favourite monastery of Dairmagh or Durrough, then governed under him by Lasren, where he spent some months, arranging and regulating various matters relative to discipline. (220) While there, he paid a visit to Clonmacnois, the abbot of which was at that time Alitherus, and was received with the greatest

marks of respect and veneration by the whole community and the people of the surrounding country. Having accomplished, as well as he was able, the objects he had in view in coming to Ireland, he set out on his return to Hy, and when arrived in the northern part of Ulster, had an interview with St. Comgall of Bangor somewhere not far from Drumceat. (221) Thence he went to Coleraine, where the bishop Conall, having collected almost innumerable presents from the people of the vicinity, prepared an entertainment for him. (222) This is the last place where we find St. Columba, until we meet with him again at Hy, attending as usual, notwithstanding his age, to the care of his monasteries and numerous churches. He had often prayed to God, that he would be pleased to call him to himself at the expiration of 30 years from his first arrival at Hy, and accordingly on the day, in which they were completed, viz. about the middle of the year 593, being then at Hy, entertained the greatest hope of his immediate departure from this life. While full of this delightful thought, he was suddenly apprized in a vision that his presence on earth was still necessary for four years longer, at the end of which he would be certainly removed to a better world. (223) When the happy hour was near at hand he conducted himself with the greatest composure, and went, accompanied by his attendant Diermit, to bless the barn belonging to the monastery. This was on a Saturday; and having expressed his joy at there being a sufficient store of corn for the year, he annouced to Diermit, with an injunction of secrecy, that said day would be his last in this world, as he was to be called away during the night next after it. The saint then ascended a small eminence, and lifting up his hands blessed the monastery. Thence returning he sat down in a hut adjoining or forming a part of the monastery, and occupied himself for some time with copying part of

the Psalter, (224) and having finished a page with a passage of the 33d psalm (225) he stopped and said; "Let Baithen write the remainder." Afterwards he attended the evening service (226) in the church, and then returning to his cell, (227) sat or reclined himself on his bed of stone, and remaining awake delivered some instructions to Diermit to be communicated by him to the brethren. When the bell rung (228) for midnight prayers, he hastened to the church and was the first to enter it. Throwing himself on his knees, he began to pray. Diermit arriving soon after found him in a reclining posture before the altar, and at the point of death. The brethren now assembling surrounded him, and fell weeping. He opened his eyes and exhibited an extraordinary hilarity in his countenance. His right hand being lifted up, he moved it with the assistance of Diermit, as well as he could, to indicate, as he was not able to speak, his intention of giving benediction to the community, and then breathed his last (229) very early in the morning of Sunday the 9th of June, A. D. 597, (230) and in the 76th year of his age. (231)

(217) Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 6.*

(218) O'Donnel (*L. 3. c. 15.*) mentions Manistir an da shruth, or *Duorum agri rivorum*, (See *Not. 117. to Chap. XI.*) as visited by Columba after his having been at the meeting of Drumceat. But, as he spent only *some days* in Ireland at the time of said visit, (See *Not. 181. ib.*) it must be referred to some other occasion. Then O'Donnel brings him to the monastery of Snamh-luthir. (See *Not. 122. ib.*) Yet it is doubtful, whether the visit to this place might not have been at some other time. It has been said, that St. Columba was at Ballysadare (co. Sligo) at this period; (above §. 1. and *Not. 14.*) and that he then founded the monastery of Drumcliffe, a subject which has been already inquired into. (*Not. 114 to Chap. XI.*)

(219) O'Donnel (*L. 3. c. 11.*) makes Columba proceed directly from Drumceat to Derry.

(220) Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 3.* Compare with *Notes 96.* and *97.* to *Chap. xi.*

(221) Adamn. *L. 1. c. 49.*

(222) *Ib. c. 50.* Adamnan says, that the presents were spread in the court yard of the monastery to be blessed by the saint before being made use of. The text is much confused in Colgan's edition here referred to, but is very clear in Messingham's (*L. 1. c. 19.*). From a monastery being mentioned it is plain, that there was one then at Coleraine, probably founded by the bishop Conall. (Compare with *Not. 257* to *Chap. x.*) This Conall, whom Archdall calls *Eonall* (seemingly an error of the press) was, in all appearance, the immediate successor of St. Corpreus. (See *Chap. x. §. 14.*) Colgan thought (*Tr. Th. p. 380*) that he was a relation of his, and that his memory was revered on the 2d of April. It was usual, on the arrival or expected arrival of distinguished persons at a monastery, for the people of the neighbourhood to make presents or offerings (*xenia*) towards their being well entertained by the religious, whose means would otherwise have been inadequate to that purpose. Besides what took place at Coleraine, Adamnan (*ib.*) gives us an instance of *xenia* collected, on another occasion, at the monastery, called *Cella magna Deathrib*, when visited by Columba.

(223) Adamn. *L. 3. c. 22.* That the year, in which Columba had this vision, was 593, is clear from his departure from Ireland having been in 563. The day of it was the anniversary of his arrival at Hy; and, if the additional years, which he had to live, were, as the text seems to state, precisely four, neither more nor less, it must have been the 9th of June. For, as will be seen, he died on the corresponding day in 597. Thus then also the day of his arrival at Hy would have been the 9th of June. As to the last four years, supposing even that the time was somewhat more than exactly said number, yet it is clear from Adamnan, that it was not so except by a very few days; and hence it follows, that both Columba's arrival at Hy and the day of the vision are to be assigned to about the middle of the respective years.

(224) *Ib. cap. 23.* A favourite occupation of St. Columba was transcribing books, particularly sacred ones. We find him on

another occasion writing also in a hut. (*Ib. L. 2. c. 16.*) Does this mention of a hut indicate, that the monastery of Hy was originally a sort of *laura*, consisting of separate cells or huts placed around the church? Or was that hut merely an out-office of the house, to which Columba occasionally retired to avoid being disturbed? This is more probable; and we find it remarked, as somewhat singular, that the establishment of Mobhy Clarineach consisted of small huts separated from each other. (See *Tr. Th. p. 396.*)

(225) The passage was this; “*Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient omni bono.*” In the present Vulgate edition we read *minuentur*, instead of *deficient*, as it stood in the old Vulgate or Italic, before some emendations from St. Jerome’s revision (not version) were introduced into the text of the psalms. *Minuentur* is one of them. Hence it appears, that down to the times not only of Columba but of Adamnan, the Irish continued to read the old Vulgate, as it existed before the introduction of those corrections borrowed from St. Jerome.

(226) *Ad vespertinalem missam.*

(227) Adamnan calls it *hospitiolum*. He seems to make it the same as the hut, in which the saint had been writing.

(228) *Pulsata personante clocca.* See *Not. 186. to Chap. xi.*

(229) Adamn. *L. 3. c. 23.*

(230) After all that we have seen concerning Columba’s arrival at Hy in 563, and his having lived 34 years from that date (See *Not. 76 and 149 to Chap. xi. &c.*) it would be a waste of time to enter into a disquisition concerning various hypothesis assigning his death to some year or other different from 597. Whoever has leisure to inquire into them may consult Colgan, (*Tr. Th. p. 484. seqq.*) Usher, Ware, O’Flaherty, &c. agree as to 597. It is the date marked in the Annals of Innisfallen and hinted at by Bede. The only other year, to which Columba’s death could with any plausibility be affixed, is 596. But in opposition to this we have the admitted fact that he died on the 9th of June. Now Adamnan, as we have seen, positively informs us that it was early on Sunday morning; and it is known that the 9th of June fell on Sunday in 597, whereas in 596 it fell on the 10th. In Tigernach’s Annals (See Usher, *p. 693*) the rest of Columba is said to have been in the night of Pentecost. If Tigernach computed Pentecost, according

to the Roman cycle, he meant the one of 596, which in said year fell on the 10th of June. If the saint died during the night of that Pentecost, how could his death have been constantly assigned not to the tenth but to the ninth of June? Tigernach was probably prepossessed with the idea, that 596 was the real year of his death, as he might have found it marked in some older Annals, which, however, considering their mode of computation, was in fact the same as 597. Then finding that Pentecost fell in 596 about the 9th of June, he supposed it to be the Sunday, on which Columba died. Adamnan, who mentions more than once this obituary Sunday, never calls it *Pentecost*, which, had it been so, he would assuredly have noticed as a very remarkable circumstance, combining the saint's removal to heaven with the celebration of that great festivity. Nor does O'Donnel say any thing about that Sunday having been Pentecost, although he took care to mention said festival on a much less interesting occasion. (See *Not. 76 to Chap. XI.*)

(231) The Annals of Innisfallen have; "A. 597 Quies Columbkille nocte Dominica 5 Idus Junii, anno 35^o peregrinationis suae, aetatis 76^o." Nothing can be more satisfactory on this point than the data laid down by Adamnan; 1st. that Columba was in the 42d year of his age when he first left Ireland; 2d, that after that epoch he lived 34 years. Hence it is plain that, whatever might have been the year, in which he died, he had not at the time of his death completed his 76th year. O'Donnel (*L. 3. c. 57.*) having supposed that the saint was born in 520, and on the other hand having laid down that he died in 597, concluded that this was the 77th year of his age. To prop up this computation, founded on his mistake as to the year of the saint's birth, (See *Not. 76 to Chap. XI.*) he found himself obliged to say, in opposition to Adamnan, that he left Ireland, not in the 42d but in the 43d year of his age. That his authority is not equal to Adamnan's, the reader will easily admit. Bede, who was not bound to inquire into the precise age of Columba, gives him (*L. 3. c. 4.*) 77 full years. That he was mistaken is evident; and I wonder that Ware (*Writers at Columba*) has implicitly followed him.

§. xv. The saint's remains were kept in the church until matins were finished, and then removed to the

cell, whence he had come before his death. His obsequies were celebrated during three days and nights, at the end of which his body was in due form consigned to the grave. (232) It would be superfluous to enlarge on the extraordinary veneration, in which the memory of this great saint has been held not only in the British islands, but in every part of the Latin church. (233) In consequence of his having been the apostle of the northern Picts and the founder of many churches in the territory of the British Scots and in the Hebrides, he possessed an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over those countries, including even the bishops; which singular privilege was, through respect for his memory, enjoyed for a considerable time by his successors the abbots of Hy, although they were only priests in the same manner as Columba himself had been. (234) From this circumstance a strange conclusion has been drawn by some writers, as if Columba and his followers did not admit any essential difference between bishops and priests, without reflecting that, whatever sort of jurisdiction was exercised by the superiors of Hy, belonged to them not as *priests* but as *abbots*, and successors of Columba, and that it had nothing to do with the inherent relative powers, with which bishops and priests are by divine right invested, and which Columba has left us proofs of his having accurately discriminated. (235) Another effect of the great veneration paid to his memory by the churches and monasteries of his foundation or institution was the constancy, with which the greatest part of them, both in Ireland and elsewhere, adhered to the Irish Paschal computation, inasmuch as, in common with all his countrymen, he had followed it during his life time. (236) That St. Columba had drawn up a monastic rule for his institution cannot be doubted. (237) Some other tracts still extant, partly Irish and partly Latin, are attributed to him, the genuineness of which I find no reason for calling in question. (238) As to the

celebrated prophecies under his name I cannot pretend to deliver any opinion. (239) St. Columba was succeeded in the government of Hy, and consequently in the superintendance over the whole order or institution, (240) by Baithen, whom we have often met with, (241) and who survived him only a year, neither more nor less, as he died on the 9th of June A. D. 598. (242)

(232) Adamn. (*L. 3. c. 23.*) From the manner, in which the burial is mentioned, it is difficult to determine, whether Columba's remains were deposited in a particular monument, or, according to the usual mode, in a mere grave or tomb. That he was buried in Hy is beyond any sort of doubt. As to a fable insinuating the contrary, see Usher, *p. 708.*

(233) Besides all the Irish martyrologies and calendars, the Roman martyrology and those of Bede, Usuardus, with many others, (See *Tr. Th. p. 483*) have St. Columba at 9 June; and in several of them he is named with singular respect. Not only was the day of his death commemorated, but a festival, together with an appropriate office, was established on occasion of the Translation of his reliques, together with those of St. Patrick and Bridget, by order of Pope Urban III. who sent to Ireland Cardinal Vivian for the express purpose of attending at said translation. Usher gives (*p. 889, seqq.*) an account of the whole transaction, and Colgan has prefixed the office to *Tr. Th.* Yet Ledwich writes; (*Antq. &c. Note to p. 55. or, as in 2d. ed. 102.*) "So unfriendly were the Columbean institutes to the cause of popery, that the festival of St. Columba was not permitted to be kept in Ireland till 1741. Burke, *Hib. Domin. p. 22.*" This passage, which is connected with his nonsense and lies concerning the pretended Culdees, of whom elsewhere, betrays so much effrontery and ignorance, that it is difficult to say which predominates most. Can any thing be more flagrantly false, than to assert that no festival was kept of a saint, whom Adamnan over and over calls the patron of the institution, to which he belonged, and which comprized so many churches in Ireland dedicated to him? Or why would his name have appeared for so many centuries back in the Roman and other martyrologies, were it not allowed to keep his

festival? Or would even the translation of his reliques have been annually solemnized, and that in virtue of papal authority? Ledwich refers to Burke, from whom he has stolen many a thing, yet usually taking care, in his malignant manner, to pervert Burke's meaning. Now Burke gives us (*p.* 22.) a decree of Benedict XIV. issued in 1741, whereby the Masses and Offices for the saints Rumold, Malachy of Armagh, Laurence O'Toole of Dublin, Frigidian of Lucca, Brigid, Pope Celestin I. *Columba*, Gallus, Columbanus, and Dymrna are raised to the rank of *Duplex majus* with regard to Ireland and all Irish establishments *ubique locorum*, to be celebrated as found *already* in approved missals and breviaries. Will it follow, that there were not kept until 1741, any festivals of St. Malachy or St. Laurence, who were both great favourites at Rome, or that the sees of Armagh and Dublin did not until then celebrate their memory? Was it in 1741 that St. Brigid began to be revered on the 1st of February at Kildare and all over Ireland? Or was even the Pope Celestin forgotten until his successor Benedict XIV. took notice of him? But our assuming pseudo-antiquary does not perhaps understand the phrase *Duplex majus*. If not, he is totally unfit for touching on liturgical subjects. Without looking into a breviary, he might have learned it not only from any priest he met with, but even from a sub-deacon, who would have told him that there are various gradations of festivals commencing with *Simplex*, and rising to *Semiduplex*, *Duplex*, *Duplex majus*, *Duplex secundae classis*, and, highest of all, *Duplex primae classis*. These gradations are relative to the various degrees of solemnity, with which festivals are celebrated. And we frequently find that festivals of the same identical saints are, according to the difference of times and places, raised from one class to the other. Thus St. Patrick's day is in Ireland a *Duplex primae classis*, while in the Continent it is placed in an inferior class, and in Italy as low as *Semiduplex*. *Viceversa*, many festivals, which here and there in other countries belong to the highest classes, such as those of St. Dennis of Paris, St. Martin of Tours, St. Ambrose of Milan, &c. are reckoned with us in a lower order, inasmuch as the Irish church had not the same reasons, that others had, for commemorating them in an extraordinary manner. Next it is sometimes thought adviseable to raise festivals from a lower class to a higher one, as has been lately done

with regard to the festivals of one or two holy popes of ancient times. Exactly in the same manner Benedict XIV. considered it right, that the festivals, which were already kept, of the saints mentioned in his decree, should, on account of the benefits derived from them to the Irish church, be placed in a higher rank than that, in which they stood before. I am almost ashamed to have gone into this detail; but I was compelled to do so, in order to enable *every* reader to form an opinion concerning the Doctor's false assertion. Yet, by the bye, I cannot believe, particularly as he has seen breviaries and abused them, but that he understood the meaning of said decree. And yet, while impugning the known truth, he has the audacity to accuse (*p.* 74.) Burke of committing some *wilful* mistakes in certain lessons, which he drew up for Columba's festival. I know there are mistakes in them; but they were not *wilful*, Burke having copied them from O'Donnel. Why did he not deny at once the existence of Columba? But his dear Culdees were in the way. Yet a dull imitator of his, Faber, has done it for him, by telling us, (*Dissertation on the Cabiri, p.* 398.) that our St. Columba was a fictitious dove!!! What times are we come to, when such scribblers are allowed to obtrude their trash on the public!

(234) Bede writes (*L. 3. c. 4.*) "Habere autem solet ipsa insula (Hy) rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum, cujus juri et omnis provincia et ipsi etiam episcopi ordine inusitato debeant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non episcopus sed presbyter extitit et monachus." What Bede here calls the *province* was comprized in N. Britain and, at most, the Hebrides; and accordingly Notker Balbulus was wrong (*Martyrol. at 9 June*) in saying, that the abbot of Hy was primate of the Irish bishops. (See Usher *p.* 701. and Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 498.) A similar mistake was committed by Carolus a S. Paulo (*Geogr. sacr. at Hibernia*) in consequence of his having confounded the small island of Hy with Ireland, a strange blunder for a geographical writer, which, however, has been corrected (*Not. ad loc.*) by Holstenius. Usher, (*ib.*) and Bingham (*Origines, &c. B. VIII. ch. 3. sect. 14.*) understand by Bede's province only North Pictland together with Hy; but Colgan adds the territory of the British Scots. According to a passage in the Saxon Chronicle, all the bishops of the Scots (in Britain) were subordinate to the abbot of Hy.

But Lloyd shews (*On Church government, &c. ch. 7.*) that this is a late interpolation, and maintains that the province, as Bede calls it, was only one diocese, which might have been co-extensive with the whole country of the Northern Picts, and that this diocese was governed by the bishop, who resided in Hy. For, as Usher shows (*p. 701.*) there was in that island not only an abbot, but a bishop. Lloyd adds, that when Bede speaks of *bishops*, as subject in a certain manner to the abbot, he must be understood not of more than one bishop at a time, but of the successive single bishops, who had their seat in Hy. This is a forced explanation of Bede, who plainly intimates, that in what he calls the *province* he supposed there were more than one bishop; otherwise he would have written not *episcopi*, but *episcopus*. If Bede meant to speak of only one diocese and its bishop, surely he would not have said “*the whole province and even the bishops.*” The natural and intelligible mode of expressing himself would have been *the province and even the bishop*. And it is a quibble to say, that there were bishops, one after another, in that one province or diocese. Suppose a person intended to state, that the diocese and bishop of Paris are subordinate to the Pope, would he say, *the diocese and bishops* of Paris? It would be easy to show, if necessary, that there were, in Bede’s time, some bishops among the Northern Picts, and his words are so clear, that Bingham (*B. ix. ch. 6. sect. 18*) refers to them as proving, that there were several. Next it is to be observed, that it would be contrary to every principle of canon law, that the bishop or bishops entrusted with the care of the Northern Picts, would be allowed to reside so far distant from their country as the island of Hy. The fact is, that the bishop stationed in Hy had nothing to do with those Picts. He was placed there for the purpose of performing episcopal functions, when required for the good of the monastery and its members, such as conferring ecclesiastical orders, &c. and had, in all appearance, a superintendance, as bishop, over the other islands, or at least, some of them. Lloyd gives as a reason of the subordination of the bishop residing at Hy to the abbot, that the royalty of the island had been given to Columba by the king of the Picts. Ledwich, following this idea, says (*Antiq. p. 61.*) that the king (Brudeus) granted him the allodality of Hy, *thereby subjecting the bishop to his tem-*

poral power. What has that pretended temporal power of Columba to do with the question of the bishops being subordinate to the abbot? What Bede and others have considered as an extraordinary circumstance, was not that bishops are subject to the temporal power of sovereigns, but that a priest should have a sort of spiritual jurisdiction over bishops. As to the grant of the island, we have seen, (*Not.* 146 to *Chap.* xi.) that it was not made by the king of the Picts.

(235) The respect shown by Columba to the episcopal rank in the person of Cronan has been noticed already. (*Not.* 182 to *Chap.* xi.) I might add the circumstance of his having refused to be promoted to the episcopacy. (See §. 9. *ib.*) Waving this argument, let me ask, why it was thought necessary to have a bishop in Hy, if priests were supposed capable of exercising all, even the highest, ecclesiastical functions? But how, it has been said, could bishops have submitted to the jurisdiction of an abbot, who was no more than a presbyter? Did this question concern merely such bishops as lived in monasteries, it could be easily answered, nor would Bede have looked upon the system as unusual. There were, in his own times, and long before them, several monasteries, the abbots of which held a lower rank, as to holy orders, than some of the persons whom they governed. Many abbots, who were mere laymen, and yet had among their monks some priests, who were bound to observe the rules of the establishment. We frequently meet with bishops, who retired into monasteries, and subjected themselves to their regulations. An instance of this has occurred above (§. 11.) in the case of bishop Brandubh. A practice was introduced of appointing bishops for the accommodation of some great monasteries, to which description of bishops most probably belonged St. Moena of Clonfert. (See *Not.* 117. to *Chap.* x.) This practice was afterwards introduced into other countries; and there is extant a Bull of Pope Stephen II. in favour of the monastery of St. Denis, in which we read; “ Nos etiam idem et habere vobis episcopum per singulare privilegium concedimus, qui *de vobis ab abbate, vel a fratribus, in monasterio vestro electus, et a fratribus nostris* episcopis de illa regione consecratus, illa vestra monasteria a vobis aedificata provideri, et vice nostri nominis ubi et ubi fuerint regat, et praedicationi tam in ipso vestro monasterio quam in sibi sub-

jacentibus deserviat." A similar privilege had been granted to the Monastery of St. Martin of Tours. The *Annales Masciacenses*, published by Labbe, have; "Anno 790 Andegarius *episcopus* monasterii S. Martini obiit." (See more in *Ducange* at *Episcopi*.) That these bishops, although chosen out of the body of the monks by the abbot or the whole community, were treated with particular respect cannot be questioned. Yet they may be said to have been in some manner subordinate to the abbot, inasmuch as they used to act, according to his direction, in certain cases, such as, *ex. c.* conferring orders, higher or lower, on those monks whom he thought fit to select and point out to them. This is not the system, which appeared extraordinary to Bede, but the very different one of an abbot exercising a sort of jurisdiction over bishops, who were neither inmates of his monastery, nor of the class of those bishops, whose functions were confined to monasteries. It seemed to him odd, that the prelates, who governed the sees and churches of the Northern Picts, should acknowledge a certain degree of supremacy in the abbot of Hy. But if the distinction between the power of order and that of jurisdiction, admitted by all the theologians and canonists, be duly considered, the difficulty can be easily solved. The former power is liable to no modification; nor is there any authority on earth, that can add to or diminish the inherent rights annexed to it, or that can, for instance, empower a priest to exercise validly every function, that a bishop can. The case is not so with regard to the power of jurisdiction, which may be extended or curtailed according to circumstances. A person may be consecrated bishop, to all intents and purposes as to the power of order, without possessing any jurisdiction; and we find instances of it in very remote times, such as that of Barsus and Eulogius, two monks of Edessa, related by Sozomen. (*L. 6. c. 34.*) *Vice versa*, a person of the clerical order may, although not actually a bishop, be invested with episcopal jurisdiction. Thus, if he be elected to a see and regularly confirmed, he becomes, prior to his consecration, and while perhaps still only a subdeacon, possessed of the jurisdiction appertaining to said see, and if it be metropolitanical, the suffragan bishops subject to him as if he had been actually consecrated. Several other cases might be adduced, if requisite, to show how bishops may become subordinate, in some respect, to

clergymen of an inferior order. These cases were not as frequent in Bede's time as afterwards. Lloyd mentions (*ch.* 7.) that of the bishop of Oxford, of whom, while in that city, the chancellor of the University and even his deputy take the precedence. It will not now be difficult to understand, how the abbot of Hy, as successor of the Apostle of the Northern Picts, was allowed to retain a certain superintendence over their bishops, who were the successors of those, whom Columba had taken care to provide them with. And it is clear, 1. that it does not affect the question of the real difference between the episcopal and priestly orders; and 2d. that being a singular case, founded on the apostleship of St. Columba, the efforts of Blondel, Selden, Toland, and many Scotch writers, not including Chalmers, (see *Caledon. Vol. 1. p.* 321.) to oppose it to the ancient and constantly observed mode of Church government, cannot make the least impression on any unprejudiced mind.

(236) We read in the English translation of Ware's *Writers* (at *Columba*); "The time for celebrating Easter, which he kept, after the custom of his ancestors, on the Lord's day from the 14th to the 20th moon, contrary to the custom of the church of Rome, he *gave in charge* to his successors to observe," Ledwich (*p.* 61.) having picked up what is here said of the *charge*, adds, with profound ignorance, and in direct opposition to Ware, that Columba was a Quartadeciman. The poor man did not know that in the system of the Quartadecimans no regard was paid to Sunday more than any other day as to the celebration of Easter. Bede has exculpated (*L. 3. c. 4.*) the Irish from the charge of Quartadecimanism; and their always celebrating Easter on a Sunday shows that, far from being guilty of it, they condemned that system. Of these subjects more elsewhere. To return to Ware, his translator has misrepresented his meaning by the words, *gave in charge*. In the original Latin we have; "Tempus celebrandi Paschatis—successoribus *observandum reliquit*." This does not imply that Columba issued any injunction as to the observance of the Irish mode of computing Easter, and means no more than that he had observed it himself, and that, as Ware adds, his successors had observed it until A. D. 716. There was no dispute, in Ireland or Britain, concerning this point until several years after Columba's death; and Adamnan relates (*L. 1. c. 3.*)

“ that the saint, when at Clonmacnois, delivered a prophecy relative to the disagreement, which would take place, after a considerable time, as to the Paschal question.” But, so far from even hinting that Columba gave any charge to adhere to the Irish mode, Adamnan himself became one of the most strenuous opposers of it, and induced a great number of the Northern Irish to adopt the Roman computation. In the famous conference of Whitby (see Bede *L. 3. c. 25.*) Colman, who defended the Irish practice, alleged as an argument that Columba and his successors had observed it. He mentions no injunctions; and that there had not been any is evident from Wilfrid’s answering, that those holy men followed it, merely because the correct method had not been proposed to them, and that he entertained no doubt of their receiving it in case of their having been acquainted with it. What then are we to think of Ledwich’s audacious assertion (*p. 405*) which has been already touched upon, (*Chap. II. §. 9.*) viz. that Columba gave his dying command to his disciples to continue Quartadecimans!!!

(237) Wilfrid alludes to it in his answer to Colman (See *Not. prec.*) where he mentions the *regulam ac præcepta* of Columba and his followers. It is reckoned among eight principal rules formerly observed in Ireland. (See *Tr. Th. p. 471.*) Some Benedictine writers would fain make us believe that it was the same as that of St. Benedict. Without recurring to other arguments, the same Wilfrid informs us that it was not; for, as quoted by William of Malmesbury (*L. 3. De Gestis Pontificum*) he says that he was the first, who, on the Scots, that is, his adversaries the Columbian monks, being expelled, ordered the observance of the rule of St. Benedict by the monks in Northumberland. Here again we meet with more of Ledwich’s nonsense. Still persisting in his unfounded assertion as to the Irish and Britons having received their faith from the East, he says (*p. 404.*) that they thence received also their monachism, and learnedly tells us, that the seminaries of Columba and Comgall adopted the rule of St. Basil. For this he appeals to a mighty authority in Ecclesiastical history, M^rGeoghegan, who somewhere in his *History of Ireland* has a flourish about our Irish monks having *perhaps* brought from the Eastern countries the rules of St. Anthony, St. Pachomius or St. Basil, aye and those also of the famous *solitaries* of Mount Carmel

and Thebais. That good man wished to let the world know, that he had heard of such persons, and imagined it would be doing honour to Ireland to associate our monks with such distinguished names. But where did he find that any Irish monks of those old times had travelled as far as Egypt or Palestine or even Asia Minor? Or what necessity was there for going all that way to look for monastic regulations, whereas the fundamental principles of them were well known in Ireland since the days of St. Patrick? The monastic discipline of the Irish was founded on that introduced by our Apostle, although variously modified in course of time, and differed in some essential points from the system not only of the Orientals, but likewise of the Benedictines. (See *Chap. iv. §. 9. 12. v. §. 15.* and *Not. 52—58. to Chap. x.*) Ledwich impudently represents (*p. 406.*) Cressy as an impostor for having said that Columba's rule was a rivulet from that of St. Patrick. Ledwich to charge others with the sin of imposture!!! *Numquid diabolus factus est Christianus!* But is it not more rational to suppose that said rule was derived from the system, whether put to writing or not by St. Patrick, which he introduced into Ireland, than to make, without shadow of proof, Columba adopt the rule of St. Basil? Had this rule been received by the Columbian or any other religious institutions of the Irish, surely some mention would have been made of it by Adamnan, or in one or other of the lives of our saints or other tracts, in which the monastic rules formerly observed in Ireland are often spoken of. Now that of St. Basil is never alluded to. Usher (*p. 919*) and Ware (*Writers at Columba*) make mention of Columba's rule as still extant. The former observes that it is written in very old and difficult Irish. There is reason to doubt, whether this be the same as the general rule, which had been framed for his entire institution. Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 471*) distinguishes two rules written by Columba, one for his monasteries, and the other for certain brethren living in a desert, which he had a copy of and translated from Irish into Latin. He adds that this seems to be the rule alluded to by Ware. If it was, we may suspect that it was also the one which Usher had seen. But on this point I am not able to decide.

(238) A full account of them may be seen in Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 471. seqq.*) and Harris (*Writers at Columba*). Colgan has published three of the Latin pieces, or hymns, the first of which is ra-

ther long, and contains a good deal of biblical and theological learning, commencing with the eternity, unity, and trinity of God, and, after treating of several sacred subjects, terminating with the day of judgment, the resurrection of mankind, and the future state of the just and unjust. The other two are beautiful prayers to the Almighty, written in rhyme. If these hymns be, as in all appearance they are, from the pen of St. Columba, they must be reckoned among the earliest compositions of that kind, and perhaps the earliest known, being more ancient than the specimen quoted by Pelloutier. (See Rees' *Cyclop.* at *Rhyme.*) There is a fragment of another Latin hymn, which he composed in honour of Kieran of Clonmacnois. Among his lost works was a Life of St. Patrick, which is mentioned twice by the authors of the Tripartite, as having been used by them in drawing up their compilation. Whether it was in Irish or Latin they do not inform us.

(239) Colgan rejects several of them as spurious, while he admits that some others may be genuine. See *Tr. Th.* p. 472.

(240) Bede, having mentioned Hy and other Columbian monasteries, writes; (*L.* 3. c. 4.) "In quibus omnibus idem monasterium insularum, (Hy) in quo ipse requiescit corpore, principatum tenet." See more in *Tr. Th.* p. 497.

(241) Baithen is the first named among the 12 original companions of Columba. (See *Not.* 148, to *Chap.* xi.) He governed for some time a monastery in the island of Ethica, (*ib.* §. 14.) and must not be confounded with another Baithen or Baitan of those times, of whom we have seen (*ib.* *Not.* 119. He was second cousin to Columba, being the son of Brendan, a son of Fergus, who was the paternal grandfather of the saint. A church in Tirconnel, in which his memory was revered, was called from him *Teagh-basithin*, i. e. the house of Baithen. (*Tr. Th.* p. 480.) Colgan says elsewhere, (*AA. SS.* p. 369.) that he was the founder of it. Archdall has this church in Donegall under the name of *Taughboyne*.

(242) Usher, p. 701. and *Ind. Chron.* Other accounts state, that Baithen survived Columba four years. (*Tr. Th.* p. 498.) But the dates given for his death and that of Columba are so wrong, and the difference between them and Colgan's own computations so irreconcilable, that it is better to adhere to Usher's statement, in which he merely follows the *Annals of Ulster*.

CHAPTER XIII.

Life of Columbanus—Studies under St. Comgall of Bangor—Goes to Britain and Gaul—Receives assistance from Carantocus, abbot of Salix—Erects the monastery of Luxeu—Works several miracles—Defends the Irish mode of calculating the Easter time, and is persecuted—Remonstrates with king Childeric on keeping concubines—is expelled from his monastery—Conveyed to Orleans to be banished from France—By his prayers restores to sight the husband of a Syrian woman who relieves the necessities of his people—Spends a night at the tomb of St. Martin at Tours—Arrives at Nantes—Foretels the destruction of Theodoric and his family—Embarks for Ireland, but is obliged to put back—Proceeds to the kingdom of Clotharius son of Chilperic—Is invited by the king to settle there, but declines the invitation—Foretels the succession of Clotharius to the kingdoms of Theodoric and Theodebert—Passes through the kingdom of Austrasia on his way to Italy—Stops a while at Mentz—Goes to Arbona near the lake of Constance—Converts some of the Suevi to Christianity—Destroys idols, and converts some of the inhabitants at Bregentz—Founds a monastery there—Advises king Theodebert to embrace the ecclesiastical state, who laughs at the saint, but who being shortly after defeated in battle is compelled to become an ecclesiastic—Arrives at Milan, and is kindly received by Agilulf king of the Lombards.—Confutes the Arians—Writes his letter to Pope Boniface IV. on the three chapters—Founds the monastery of Bobbio—Is invited by Clotharius to resume his convent at Luxeu, but declines the invitation—Dies.

SECT. I.

HAVING now concluded the history of St. Columba, surnamed *Columbkil*, let us proceed to that of his illustrious namesake, generally known by the name of Columbanus. (1) This great man was a native of some part of Leinster, and seems to have been of a respectable family. (2) Of the precise time of his birth we are not informed. According to some accounts it would have been about 559, and, according to others, several years earlier. (3) Having received a good classical education, and, being of a superior genius, made great proficiency in his studies, he began, when arrived at a certain age, to reflect on the dangers of youth, particularly as he was of an exceeding fine form. While meditating on this subject he happened to have a conversation with a religious woman, who cautioned him against the allurements of the world, and hinted that he would do well to quit his native district. He immediately determined on so doing, and, in opposition even to his mother, who did what she could to prevent him, left the province of Leinster, and went to place himself under the venerable Senile, a man celebrated for his piety and his knowledge of the holy scriptures (4) This able master, finding him endowed with great abilities, pushed him forward in his sacred studies, so that in a shorter time than usual he became well versed in them, and, while still a youth, wrote an exposition of the Psalms, and composed some other tracts. Columbanus then resolved on embracing the monastic state, and for that purpose went to Bangor, where he remained many years under the discipline of the abbot St. Comgall, and was distinguished for his fervour and regularity. At length he became inflamed with an ardent wish to retire to some foreign country, and communicated his plan to Comgall, who was at first unwilling to agree to it, as he

did not like to part with a person, in whose society he felt great comfort. Yet reflecting, that Columbanus' exertions might be of great service elsewhere, he acquiesced, and told him he would give him some worthy companions to assist and comfort him in his spiritual expedition. The brethren being assembled, twelve of them were selected or offered themselves to accompany Columbanus. (5) Every thing being now arranged, he and his companions went first to Britain, but remained there only for a short time. They then determined on trying what good might be effected in the Gauls, with the intention, in case their toils in that country should turn out useless, of proceeding to some others. The Gauls, or, as we now call those provinces, France, were then in great need of some holy and resolute missionaries, who would be able and willing to stem the torrent of crimes and vices caused by the irruptions of the northern barbarians, and to rouse the clergy from the torpor and indolence, in which they indulged themselves. (6) Columbanus was highly qualified by his learning, zeal, and courage for this undertaking, (7) and was then in the maturity of his age, being about fifty years old when he arrived in Burgundy. (8) This was, according to the most probable account, in the year 589 or 590. (9)

(1) That *Columba* and *Columbanus* are the same name is universally admitted. Some old writers call Columbkil *Columbanus*; and, *vice versa*, the Columbanus, who is now to be treated of, is sometimes called *Columba*, which was, in fact, his real name, as he tells us himself in his letter on the Three Chapters, where he adds, that in Hebrew it is *Jona*, and, in Greek, *Peristera*. Jonas begins his Life with these words, "Columbanus, qui et *Columba*." We have already (*Not.* 125 to *Chap.* xi.) noticed the mistake of those, who, upon the mere grounds of the identity of name, have confounded these saints together. Having made mention of Jonas, I may here observe, that he lived in the 7th century, and was a monk of Columbanus' monastery of Bobbio as early as the times of Attala his immediate successor. It has been said that

he was a native of Ireland, and a passage in his dedication to the abbots Waldebert and Bolenus seems to favour this opinion; for, apologizing for his want of abilities, he says; “*Nobis ex Hibernia vix butyrum pinguescit.*” But it cannot be reconciled with the manner, in which he speaks of Ireland in the first chapter, and which is like that of a foreigner undertaking to describe it. Thus he observes, that it *is said* to be a pleasantly situated island; “*Insulae hujus situs, ut fertur, est amoenus;*” and adds, that it is inhabited by the Scots, whom he praises in the following words; “*Hanc et Sestorum gens incolit, gens, quanquam absque reliquarum gentium legibus, tamen in Christiani vigoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fidem praepellet.*” Then he says, that Columbanus was of *that* nation. Were Jonas himself an Irishman, he would naturally have said, *our* nation. The Bollandists are right in making him a native of Susa in Italy, whither he tells us (*Life of Attala*, No 9. at 10 *Mart.*) he was allowed by Attala to go, after having spent 9 years at Bobbio, to visit his mother and brother. Mabillon has made the same observation. (*Annal. Benedict. L. xi. §. 17* and *Secl. II. Benedict at Jonas.*) The passage *Nobis*, &c. merely alludes to Jonas having been taught by Irishmen. Mabillon’s edition does not differ, except in some verbal variations and in the division of chapters from that of Messingham. My references are to this latter division. He wrote also the Lives of Columbanus’ disciples, Attala, Eustasius and Bertulfus.

(2) Jonas (*cap. 2.*) ascribes to him what he calls *pubertas nobilis*, by which, in his pompous style, he probably alluded to the saint’s being of noble birth.

(3) The question depends, in part, upon that of the time, in which Columbanus arrived in France, of which I lower down. In the lessons drawn up for his office by Burke, he is said to have been born about 539, a date much earlier than that of Mabillon and others, but much more probable.

(4) The venerable man, here called *Senile*, was undoubtedly Sinell son of Maynacur, concerning whom see *Chap. XII. §. 12.*

(5) In the *Life of St. Deicolus* or *Deicola*, in Irish, *Dichuill*, (*AA. SS. p. 117.*) it is said that the chief companions of Columbanus were another Columbanus and Gallus with his maternal brother Deicolus. Of the two latter some account will be given

hereafter. As to Columbanus, the other companion, it is sufficient to observe that he continued a simple monk, and died at Luxeu. Some others are mentioned as having been of that party, *et. c.* Caidoc, Fricor, Rantic, and a Quilian or Kilian. (*Ib. p.* 162.) Lua, who is mentioned by Jonas, (*cap.* 20.) was most probably one of them, as will be seen lower down (*cap.* 12.) He names three Scots or Irishmen, Cominin, Eunoc, and Aequon, besides Gorgan a Briton, as being along with the saint at Fontaines. Fleming, treating (*Commentar. ad Vitam. S. Columbani, Collectan, &c. p.* 320. *seqq.*) of the 12 companions reckons them thus; Gallus, Deicola, Sigisbertus, Columbanus junior, Cummin, Eunoc, Ecconan, Domitialis, Culian, Neemias, Lua or Potentinus, and Florentius or Albeus. But it is very doubtful, whether some of these persons were original companions. Potentinus was certainly with the saint at Luxeu, as will be seen lower down. Fleming's Ecconan or Equonan was the same as Acquon. The account of Sigisbertus, taken from a Breviary of Coire (at 11 July) is rather obscure. He was the founder of the monastery of Desertina in Rhaetia, the now Grison country. It is said, that he followed St. Columbanus from Ireland. If he were an Irishman, we may suppose that he changed his name in the Continent.

(6) Jonas writes, (*cap.* 4.) *A Britannicis ergo finibus progressi ad Gallias tendunt, ubi tunc vel ob frequentiam hostium externorum, vel negligentiam praesulum, religionis virtus pene abolita habebatur; fides tantum remanebat Christiana. Nam poenitentiae medicamentum, et mortificationis amor, vix vel paucis in illis reperiatur locis.*" Those abuses are painted in still stronger colours by the author of the Life of St. Deicolus.

(7) We read in the same Life of Deicolus; "Redemptor mundi Deus et Dominus noster Jesus Christus—ad repellendas multiformes ignaviae tenebras de occiduis Hiberniae partibus splendidissimum radium Gallicis metis emergi praecepit, beatum videlicet Columbanum, egregium Sestigeroarum omnium patriotam." Baronius writes; (*Annal. &c. ad A.* 612.) "Magno plane Dei beneficio factum apparet, ut vir tantus ex Hibernia in Gallias veniens illustraret temporibus his perditissis Ecclesiam Dei; quem prae excelsum meritis si quis aliqua ex parte exaequet Eliae, haud mea sententia a scopo veritatis aberrarit," &c.

(8) In Messingham's edition of Jonas (*cap.* 3.) Columbanus is

said to have been in his 20th year at the time of his setting out from Ireland. This is a mistake of a copyist. Instead of 20th, must be read at least, 30th, as Mabillon has it, or more probably 50th (see following note.) It is plain that had Columbanus been only in his 20th year at that time, he would have been too young to be a leader of a religious association formed for missionary purposes. He had, most probably, passed that age, when he first went to Bangor.

(9) Were we to follow Jonas, it should be admitted that Columbanus arrived in France before 575 or early in that year; and, in fact, several learned writers, whom it is unnecessary to quote, led astray by his authority, were of that opinion. He says, (*cap. 5.*) that Columbanus was graciously received by Sigebert king of Austrasia and Burgundy. Now Sigibert was killed in the year 575. In the first place we may remark, that Sigebert never possessed the kingdom of Burgundy, which belonged to his brother Guntchram or Gontran, and was held by him until 593, the year of his death. (See Henault, *Abregé Chronologique*, &c.) And as to the year of Columbanus' arrival in the kingdom of Burgundy, which was not long after his having reached France, the question relative to it is connected with the inquiry into the time of the foundation of the monastery of Luxeu. Mabillon has incontrovertibly proved, (*Annal. Benedict. L. VIII. §. 10.*) that this was about 590, at which time Gontran reigned in Burgundy and Childebert, son of Sigebert, in Austrasia. Ordericus Vitalis, referred to by Mabillon, places the arrival of Columbanus in the reign of Childebert, without any mention of the kingdom of Burgundy. This kingdom devolved to Childebert after the death of his uncle Gontran; but, when Columbanus arrived in France, he was only king of Austrasia. Usher, following Marianus Scotus, affixes (*Ind. Chron.*) the arrival of Columbanus in Burgundy to A. D. 589; Mabillon and others speak of it as belonging to 590. The difference between these dates is immaterial, particularly if we be allowed to suppose, that this arrival was in the late part of 589. But we find another date assigned by Mabillon himself (*Observat. ad Vit. S. Waldeberti Sec. 3. Benedict. Part. 2.*) where he concludes from a clause in a MS. written by a monk of Luxeu, that Columbanus arrived in Burgundy about 585. Pagi follows this date, (*Critica in Annal. Baron. ad. A. 585.*) and thence lays

down that the saint had spent about five years in that country before he founded the monastery of Luxeu. Yet Mabillon in the Benedictine Annals makes no mention of this date 585, and constantly supposes that Luxeu was founded not many months after the arrival in Burgundy. And indeed there is every reason to think that it was. Besides, several circumstances and dates mentioned, as will be seen in the course of the saint's history, can scarcely be reconciled with that date. We might now guess at the year of the saint's birth, if we were sure that he was only in the 30th year of his age when he left Ireland. For supposing that he set out late in 588 or early in 589, and allowing about a year for his travels and delays in Britain and France before he reached the Voiges then comprized in the kingdom of Burgundy, it will follow that he was born in 559. To this statement, however, there is a very strong objection, founded on its being well known that he lived to a good old age, and most probably to beyond that of 72 years, as will appear lower down. Now, had he been born in 559, he would not have exceeded that of 56, whereas he died in 615. Accordingly Mabillon's emandation of the 20th of Jonas' text into 30th will not do; and the true reading was, I dare say, the 50th, in which case his birth must be assigned to about 539. (See above *Not.* 3.)

§. II. Columbanus and his companions, on their way through France, preached the word of God according as a favourable opportunity occurred, and edified the people by their good example. When arrived in a deserted part of the Vosges they stopped in an old half ruined fort called *Anagrates*. (10) In that wild tract they were soon reduced to the greatest distress, so that on one occasion they had for nine days no other food than the bark of trees and the herbs of the forest. Yet Providence did not abandon them. Carantocus, abbot of the monastery of Salix, (11) was inspired to send them a supply of provisions, which he did by his storekeeper Marculfus, who having delivered them, and received the saint's benediction, spoke, on his return, to every one, in such terms, of Columbanus, that people began to

flock to him from various parts for the purpose of obtaining favours from God through his intercession. Columbanus delighted in solitude, and was often wont to retire to a cavern in a huge rock some miles distant from Anagrates, where all alone he used to spend his whole time in prayer and meditation, occasionally attended by a small boy called Domualis, who served as a messenger between him and the brethren. It is related that, on the boy's happening to complain to him of the great fatigue he underwent in procuring water, Columbanus ordered him to strike the rock, which when he had done, a fountain immediately started out of it, and thenceforth continued to afford an abundant supply. (12) When in that retirement, the saint lived merely on wild herbs and a sort of small apples, which that desert produced. The number of persons, who came to place themselves under the direction of Columbanus, daily increasing, he found it necessary to erect a monastery, and for that purpose fixed upon a spot, called *Luxovium*, now *Luxeu*, or, corruptly, *Luxeul*, in a thick part of the forest, and about eight miles distant from Anagrates. This foundation took place in 590, or perhaps, in the early part of 591. (13) A community still remained at Anagrates; but so great was the concourse of persons of every description, and particularly of young nobles, anxious to avail themselves of his instructions and to lead a religious life, that he was soon obliged to erect another monastery at a place in the neighbourhood, to which he gave the name of *Ad fontanas* (now Fontaines) from its being well furnished with springs. Over this new monastery as well as over that of Anagrates he placed superiors, subordinate, however, to himself. (14) For these establishments he drew up a monastic rule, most probably derived, at least in a great part, from that of his master Comgall of Bangor. (15).

(10) Jonas, *cap.* 5. Anagratés is now called Anegray, which,

as well as Luxeu, &c. mentioned lower down, lies in the province since called Franche Comte. Bingham (B. VII. *ch.* 2, *sect.* 13.) has shamefully changed Luxeu into Lisieux in Normanday.) Jonas tells a pompous story of how Columbanus, after his favourable reception by Sigebert, was requested by him not to quit his kingdom, and that accordingly he took up his abode in that country. But, from what we have just seen, all this, however copied by many others, falls to the ground. The fact is, that the saint was not then patronized by any king, otherwise how could he and his companions have been soon after reduced to almost a state of starvation?

(11) Mabillon observes that, according to a well founded tradition, Salix was the place now called *Le Saucy*, three leagues distant from Anegray.

(12) Jonas, *cap.* 8.

(13) Fleury, (*Hist. Eccl.* L. 35. §. 9) assigns it to 590, the year of the saint's arrival in Burgundy. But, as some months elapsed before he founded Luxeu, it may be placed in 591.

(14) Mabillon says, (*Annal. Benedict.* L. VIII. §. 11.) that this is the origin or first instance of priories, or dependent small monasteries, subject to the head monastery and its abbots, as colonies are to the mother country. It may have been so in the continent; but there were certainly many instances of that kind in Ireland, or where Irish monks were settled, prior to the establishments of Columbanus. Columbkil superintended many inferior monasteries of this sort, and this power was derived to his successors. Without repeating what we have so often met with relative to this subject, let it suffice to refer to a passage of Bede quoted above, (*Not.* 240 to *Chap.* XII.) Comgall had established several of those subordinate monasteries or priories. (See *Chap.* x. §. 12.) Columbanus merely imitated his practice, and for the same reason, *viz.* that one monastery was not sufficient for containing the vast number of monks and students belonging to the institution.

(15) Fleming, the collector of the Acts, works, &c. of St. Columbanus, published by Sirin, was of opinion (*Dissert. de Monast. S. Columbani professione*) that he added somewhat to the Rule of Comgall. The Rule of St. Columbanus is easily met with, having been often published (See Usher. *p.* 920), even before Holstenius

inserted it in his *Codex Regularum*. I must here observe, that after the Rule, as published by Messingham (*Florilegium*) &c. &c. there is in Fleming's collection, which may be seen in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, (Tom. 12. Lyons, A. 1677) the *S. Columbani abbatis Regula Coenobialis Fratrum, sive Liber de quotidianis poenitentiis monachorum*. It appears as a supplementary rule to the general one, and is divided into 15 small chapters. It has been called *Regula Coenobialis Patrum de Hibernia*. There is also in Fleming's collection, and in the *Bibl. Patr. (ib.)*, another penitential tract of St. Columbanus, entitled *Liber de poenitentiary mensura taxanda*, and consisting of 42 rules or paragraphs. A good account of St. Columbanus' Rule in general is given by Fleury, (*L. 35. §. 10.*) It was received and followed in France before that of St. Benedict was introduced into that country; and we find it approved of by the Freuch bishops in the council of Macon, A. D. 627. Mabillon admits (*Annal. Ben. L. VIII. §. 17.*) that it was different from the Benedictine, which, he observes, was not followed either in Britain or Ireland, when Columbanus arrived in France bringing with him the discipline of Bangor. He doubts, (*ib. §. 16.*) and for very strong reasons, whether the practice of perpetual psalmody, mentioned by St. Bernard (*Vit. S. Malach.*) as observed at Luxeu, was introduced there by the saint. I need scarcely add, that Columbanus' Rule was, after having been followed, for a long time, by several monasteries in France, and by some in Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, at length incorporated with that of St. Benedict. Without recurring to Mabillon, who treats of these subjects at large, the reader will find some very nice observations on them in Usher's *Prim. p. 1050. seqq.*

§. III. Several miracles are related as performed by St. Columbanus, as also various favours obtained from the Almighty through his prayers, while he remained in the places now spoken of. But a detail of them would lead us too far. His confidence in being assisted by God was so great that, on occasion of a great number of the monks of Luxeu lying sick, he ordered them to rise and thresh the sheafs of corn spread out on the ground. Those, who obeyed, immediately recovered their health; while others,

who did not, were punished with long and dangerous illness. (16) Waldelen a wealthy chieftain and his wife Flavia, having no children, came from Besançon to request his intercession with God for the purpose of being blessed with an heir. The saint told them that he would comply with their wish, yet on this condition that the son who would be born, should be dedicated to the service of God; and promised them that, in case of their agreeing to this proposal, they should not want for other heirs. Full of joy they accepted of these terms, and the Almighty was pleased to give them a son, who was brought by his mother to the saint, who baptized him and gave him the appropriate name of *Donatus*. He was in due time educated in the monastery of Fontaine, and afterwards became bishop of Besançon, where he was still alive in our author's time. Waldelen and Flavia had next the happiness of having another son and two daughters, all three distinguished for piety; and Flavia, after her husband's death, founded a nunnery at Besançon. (17)

(16) Jonas, *cap.* 11.

(17) *Ib.* *cap.* 13.

§. iv. St. Columbanus, although living in France, continued to observe the Irish mode of computing Easter time. (18) Some Gallican bishops gave him a great deal of trouble on this account. Accordingly he wrote a letter to the Pope, in which he strenuously defends the Irish system, and requests his decision on the question, telling him, however, that the Western churches, meaning those of Britain and Ireland, will not agree to any thing contrary to the authority of St. Jerome, whom he considered as having approved of the calculation, on which it was founded. He then consults him on some other points, and concludes with informing him that he had read with great pleasure his *Pastoral*, and requesting a copy of his *Commentary* on

Ezechiel. (19) It appears, that the Pope did not receive this letter nor some other memoirs, which Columbanus wrote to him on the subject. About the same time several Gallican bishops were assembled in council for the purpose of deliberating on that question, and of deciding on how they should act with regard to Columbanus. He wrote them a letter, in which he thanked God that they had met on his account, and wishes that they would, as the canons require, hold councils oftener than they used to do. He begs of them to examine, with mildness and humility, which is the right tradition relative to Easter time, and refers them to the answer he gave them three years before, his three tomes addressed to the Pope, and his memoir directed to the bishop Arigius. (20) He adds that he was not the author of the question, and that he and his companions merely wish to follow the practice of their elders. It would, he says, I think, be better for you to comfort us poor strangers than to go on disturbing us. He then tells them, that he did not dare to appear before them for fear of disputing in their presence, contrary to the precept of the Apostle; and that, if it be God's will that they should drive him out of the desert, whither he came from so great a distance for the love of Jesus Christ, he will say with the Prophet; *If I am the cause of this tempest, make it cease by throwing me into the sea.* He observes in the course of the letter, that he had lived in the forests of that country for twelve years, whence it follows that it was written either in 601 or 602. (21) Whatever was the result of this letter, or the decision of the council, we find St. Columbanus still persisting in his Paschal computation, and still annoyed by the Gallican clergy for so doing. For the purpose of being protected against their attacks, he had recourse to the then Pope, whether Sabinian, or Boniface the third or fourth, is uncertain, (22) and sent him copies of his letter to Pope Gregory,

which had not been delivered to that Pope. (23) He requests of him to be allowed to follow the tradition of his elders, if it be not contrary to faith, and says that he does not disturb others with regard to their observances. We ask, he adds, for peace and ecclesiastical unity, such as that which St. Polycarp maintained with Pope Anicetus, and for permission to observe our own laws according to the regulation made by the 150 fathers of the council of Constantinople. (24)

(18) Fleury says (*L.* 36. §. 44.) that Columbanus celebrated Easter on the 14th of the moon. This is not correctly expressed. He ought to have said, that Columbanus reckoned the Paschal Sundays, *viz.* the Sundays, on which Easter could be celebrated, from the 14th to the 20th of the moon. This was contrary to the Alexandrian computation from the 15th to the 21st, which had been received at Rome not many years before the time of Columbanus, and thence introduced into France. Until the adoption of the Alexandrian method there were mistakes on both sides. Of these subjects more in their proper place.

(19) This letter has been published from Fleming by Sirin, and thence, together with the other letters and works of St. Columbanus, republished in the 12th tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* above mentioned. It shows a considerable share of learning, and is written with apostolical freedom, yet combined with expressions of great respect and esteem for St. Gregory, whom Columbanus says he would have waited on in person, did his health and the care of his institution permit him. Fleming thought (*Comment. ad Vitam S. Columbani Collectan.* p. 319.) that St. Columbanus indicates in this letter his having been already at Rome. But as Sirin justly remarks (*ib.* p. 164.), there is no foundation for this supposition, the words of the saint not requiring that explanation, but a different one, which is plain enough.

(20) Fleury says, (*ib.*) that Arigius is thought to have been archbishop of Lyons. Mabillon (*Annal. &c. L.* 9. c. 34.) thinks that he was the primus bishop of Vapincum, (now *Gap*) who lived in those times, and is often mentioned by Fleury himself. The

name of the Archbishop of Lyons was properly *Aridius*, and he is so called by Fleury (*L.* 36. §. 49.) It is true that in some rather late documents he is called also *Arigius*, and his name is infamous in history, having been a friend of Brunehild and her copartner in the horrid persecution of Desiderius bishop of Vienne; although some writers have endeavoured to exculpate him, without, however, convincing any impartial reader. (See Sammarthan, (*Gallia Christiana*, Tom. IV. col. 40 seqq.) It is odd that Fleury, who places in 602 the council held concerning St. Columbanus, could have supposed that the bishop Arigius, to whom the saint's memoir had been addressed, was Aridius of Lyons; for he might have known, that he did not become archbishop of Lyons until 603. (*Gallia Chr. ib.*) Now, if this Aridius were the person referred to by Columbanus, the council should have been held after 602. Dupin, indeed, had said (*Bibliothèque, &c.* at *Columbanus*, 7th century,) what Fleury has as to Arigius; but he does not mark the time of the council. There was a council held at Challon sur Saone in 603; its business, however, was relative not to Columbanus but to Desiderius of Vienne. Besides, it is clear that St. Columbanus had written to Arigius before the assembling of the council concerning himself, and that Arigius was a well known bishop at the time, which cannot be said of Aridius of Lyons, whose first appearance we do not find until 603, and who, I suspect, was not in his own times called *Arigius*. The reason for afterwards giving him this name was probably a wish to confound him with St. Arigius of Gap, a person, highly esteemed by St. Gregory, and who, it cannot be doubted, was the bishop to whom Columbanus had directed a tract on the Paschal question.

(21) Fleury calculates that it was written in 602, because, he says, the monastery of Luxeu was founded in 590. But St. Columbanus reckoned the twelve years from the time of his arrival in the Vosges, which was in said year, and prior by some months to the foundation of Luxeu. (See *Not.* 9 and 12.) Mabillon (*loc. cit.*) states that the council was assembled in the 12th year from Columbanus's said arrival, which, he says, corresponds to A. D. 600, yet supposing that the 12 years, mentioned by the saint should be considered as not complete. This does not agree with what he has elsewhere as to the saint's transactions. If the

council, in which the conduct of Columbanus was discussed, was the same as one thought to have been held in consequence of an order of the Pope issued in 599, it might seem that it ought to be assigned to 600. But Columbanus speaks of the council as if assembled merely on his own account, and, on the other hand, in the directions given by the Pope, concerning the subjects to be treated of in the council ordered by him, there is not a word about Columbanus or the Paschal question. (See Fleury, *L.* 36. §. 10.) Be the matter as it may, there is every reason to believe, that the council written to by the saint was held either in 601 or 602.

(22) As St. Columbanus's letter is directed to the Pope in general without any distinguishing criterion, it has been generally supposed that he was Boniface the third or fourth. Boniface the third became Pope on the 15th of February A. D. 606, and died on the 12th of November in said year. His immediate successor was Boniface the fourth, who, after a vacancy of more than ten months, was placed on the chair of St. Peter on the 18th of September in 607, and lived until 614. If the Boniface to whom Columbanus wrote on this occasion, was the third, the letter must have been written in 606; if he was the fourth, we must assign it to some time between the latter end of 607 and that part of 609, in which the saint began to be persecuted by Brunehild and her grandson Theodoric. It is evident from the letter, that it was written prior to this persecution. Mabillon (*Annal. &c. L.* x. §. 36.) makes mention of it, as directed to the third Boniface, while Fleming exhibits it as written to the fourth. Pagi (*Critica &c. ad A.* 605.) differs from both, and holds that Fabian, the immediate successor of St. Gregory, was the Pope addressed by Columbanus. In this case the letter was written either in the late part of 604, or early in 605.

(23) In the letter, just treated of, Columbanus says that the bearers of his letters to Gregory were twice prevented by Satan from delivering them. Perhaps they were intercepted by his opponents in France.

(24) He alludes to a part of the second canon of that council in which it is decreed, that the churches without the Roman empire are to be administered according to the traditionary custom of their fathers. “ *Quae autem in Barbaris sunt gentibus, Dei*

ecclesias administrare oportet secundum patrum, quae servata est, consuetudinem."

§. v. A much more severe persecution awaited St. Columbanus, excited against him by that wicked old queen dowager, Brunehild, or, as the French now call her, Brunchaut, the relict of Sigebert king of Austrasia, and mother of Childebert, who became king also of Burgundy, (25) and died in 596. He left two sons, who succeeded him under the direction of Brunehild their grandmother, Theodebert king of Austrasia, and Theodoric, or Thierry, king of Burgundy. Brunehild lived with Theodebert, until, at the request of the noblesse of Austrasia, he banished her. She then fled in the year 599 to Theodoric, by whom she was kindly received. (26) When this prince was no more than a stripling, she contrived to corrupt his morals, in order to preserve her authority over him, insomuch so, that at a very early age he kept concubines. He had, however, a great veneration for St. Columbanus, and used to visit him very often. The saint, wishing to reclaim him, admonished him sharply to change his course of life, and told him how infamous it was to take up with concubines instead of getting a wife, by whom, as a respectable queen, he might have legitimate children. Theodoric was so much affected by these exhortations, that he promised to follow the advice of Columbanus. When Brunehild was informed of the king's intention, she became enraged, like another Jezabel, being afraid that if a queen were introduced, she would lose her own power and rank. (27) Some time after, the saint happening to call to see her at Brocoriacum (28) Brunehild, on perceiving him coming into the court, brought out the illegitimate children of Theodoric, who were then four, to meet him. When he saw them he asked what did they want. She answered; "they are the King's children; do you give them your blessing." "Know,"

he replied, "that they will never reign; for they are sprung from debauchery." Getting into a fury, she ordered the children to be withdrawn, and Columbanus left the court. She then dispatched messengers with orders not to allow his monks to quit the precincts of their monasteries, and an injunction to others not to receive them or give them any assistance. Columbanus, wishing to put a stop to these proceedings, went to Spissia, (29) where Theodoric was together with his grandmother. Having arrived there about sun-set he refused to stop in any of the houses belonging to the king, who, on being apprized of his determination, gave orders that he should be supplied at his lodging with every thing necessary in a splendid manner. Some exquisite dishes, wine, &c. were accordingly brought to him, which when Columbanus saw, he asked what was the meaning of this apparatus. The answer was, that they were sent to him by the king. He then said; "It is written, *The Most High rejects the gift of the impious*; (30) nor is it fit that the mouths of the servants of God should be defiled with the viands of one, who refuses them an entrance not only into his own habitation but likewise into those of others." On his having finished these words, the dishes, &c. cracked into pieces, and every thing was scattered on the floor. The king's officers being terrified, announced to him what had taken place, who, likewise struck with terror, hastened the next morning along with Brunehild to wait upon the saint. They asked pardon for what had been done against him and his monks, and promised to amend their conduct. He then returned to his monastery. (31)

(25) See *Not.* 9.(26) See Henault, *Abregé*, &c.(27) Jonas, *cap.* 17.(28) Bourcheresse between Challon and Autun. Fleury, *L.* 36. §. 57.(29) Espoisses between Semur and Montreal. Fleury, *ib.*

The saint's object in going to that place was not, as Fleury states, to appease Brunechild, but to give further admonitions to the king.

(30) *Eccli.* xxxiv. 23.

(31) *Jonas, cap.* 18.

§. VI. Brunechild and Theodoric, far from fulfilling their promise, still continued in their usual irregularities and scandals, which so displeased the saint that he wrote a very severe letter to the king, and threatened to separate from his communion, (32) unless he would speedily renounce his vicious habits. This was highly displeasing to Brunechild, who accordingly set every engine at work to envenom the king's mind against the saint, and procured the cooperation of pliant nobles and courtiers for that purpose. She solicited also the bishops to find fault with his monastic rule. The king thus pressed went in person, attended by his sycophants, to Luxeu, and, not having any thing improper to charge Columbanus with, made a complaint of his differing from the usages of the province in not allowing to Christians of every description access into the interior of his monasteries. The saint replied with firmness, that it was not his practice to allow it, but that he had proper places for receiving all sorts of people. Theodoric then forcing his way into the monastery said; "If you wish to derive any benefit from our bounty, all these places must be open to every one." He had already got as far as the refectory, when Columbanus thus addressed him; "If you endeavour to violate the discipline here established, know that I will do without your presents or any succour from you; and if you are to come to this place for the purpose of destroying the monasteries of the servants of God, and of corrupting the regular discipline, know that your kingdom will be destroyed together with all your royal race." The king, terrified by this denunciation, immediately withdrew, and, as the saint still reproached him with his conduct, said to

him ; “ You hope I will give you the crown of martyrdom ; but I am not such a fool as to commit so heinous a crime ; and I now tell you what is best to be done. As your system is different from that of all other times, do you return to whence you came.” The courtiers added, that they did not like to have any one in their country, who would not associate with every body. Columbanus answered, that he would not quit the cloister, unless dragged out by force. A nobleman, named Baudolfus, was then left to watch him, and soon after sent him to Besançon, where he was to remain until the king’s further pleasure should be known. While there, he was left quite free without being guarded or disturbed by any one, and, as no orders appeared relative to him, he thought he might return to his monastery, as he accordingly did together with those, who had followed him. Brunehild and Theodoric, being apprized of his return, became greatly enraged, and ordered some military men to proceed to Luxeu and drive him out of the monastery. Many of them were exceedingly sorry for being employed on this errand. The saint was very loth to part with his dear monks and disciples, who would have followed him to any part of the world. But the king had given orders, that none should be allowed to accompany him except his own countrymen and such as were Britons, while those, who were native of France, should stay behind. These were encouraged by the saint to keep up their spirits, as God would soon avenge their cause. This final departure of St. Columbanus from his monasteries in the Vosges took place in the 20th year from his arrival in that country, and, as appears from other circumstances, A. D. 610. (33)

(32) This separation from communion is called *excommunication* by Jonas ; but it must not be understood in the strict sense of the word, or of a total exclusion from the body of the faith-

ful. Columbanus, who was only a priest, was too well acquainted with the discipline of the church to imagine, that he could inflict such a punishment as general excommunication. What he meant was that he would not communicate *in sacris* with Theodoric, and that, for instance, he would not give him the Eucharist, nor even allow him to enter his church. Innumerable cases of this sort of partial excommunication occur in Ecclesiastical history; and we find three of them, exactly similar to what was threatened by Columbanus, in the proceedings of St. Ambrose, with regard to three emperors; 1. Maximus, whom, as Paulinus tells us (*Vit. Ambros.*) *a communionis consortio segregavit*, on account of his having shed the blood of the emperor Gratian: 2. Valentinian junior: (See *Ep. 30 ad Valentin. junior.*) 3. Theodosius, otherwise a most religious prince, for the massacre of Thessalonica. Yet in none of these instances did St. Ambrose mean that sort of excommunication, by which a person is cut out from all Christian communion and rejected by the whole church. Nor did he suppose that other bishops might not hold communion with those princes, if they pleased to do so. The Irish church distinguished six sorts of excommunication. (See below *Chap. xxxii. §. 11.*)

(33) Jonas has, (*cap. 19.*) “*Vicesimo anno post incolatum eremi illius.*” Fleury (*L. 37. §. 6.*) makes this 20th year the same as A. D. 610. Mabillon also (*Annal. &c. (L. x. §. 47.)*) assigns the saint’s departure to the same year. And here I may observe that he must have been wrong in calling A. 600 the 12th year of Columbanus in the Vosges; (above *Not. 21.*) for, whereas he admits that the 20th year of his abode there was A. 610, how could 600 have been the 12th? From Jonas having mentioned not 20 years complete, but only the 20th from the saint’s arrival in the desert, that is, from A. 590, it might seem that the year of the departure was perhaps rather 609 than 610. But from what will be seen in the following note it is evident, that the latter is the true date.

§. VII. The saint and his companions were escorted on their rout towards Ireland by a corps of guards commanded by one Ragamund, to whom, when they had reached Auxerre, Columbanus said; “Remember what I now tell you; Clotarius, whom

ye now despise, will be your master in three years time." (34) Thence they were conducted to Nevers, to be there embarked in a boat plying on the Loire. (35) As some of them were rather slow in getting into the boat, one of them Lua, (36) a very holy man, was struck with an oar by one of the guards. The saint expostulated with him for his wanton cruelty towards unoffending persons, who were already persecuted more than enough, and announced to him that he would be struck by God in the very same spot; and so it turned out soon after; for, having returned to it he was there drowned. When arrived at Orleans, Columbanus and his followers were obliged to remain in tents on the bank of the Loire, and would not be allowed to enter any of the churches, the king having given orders that they should not. Being in want of provisions, two of them, one of whom was named Potentinus, (37) went into the city to procure something. The people were afraid to give them any supplies; but, as they were returning, they were met by a Syrian woman, who asked them who they were. On their explaining themselves and mentioning their business, she addressed them with great respect, and invited them to to her house, where, she said, they should get whatever they were in need of; telling them at the same time, that she also was a foreigner and from a distant country of the East. They went along with her, and sat down until she brought them some necessaries. Observing a blind man in the place, and inquiring who he was, she answered that he was her husband and a countryman of hers. They said, that if he were brought before Columbanus, he might recover his sight by means of his prayers. The blind man encouraged by these words, and strengthened by faith, followed them with the help of a guide on their return, and, just as Potentinus had finished relating to the saint what had occurred, presented himself before him, and requested his prayers towards being

freed from his blindness. Columbanus, perceiving his faith, called upon the brethren to pray for this man, and, having lain prostrate for a considerable time on the ground, rising up touched his eyes and making the sign of the cross restored his sight to him. Thenceforth numbers of persons afflicted with various infirmities flocked to the saint, and the inhabitants of Orleans largely, yet secretly, contributed towards the wants of himself and his companions.

(34) Jonas, *ib.* In fact, Clotharius, who was then sovereign of only the kingdom of Soissons, became king of all France in 613. Hence it is clear, that the year of the saint's delivering that prophecy, and accordingly of his last departure from Luxeu, could not have been prior to 610.

(35) It may seem odd that, having arrived at Auxerre, they should have been brought so far to the South, and out of the straight line to the British sea, as Nevers. But it is probable that the first intention was to convey them by land; and, that as this was considered inconvenient for perhaps many reasons, it was resolved at Auxerre to embark them on the Loire. To meet with what we would call a packet boat, they were obliged to turn off towards Nevers, where there was a station for vessels of that sort.

(36) Jonas, *cap.* 20. This is the Lua alluded to above, *Not.* 5. He must have been either an Irishman or a Briton, as none others of the monks were allowed to accompany the saint. But his name, being a well known Irish one, favours the former supposition. It is very probable that he was one of those, who had followed Columbanus from Ireland. I do not say, *certain*, because there are reasons to suppose, that, besides his original companions, he had some other Irish monks in the Vosges. Mabillon (*Annal.* &c. *L.* x. §. 48.) fell into a mistake, similar to that of Usher, (See *Not.* 93. to *Chap.* XII.) thinking that this Lua was perhaps the Luanus mentioned by St. Bernard.

(37) We may, I think, conclude from his name, that Potentinus was a Romanized Briton. He afterwards established a monastery in a suburb of Coutance (in Normandy); and Jonas tells us (*cap.* 20.) that he was still alive in his time.

§. VIII. Being arrived at Tours, Columbanus requested of the guards to permit him to visit the tomb of St. Martin. They refused to comply, and ordered the boatmen to put forward; but, in spite of them, the boat stopped at the harbour, and thus he had the consolation of spending a whole night in prayer near that venerable monument. The next morning Leuparius, the bishop, invited him to dinner. The saint accepted of his invitation, and remained with him for that day. One of the guests was Chrodoaldus, who, although related by marriage to king Theodebert, was a faithful adherent of Theodoric. Columbanus, being apprized of this, said to him; "As you are connected by treaty with Theodoric, you will do well to let him know, that he and his children will be destroyed, root and branch, in the course of three years." The bishop, having supplied the saint with some necessary store, bid him a prosperous farewell. At length he and his followers arrived at Nantes, where they remained for some days waiting for a passage to Ireland. The bishop Sophronius paid them no attention; but the Almighty did not forsake them. Their wants were abundantly relieved by two pious ladies Procula and Dola or Doda, which made the courtly prelate so much ashamed, that, together with the Count Theodoald, he did all he could to hurry them off. A ship was found ready to sail for Ireland, and in it were embarked the saint's companions, their sea store, &c. while he himself was to go down in a boat as far as the mouth of the river, where he would join them. Just as the vessel had reached the ocean, it was encountered by an immense mass of waves, which drove it back and cast it on shore, where it lay stranded for three days. The master conceived that his being stopped in his voyage was owing to his having on board the saint's companions and articles belonging to him. Accordingly he determined on putting them out of

the ship, which when he had done, the obstacles to his course immediately ceased. (38) The whole party then returned to Nantes, and were no longer disturbed, every one paying the greatest respect and attention to Columbanus. It was before his companions embarked in said vessel, that he wrote from Nantes (39) an excellent letter to the monks, whom he had left behind him in the Vosges. He gives them various salutary directions, and desires them to obey Attala, whom he orders to remain along with them, in case he thinks his doing so conducive to the good of souls. "But if" he adds, "you see danger, I mean danger of disunion, which may be caused by the Paschal question, you may come to me." Then addressing the whole community, he points out to them how they are to act, in case Attala should retire from the presidency.

(38) Jonas, *cap.* 22.

(39) It is odd, that Fleury (*L.* 37. §. 6.) speaks in a doubting manner of this letter having been written at Nantes. Mabillon does not; and, in fact, it is evident from the context, that it was written there. For instance, he says that, at the very time he was writing it, a person brought him word that a ship was getting ready to take him against his will to his own country. He tells his monks of Burgundy, that their brethren were then near the Britons, *in vicinia Britonum*, meaning those of Brittany. This is surely a positive indication that the place was Nantes. In Fleming's collection and in the *Biblioth-Patr.* this letter is marked *No.* 3.

§. IX. The saint and his followers, being now perfectly free, leaving Nantes proceeded to the kingdom of Clotharius son of Chilperic, (40) who, knowing how cruelly Columbanus had been treated by Brunechild and Theodoric received him with open arms, as a heavenly gift, and requested him to settle in his dominions. The saint declined his in-

vitation, partly lest he might add fuel to the enmity existing between him and Theodoric, and partly for other reasons. Meanwhile, Clotharius detaining him as long as he could, he gave that king some good advice with regard to the management of his court. While he remained with him, a quarrel arose between Theodoric and his brother Theodebert concerning the boundaries of their kingdoms. Both parties sent ambassadors to Clotharius, calling upon him to assist one against the other. On this occasion he consulted Columbanus, who counselled him not to join either of them, whereas both their kingdoms would fall into his hands within three years. The king followed his advice. This was in 611, the year in which the two royal brothers were making preparations for war. (41) Some time after the saint applied to Clotharius for the purpose of being enabled, through his means, to pass through the kingdom of Theodebert (Austria) on his way towards Italy. Clotharius then ordered some persons to accompany him, who brought him first to Paris, where he cured a man possessed with the devil, and thence to Meaux, where he was most joyfully welcomed by Channeric, a nobleman very high in favour with Theodebert. This worthy man, wishing to detain Columbanus as long as possible at Meaux, and to have his family instructed by him, told the persons who had been sent with him by Clotharius, that there was no further occasion for their attendance, and that he would take care to have him introduced to the king Theodebert. The saint gave his blessing to Channeric's family, and devoted to God a daughter of his, named Farra or Burgundofora, then very young, who afterwards became eminent for virtue. Having left Meaux he was entertained, on his way, at Vultiacum (*Eussi* or *Ussi*) on the Marne by Autharius a distinguished and pious man, whose lady Aiga brought two small sons of theirs, Ado

and Dado, to receive the saint's benediction. He blessed them ; and both of them, in course of time, retiring from the world, founded monasteries according to his Rule, and were celebrated for their sanctity

(40) Chilperic was one of the sons of Clotharius I. and got to his share the kingdom of Soissons. He was brother to Sigebert the grandfather of the saint's persecutor Theodoric. Chilperic's son was Clotharius II. to whose kingdom Columbanus went from Nantes, and which, says Jonas, (*cap.* 23.) was in the extreme parts of Gaul towards the ocean.

(41) See Henault, *Abrege*, &c. at *Clotharius II.*

§. x. At length Columbanus appeared before Theodebert, by whom he was received with marked distinction. By this time several of the monks, whom he had left at Luxeu, had joined him. Theodebert promised, that he would find for him agreeable places in his kingdom, every way fit for servants of God, and where he would have an opportunity of announcing the Gospel to nations in want of it. The saint answered that he would stop for a while in some such place, and try what good he could do in that line. The king left him to his own choice of a situation ; and Columbanus having embarked on the Rhine, and proceeding against the current, halted a while at Mentz, where he and his people were plentifully supplied with necessaries by the bishop ; and thence continued his course up the river. (42) Having examined divers places they came to the river Limath in Switzerland, and hence to the lake of Zurich. Travelling along its western bank they arrived in the district, now called the Canton of Zug, and liking the place fixed upon it for their abode. But soon finding the inhabitants exceedingly impious and obstinate, and that their exertions produced no other effect than to excite a violent persecution against themselves, they left that neighbourhood and re-

moved to Arbona near the lake of Constance, where lived a worthy priest named Willimar, who treated them for seven days with great hospitality. Columbanus inquired of him if there was any retired place in those parts convenient for the erection of a monastery. He told him there was a very fit situation near the ruins of a town called Brigantium (Bregentz); and, as the saint and his companions expressed a wish to go thither, he provided them with a boat and rowers for that purpose. (43) When arrived there, Columbanus was not well pleased with the circumstances of the place, but pledged himself to remain there for some time to propagate the faith among the Suevi, who lived in the neighbourhood. On one occasion he found the people preparing to offer a great libation out of a huge vessel full of beer. On the saint's asking them what they meant to do with it, they answered that it was intended as an offering to their god Vodan. He then blew on the vessel, which immediately cracked into pieces, and the beer was all spilled. Having then preached to them against their superstitions, he ordered them to go to their homes. Many of them were soon after converted, and when instructed, were baptized. (44)

(42) Jonas, *cap.* 26.

(43) Walafr. *Strab. Vit. S. Galli. L. 1. capp.* 4. 5. 6. Jonas omits all that Walafrid has, as now touched upon, and makes no mention of any place or persons visited by Columbanus from the time he left Mentz until he arrived at Bregentz.

(44) Jonas, *cap.* 26. Fleury was mistaken (*L. 37. §. 7.*) in placing the scene of this anecdote of the libation of beer, &c. in the district near the lake of Zurich. Walafrid does not mention it, where he exhibits the saint as having been there. The only remarkable fact he relates as having occurred in said district is the burning of some places of idolatrous worship by Gallus, and his throwing the people's oblations into the lake, whereupon they formed a plan to kill him, and flog Columbanus. Mabillon (*Annal.*

&c. *L. x. §. 52*) exhibits the beer libation, &c. as having occurred at Bregentz.

§. xi. Just as these holy men had got out of the boat at Bregentz, they went to an oratory or chapel, which had been constructed in honour of St. Aurelia. Having prayed for some time, they formed near it some huts for themselves. There was a temple (45) at Bregentz, in which three images of gilt brass were affixed to the wall, and used to be adored by the people; who, having discarded the service of the holy altar, were wont to say; "these are our ancient gods and protectors." On a day of solemn worship in that temple a great multitude of people had assembled, partly on account of the feast, and partly to see the strangers. Gallus, who could speak the language of the country very well, (46) addressed them by orders of Columbanus, and exhorted them to return to the true God. Then taking the images he broke them in pieces with stones and threw them into the lake. On seeing this some were converted, and, confessing their sins, praised the Lord; while others were enraged at the destruction of the images. Columbanus then called for water, and blessing it sprinkled the temple, and, the usual psalmody in going round being observed, dedicated it a church. He anointed the altar, placed there the reliques of St. Aurelia, (47) and covering it celebrated Mass. At the conclusion of the whole ceremony, the people departed full of joy. A monastery was next erected, and suitable employment was assigned to each of the brethren, some working in a garden, others attending to the care of fruit trees. The particular occupation of Gallus was, it is said, the making of nets and fishing for the use of the community and of strangers coming to visit them. (48) Columbanus, having done so much good for the people about Bregentz, had an idea of going to preach the Gospel to the Venetici or Sclavi, (49) who were

still immersed in ignorance ; but in consequence of a vision, which he had, perceived that the time was not yet come for the conversion of that nation.

(45) Fleury (*ib.*) calls this temple a church, and confounds it with the oratory of St. Aurelia. But, as far as I can understand the text of Walafrid, whence this narrative is taken, it was a pagan temple, or, at least, used as such, when Columbanus arrived at Bregentz. Perhaps it had been once a Christian church, near which stood the oratory. Walafrid seems to hint so much, where he speaks of the holy altar in such a manner as if, although neglected, it were within that temple. Mabillon (*ib.*) supposed that it had been originally a church dedicated to St. Aurelia, and which was purified by Columbanus. But if so, why, as will be seen lower down, does Walafrid say, that Columbanus placed there the reliques of St. Aurelia? Surely they should have been there already, if Mabillon's opinion be correct.

(46) This will not be wondered at, if it be recollected that, as the learned know, the Frankish tongue, which Gallus had time enough to become master of, when in the Vosges, was not different, except in some shades of dialect, from that spoken in Germany.

(47) Hence we may conjecture, that those reliques had been until then in the oratory.

(48) Walafrid, *Vit. S. G. L.* 1. *cap.* 6. Fleury very inadvertently applies to Columbanus what Walafrid here says of Gallus.

(49) Jonas writes ; (*cap.* 26.) “ Veneticorum, (*al.* Venetiorum) qui et Sclavi dicuntur.” To understand this, it must be observed that the Sclavi or Slavans, who had during the reign of Justinian made several irruptions into Dalmatia and other Illyrian provinces, (See Procopius *De bello Gothico* L. III. *cap.* 29, 38, 40) were settled in Columbanus' time, in some parts of the Venetic or Venetian province. (See Muratori, *Scriptor. Rerum Italic. Tom.* 1. *p.* 470, 471.) Venetia extended eastward as far as Histria, or Irtia; and Muratori relates, *Annals*, &c. that in 600 the Slavonians threatened Salona in Istria, and had begun to enter Italy.

§. XII. Meanwhile Theodebert, king of Austrasia, was very busy in making warlike preparations against

his brother Theodoric. The saint, foreseeing what would come to pass, paid him a visit and advised him to embrace the clerical state and submit to ecclesiastical discipline, lest, besides the loss of his kingdom, he might suffer also that of his soul. The king and the courtiers laughing at this proposal, Columbanus said that, if he would not voluntarily become a member of the clerical order, he would in a short time be made one against his will. The war having broken out, Theodebert was defeated first near Toul, and a second time at Tolbiac. During this bloody battle Columbanus happened to be in a solitary place attended only by Chagnoald a member of his community. While reading he fell asleep, and soon after awaking announced to Chagnoald, that a dreadful engagement was at that very time going on between the two kings. Chagnoald requested of him to pray for the success of Theodebert against the common enemy. He answered that this was a foolish and irreligious proposal, not being conformable to the will of God, who has commanded us to pray for our enemies. Theodebert, being pursued, was taken at Cologne, and sent to Brunchild then at Challon sur Saone, who, having first forced him into the clerical order, a few days after ordered him to be put to death. (50) These transactions occurred in the year 612. Columbanus, reflecting on the state of affairs, and wishing to get beyond the reach of Brunchild and Theodoric now become so powerful, lost no time in quitting that country and setting out for Italy, (51) accompanied by the brethren, except Gallus, whom he was obliged to leave behind on account of his being ill of a fever. (52) He arrived at Milan in the same year 612, (53) after having spent about one year at Bregentz, (54) and was received with great kindness by Agilulf king of the Lombards, who gave him leave to settle in whatever part of his dominions he should think fit. While at Milan, Columbanus confuted the Arians by the authority of

the Holy scriptures, and wrote a very learned tract against them. (55) Some time after, and according to every appearance in the year 613, (56) he wrote his celebrated letter to Pope Boniface IV. relative to the question of the Three Chapters, which, notwithstanding the decision of the fifth general council, still continued to agitate a considerable portion of the Church. (57) He would probably not have meddled with this question, had he not been requested, nay pressed by Agilulf to apply to the Pope for the purpose of inducing him to put an end to the schism, by which his kingdom was disturbed. (58) Columbanus, addressing him as the most honoured head of churches, the pastor of pastors, &c. (59) Yet, when entering on the subject, writes with great freedom, and is particularly severe against the memory of Pope Vigilius, whom he supposed to have prevaricated from his duty. (60) He tells Boniface that the Irish are orthodox believers, constantly adhering to the faith and apostolic doctrine, which they had received from his predecessors, and that they never had among them any heretics, Jews, or schismatics. (61) He says he had promised that the Roman church would not abet any error, and exhorts the Pope to assemble a council and to remove every pretext for the imputations brought against himself and his see. “For, as I have already said, we are attached to the chair of St. Peter; and, although Rome is great and renowned, yet with us it is great and distinguished only on account of that chair.— Through the two apostles of Christ we are almost celestial, and Rome is the head of the churches of the world.” (62)

(50) Jonas, *cap.* 27. Henault, *Abrege*, &c. at Theodebert II.

(51) Jonas, *cap.* 29. Walafrid (*Vit. S. G. L.* 1. *cap.* 7.) assigns as the cause of their departure from Bregentz a peremptory order to that purpose issued by Duke Gunzo, who was made to believe by their pagan enemies that their presence in that country was

hurtful to the chace. How that could have been it is not easy to understand; and Walafrid had, I dare say, no better foundation for this than for some other stories of his, which I shall not trouble the reader with.

(52) Walafrid (*L. 1. cap. 8.*) tells us, that Columbanus imagined that Gallus was not really sick, and that he feigned illness as a pretext for remaining in that country, to which he supposed him to be much attached. He adds that, although Columbanus gave him permission to stay there, he laid an injunction on him not to celebrate mass during his own life time. Yet, says Walafrid, (*ib. cap. 25.*) he became reconciled to Gallus before his death, and gave orders that his staff should be sent to him as a mark of absolution. Jonas, who is older and much better authority than Walafrid, has not a word about any such misunderstanding. Columbanus was not a man to be easily imposed upon; nor is it at all probable, that he would have suspected so holy and dear a friend of an intention to deceive him. The truth is, if I be not much mistaken, that Columbanus advised Gallus to remain in those parts, whereas he might do so with safety, and by his knowledge of the language and other endowments was well qualified to improve the evangelical harvest, which had so happily commenced. That Gallus was attacked with a fever about the time of their parting, I see no reason for denying; and we may suppose that Columbanus considered it as an indication from God, that Gallus should not follow him.

(53) This is the date assigned by Mabillon, Fleury, &c. as also by Muratori, *Annali, D'Italia* at A. 612. That it is the true one is evident from this having been the year, in which Theodebert was totally defeated, and in consequence of which Columbanus was forced to make his escape from Bregentz.

(54) We have seen (above §. 9.) that Columbanus left the court of Clotharius in 611, and probably early in that year. Thence reckoning until that part of 612, which followed the campaign so fatal to Theodebert, and allowing some time for the saint's journey to Bregentz, we may infer that his stay in this place was no longer than about one year. Walafrid is evidently wrong (*Vit. S. G. L. 1. cap. 6.*) in stating, that he spent there three years; and I am surprised that Fleury (*L. 37. §. 7.*) has copied him without any observation. For, even supposing with Fleury, that Columbanus

did not leave the court of Clotharius until 610, (which, however, is not correct) it must have been late in that year, as it was in the course of said year that he was put out of Luxeu, and some not inconsiderable time must have elapsed between that expulsion and his parting with Clotharius. How then could three years be reckoned from that part, or indeed any part, of 610 until the part of 612, in which the saint left Bregentz? Mabillon (*Annal. &c. L. x. §. 52.*) mentions those three years, but with the addition of an *it is said*, not meaning to give them as a computation of his own.

(55) Jonas, *cap. 29.* This, as well as some other works of Columbanus, has been unluckily lost.

(56) This is the year marked by Mabillon, *Annal. &c. L. xi. §. 4.* Pagi has either 613 or 614. (*Critica in Annal. Bar. ad A. 614.*) If it was the latter, it will follow that the letter was written early in that year; for Boniface IV. died in May in said year.

(57) It is not my business to enter into a disquisition concerning that great controversy, an account of which may be found in every general ecclesiastical history. I shall merely observe, that the Irish clergy did not trouble themselves about that question, although several very respectable writers, such as Fleury, Pagi, &c. thought otherwise, founding their opinion on a letter of Gregory the great, written in 592, and generally believed to have been directed to the bishops of Ireland. It is marked in the old editions of Gregory's works, as *Ep. 36* of the second book of the Register, and with this head; "*Gregorius universis episcopis per Hiberniam.*" In the Benedictine edition it is *Ep. 51. ib.* and in the head the words, *per Hiberniam*, are omitted. The editors observe, that they are not genuine, and that, in all probability, this letter was written to the bishops of Histria, who were great sticklers for the Three chapters and opponents of the fifth council. Mabillon also says, (*An. Ben. L. xi. §. 4.*) that, instead of *Hiberniam*, we ought to read *Histriam*. A mere perusal of the letter is sufficient to show, that it was not written to the Irish bishops. The persons addressed in it gloried in the persecution, which they suffered for what they thought righteousness' sake. This agrees very well with the circumstances, in which the Histrian bishops were placed at that time with regard to the proceed-

ings of the court of Constantinople and the Exarchs against them, but cannot apply to the state of Ireland, over which neither the emperors nor their officers had any controul. The Irish kings of that period did not meddle with that dispute, nor is there in any of our ancient documents the least allusion to it, nor much less to a persecution on account of it. Whatever opinion St. Columbanus entertained concerning the Three chapters was formed by him in consequence not of what he had heard or seen in Ireland, but of the ferment, that agitated the north of Italy, relatively to this controversy.

I shall avail myself of this opportunity to caution the reader against supposing, that another letter of the same Pope was written also to the Irish bishops; which, together with that now treated of, Usher has inserted in the *Ep. Hib. Sylloge*, with this head; “*Gregorius Quirino episcopo et cæteris episcopis in Hibernia Catholicis.*” This head appears, indeed, in the Roman edition of Gregory’s works, although the Roman correctors of Gratian had remarked, (at *De Consecr. Distinct. 4. can. 44.*) that the Vatican MS. has not *Hibernia* but *Iberia*. It is now universally admitted, that the true reading is *Hiberia*, or *Iberia*. (See *Ed. Benedicto Registr. Epistol. L. xi. ep. 67.*) It is addressed to a bishop Quiricus (sometimes called *Quirinus*) of Iberia near the Black sea, in answer to his having consulted the Pope concerning the mode to be observed in receiving into the church persons returning from the Nestorian heresy. This alone proves that it was not written to any bishop of Ireland, where no Nestorians were to be found. Quiricus had consigned to a person going to Rome some letters for Gregory, which, however, he did not receive, the bearer having lost them at Jerusalem. Here we have a proof that those letters were not sent from Ireland; for surely no one, proceeding thence to Rome, would have previously gone to the Holy land.

(58) Columbanus writes; “*A rege cogos, ut singillatim suggeram tuis piis auribus sui negotium doloris. Dolor namque suus est schisma populi pro regina, pro filio, forte et pro se ipso.*” Once or twice more he repeats his having been urged by the king, as if apologizing for troubling the Pope with his letter.

(59) The letter is thus headed; “*Pulcherrimo (honoratissimo)*

omnium totius Europae ecclesiarum capiti, Papae praedulci, prae-celso praesuli, pastorum pastori, &c.

(60) Besides some other harsh expressions, he has; “Vigila, quia forte non bene vigilavit Vigilus, quem caput scandali ipsi clamant.” The assertion of Ledwich (*p.* 168.) that he charges Boniface himself, whom he ignorantly calls Boniface the *third*, with heresy, is one of his usual falsehoods.

(61) Nos enim SS. Petri et Pauli et omnium discipulorum divinum canonum Spiritu sancto scribentium discipuli sumus, toti Haberi, ultimi, habitatores mundi, nihil extra Evangelicam et Apostolicam doctrinam recipientes. Nullus haereticus, nullus Judaeus, nullus schismaticus fuit; sed fides Catholica, sicut a vobis primum, sanctorum scilicet Apostolorum successoribus, tradita est, inconcussa tenetur.

(62) Nos enim, ut ante dixi, devincti sumus cathedrae S. Petri; licet enim Roma magna est et vulgata, per istam cathedram tantum apud nos est magna et clara.—Propter Christi geminos apostolos vos prope caelestes estis; et Roma orbis terrorum caput et ecclesiarum.

§. XIII. In the same year 613 Columbanus founded the monastery of Bobbio amidst the Apennines. (63) This place was pointed out for him to the king by one Jocundus, who said that the situation was very convenient for a religious establishment, and that there was an old church there under the name of St. Peter. Thither the saint went with his companions, and immediately set about repairing the church and erecting a monastery; (64) which being completed, he built at some distance an oratory in honour of the Blessed Virgin. (65) Meanwhile his prophecy relative to Clotharius was fulfilled; for that prince, from having been king only of Soissons, became in this year sovereign of the whole French monarchy. (66) Clotharius, observing how exactly what Columbanus had foretold came to pass, wished to see him, and having sent for Eustatius, who then governed Luxeu, requested of him to go in search of Columbanus, and, when he should find him, to in-

duce him to come to his court. He told him that he might take along with him whomsoever he pleased of his nobles as vouchers of the king's good intentions, and that his expenses would be defrayed by the public. Eustasius, complying with the king's wish, undertook the journey in 614, and having found Columbanus, probably at Bobbio, opened to him his commission. The saint was highly rejoiced at seeing his dear disciple, and, detaining him for a few days, gave him some good advices as to the discipline and management of the people entrusted to his care. He desired him to make his apology to Clotharius, and to tell him that it was out of his power to wait upon him, and that he supplicated him to extend his royal protection to the monks of Luxeu. He charged Eustasius with a letter for him, containing some wholesome reproofs as to his conduct, notwithstanding which the king received it with great joy, and, taking Luxeu under his protection, provided it with an annual income, allowing Eustasius to stretch its boundaries as far as he thought proper. From this time out the saint spent the remainder of his life at Bobbio, where he survived by one year the return of Eustasius to France, (67) and died on the 21st of November A. D. 615, (68) having lived to a good old age and somewhat more than 72 years. (69) He was buried at Bobbio, where many miracles have been performed at his tomb, (70) and was succeeded there by Attala.

(63) The situation of Bobbio is too well known to require any observation of mine. Mabillon, (*Annal. Ben. L. x. §. 55.*) places the foundation of the monastery in 612. It is more probable that it was in 613; for Columbanus' arrival in Italy was rather late in 612, and it is plain that he spent some, not very short time, at Milan, before he repaired to Bobbio. Poor Ledwich (*p. 168*) makes Columbanus go straight from Luxeu to Bobbio, and attributes his expulsion from the former place to clerical resentment, alluding to his severe letter to Boniface IV. whom this

mighty antiquary calls the *third*. Thus then the Pope is to be charged, instead of Brunchild and Theodoric, with the persecution of Columbanus! Nor was Columbanus sent to Nantes; nor did he go to the courts of Clotharius and Theodebert; nor did he spend any time at Bregentz. But what does Ledwich care about history? No, nor about chronology? The Pope must be abused. His motto is; *Perish history and down with Popery!* But if the Pope was able to drive Columbanus from France, why did he let him come into Italy so much nearer to him? I am almost ashamed to take notice of this ignorant man's effusions. Yet in this case he is chargeable with something worse than ignorance. For, as he refers to Dupin, whom he had certainly looked into, and who has given a clear sketch of Columbanus' history, he must have known that his own statement as to the cause of the expulsion from Luxeu, &c. was not true. And he must have known, that Columbanus had been expelled from that place three years before he wrote the sharp letter, and before the *clerical resentment* he talks of could have been excited.

(64) Jonas, *cap.* 29.

(65) Mabillon, *ib.*

(66) We have seen that Theodebert of Austrasia was defeated and assassinated in 612. Theodoric, who had conquered him, died the following year at Metz just as he was on the point of waging war against Clotharius, who soon after seized upon the dominions of Theodoric, and put two of his sons to death. A third son made his escape, and another, who was spared, was afterwards forced to become a monk. Brunchild was also put to death by order of Clotharius, who accordingly became possessed of all France in 613. (See *Abregé Chronol.* at *Clotharius II.*)

(67) Jonas, *cap.* 29.

(68) Baronius, Pagi, Mabillon, Muratori, &c. agree that 615 was the year of his death. As to the day some MSS. have, instead of *xl. Kal. Decembr. ix. Kal. &c.* But Mabillon (*Annal. &c. L. xl. §. 17.*) and Pagi (*Critic. &c. A. 615.*) show that the former is the true reading.

(69) It is usually supposed that Columbanus died at the age of 56, in consequence of its being said that he was only 30 years old in the year 589. (See above *Not.* 8—9. This cannot be reconciled with what Ado has (*ap.* Mabillon, *ib.*) viz. that he died *in senectute bona*. The age of 56 could not be called a *good old*

age. We have, besides, the authority of Columbanus himself to show, that he lived to be really old and beyond the age of 72. He concludes his beautiful poetical epistle to Fedolius with these lines :

Haec tibi dictâram morbus oppressus acerbis,
 Corpore quos fragili patior *tristique senecta*.
 Nam ðdum praecipiti labuntur tempora cursu,
Nunc ad Olympiadis ter senae venimus annos.
 Omnia praetereunt, fugit irreparabile tempus.
 Vive, vale laetus *tristique memento senectae*.

Thus, having reached the years of an eighteenth Olympiad, he was then 72 years old, reckoning, according to the correct mode, each Olympiad at 4 years. Mabillon (*ib.*) seems to think, that Columbanus allowed, as some have done, five years for each, and consequently that he was then 90 years of age. It is strange that he could have entertained this idea, or thought that Columbanus lived to even to 72, whereas he had laid down more than once, that he was no more than thirty in 589. But although Mabillon contradicts himself, the fact is that the saint lived to the age of at least 72, to which it is assigned in the *Histoire Litteraire* (See below *Not.* 72.) his writing the *Ep.* to Fedolius. That Columbanus did not reckon the Olympiad at five years is plain from the very stile of the epistle, which is too full of vigour and classic recollections, particularly Greek, to be supposed the work of a man of ninety. Next we may observe that, if Columbanus lived to complete his ninetieth year, and even admit that he did not exceed it, it will follow that, as he died in 615, he would have been 64 years old in 589 when leaving Ireland. Now who will imagine, that he would have waited until that age to set out on a spiritual expedition, which required great strength both of mind and body? How long he lived after writing the epistle to Fedolius cannot be determined; perhaps about two or three years. Fleming has (*Comment. ad Vitam S. C. p.* 317. *seqq.*) some speculations, not worth attending to, concerning the age and distribution of the years of St. Columbanus.

(70) Jonas, *cap.* 29.

§. XIV. The plan which I have proposed to myself, will not allow me to enlarge on the writings of this great and holy man, such as, besides those already mentioned, his sermons or instructions, poems, &c. They are not difficult of access, (71) and an account of them is still more within the reach of every curious reader. (72) Let it suffice to observe, that, as evidently appears from them, he was gifted with a superior and very elegant genius, and deeply versed not only in every branch of ecclesiastical learning, but likewise in the classical studies, both Latin and Greek. (73) It would be superfluous to adduce proofs of the extraordinary esteem and admiration, in which his memory has been held by the Western church, or to enumerate the great advantages derived to religion and morality from his exertions and example, and from the illustrious school formed by him, which continued for ages to enlighten many parts of Europe, particularly France. (74) I have nothing more to add, than that St. Columbanus, besides the Irish computation of Easter, continued to observe at Luxeu and elsewhere the liturgy, which St. Patrick had introduced into Ireland, and which was retained by his master Comgall of Bangor. (75)

(71) Those, who cannot procure Fleming's Collection, which is become very scarce, may consult the above referred to edition of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, A. 1677. Tom. 12. and the later ones. Usher has published some of the saint's tracts, particularly Poems in the *Rer. Hib. Sylloge*.

(72) An Analysis of Columbanus's works is given by Dupin, (*Bibliothèque*, &c. and with great accuracy in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, by the Benedictines, Tom. 3. where the reader will find a nice inquiry into also his works that are lost. Harris, (*Writers*.) has an enumeration of those contained in Fleming's Collection.

(73) His acquaintance with the Latin poets is visible in the letter to Hunaldus, and with the Greek ones in that to Fedolius.

He must have acquired this classical learning before he went abroad, and before his whole time was occupied by governing monasteries, preaching the Gospel, and communicating religious instruction. This is one of the proofs of the attention paid in Ireland to the study of the Belles Lettres, at a time, when they were neglected in many other parts of Europe.

(74) Ordericus Vitalis writes, (*Histor. Eccl. L. 8. ad A. 1094.*)

“Hic admirandae sanctitatis pater (Columbanus) inter præcipuos laboravit, signis et prodigiis gloriose inter terrigenas effulsit, et Spiritu sancto edoctus monachilem regulam edidit, primusque Gallis tradidit. Florentissimi de schola ejus monachi prodierunt, et in mundo, velut astra in firmamento, virtutibus micuerunt. Eustasius enim Luxoviensis, Agilus Resbacensis, Faro Meldensis, Audomaris Benoniensis, Philibertus Gemmeticencis, aliique plures episcopi et abbates excellentissimæ processere religionis, quorum sanctitas evidentibus miraculis caelitus ostensa est; ipsorumque studio in filiis Ecclesia insigniter propagata est.—In gestis etiam saepe memoratur Audoëni Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, et Noviomensis Eligii, aliorumque virorum, qui *ab illo adunati sunt*, ac ad pacem virtutum per ejus documenta proveci sunt.” (Bellarmine (*De Scriptor. Eccles.*) says of Columbanus, that, “*ut novus quidam apostolus*, Angliam, Gallias, et Italiam mirifice illustravit.” He might have added Germany. The memory of Columbanus is still highly respected in the North of Italy, and to him the beautifully situated town of San Columbano in the territory of Lodi owes its name.

(75) See Usher, *p.* 971.)

CHAP XIV.

Succession of Aidus or Hugh son of Anmireus, and other Irish monarchs, to the year 665—St. Cairlan archbishop of Armagh—Senach—Setna—St. Fintan surnamed Corach—Senach Garbh—Colman son of Comgell—St. Senell bishop of Maghbile—St. Sillan—St. Colman or Columbar son of Beognai—Colman, surnamed Elo.—Erection of Lann-elo—Linally—Colman son of Dairene—Doire-mor monastery founded by Colman—St. Pulcherius—St. Erin of Ros-nic-treoin—St. Borr or Finbarr bishop of Cork—His real name was Lochan—founds the monastery of Loch-eire—Cathedral of Cork—St. Donnogh, or Modomnoch—St. Domangart—Domangart of Slieve Donard—St. Scutin or Scotin—erects the cell called Teagh-Scothin—St. Berach of Cluain—Cairpthe—The holy virgin Faila—St. Sencha—Osnata, Muadhnata and Talulla, sisters of St. Molaise.—St. Libhan or Libana—St. Schiria—Ethnea, Sodelbia and Cumania, daughters of king Aidus—Corcaria-caoin—St. Derbilta of Irras—St. Inella or Derinella—Difference in keeping the Paschal solemnity—Priests Fechin, Airendan, Failan, Coman, Commian, Colman, Ernan, Cronan and others—Petranus bishop of Lusk—Senach bishop of Armagh—St. Aidan or Modoc bishop of Ferns—First called Aodh—Was born in Inis-Breaghmuigh in the now county Cavan—Several establishments by him—Founds Ferns—Archbishoprick of Leinster annexed to Ferns—Guairé king of Connaught being dangerously ill relieved by the prayers of St. Maidoc—St. Colman of Kilmacduagh—Bishop Loman or Luman—Bishop Murgus—St. Ultun, bishop of Ardbraccan—Ferganus or Virgnous, abbot of Hy—Segeneus abbot of Hy—Mac Laisre bishop of Armagh—Thomian

or *Thoman*, bishop of *Armagh*—*St. Carthagh* of *Lismore*, otherwise called *Mochuda*—erects the *Monastery of Killtullach*—And of *Raithin* or *Raithen*—Drew up a *Rule for Monks*—Consecrated bishop—Expelled from *Raithen* by king *Blathmac*—Constructed a cell at *Ardfinan*—Erected *Lismore*—Dies—*St. Cuanna* of *Kill-chuanna*—*Mochua* son of *Mellain*—Three *Mochoemogs* disciples of *Carthagh*—*Gobban*, *Sraphan* and *Laseran*, sons of *Nessainn*—*Molua* *Lughayr*—*Aidan*—*Fiachna*—*Finluag*—*St. Libba* or *Molibba*, probably the first bishop of *Glendaloch*—*Dagan*, *Mobai* and *Menoc*, three brothers of *Molibba*—Dispute between the *Irish clergy*, and those of *Rome* and the *Anglo-Roman clergy* on the *Paschal festival*.

SECT. I.

WHILE Columbanus was absent in the continent, the Irish monarchy fell into the hands of a succession of princes of various branches of the house of *Niall*. *Aidus*, or *Hugh*, son of *Anmireus*, having been killed early in 599, (1) was succeeded by *Aidus*, surnamed *Slani*, son of *Diermit Mac Cervail*, and *Colman Rimhe* son of *Boetan* the first, (2) who reigned jointly for six years. (3) The throne then devolved in 605 to another *Aidus*, surnamed *Uairiohdnach*, son of *Domnald* the first, and grandson of *Murchertach Mac-Era*. (4) This *Aidus*, having ruled for seven years, (5) was succeeded in 612 by *Malcovus* or *Moelcova*, son of *Aidus I.* and grandson of *Anmireus*, who after a reign of about three years was killed fighting against *Subhneus* (*Sweeny*) *Meann*, (6) who became king of all Ireland in 615. *Subhneus Meann* was son of *Fiachna*, and grandson of *Feradoch* brother to *Murchertach Mac-Era*. Having reigned 13 years, he was killed by *Congall Cloen*, king of *Ulster*, and succeeded in 628 by

Domnald II., brother to Malcovus above mentioned, who died peaceably in the 14th year of his reign, A. D. 642. (7) Next after him his two nephews, Kellach and Conall, sons of Malcovus, reigned jointly for eight years until Conall was killed in 654 by Diermit son of Aidus Slani; after which Kellach reigned alone until 658. (8) These two brothers were succeeded by two other brothers, sons of Aidus Slani, viz. Diermit now mentioned, called Diermit II. and Blathmac, who reigned together for seven years until they were carried off by the great pestilence in 665. (9) I have followed the reigns of our kings down to this date, because it was during them that the third class of saints flourished, their period being comprized between some time after the reign of Aidus son of Anmireus and the year of the great pestilence. But, prior to entering on the history of the saints named in said class, it is necessary to touch upon that of some distinguished persons, who belonged partly to its times, and partly to those which preceded them.

(1) See *Chap. XII. §. 5.*

(2) See *ib.*

(3) O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. Part. III. cap. 93.* These two kings were killed, Aidus by Conal Guthbin, and Colman by Lochan Dilman. *Tr. Th. p. 448.*

(4) See *Chap. XII. §. 5.*

(5) *Ogyg. loc-cit.*

(6) *Ib.* and *Tr. Th. p. 448.* O'Flaherty gives Malcovus the surname of *Clericus.* Is it for his having been invested with some clerical order? Or merely because he was a pious prince?

(7) *Ogyg. ib.* Compare with *Tr. Th. p. 448.* (where, however, the dates as to the vulgar era run different) and with Ware, *Antiq. cap. 4.* Domnald II. was that son of Aidus I. son of Anmireus, whose prosperity Columbkil had foretold at Drumceat. See *Chap. XII. Not. 200.*

(8) Ware, *ib.* Colgan (*Tr. Th. ib.*) following the 4 Masters agrees with Ware as to Conall having been killed by Diermit before the death of Kellach. O'Flaherty (*Ogyg. ib.*) differs from them all. According to him Kellach died before Conall, who, he

says, reigned four years after him, viz. until 658. This seems very probable; for, as Diermit, who killed Conall, became afterwards king, it may be conjectured that he got possession of the throne immediately after his antagonist, in which case Conall would have been his immediate predecessor. As to our church history, this question is of very little importance.

(9) Ware and O'Flaherty, *loc. cit.* See also Usher, p. 947.

§. II. St. Cairlan, archbishop of Armagh, having held the see for ten years, died on the 24th of March 588, (10) and was succeeded by Eochaid, son of Diermit, concerning whom it is merely stated, that he also governed said see during about ten years, and died some time in 598. (11) Next after him was Senach, of whom nothing is recorded, except that he died in 610, and was succeeded by Mac-Laisre, of whom more hereafter. We find a Setna bishop of Saigir, contemporary with St. Molua of Clonfertmulloa, (12) and who accordingly lived towards the close of the sixth century. (13) His memory is said, but on weak authority, to have been revered on the 10th March. (14) St. Fintan, surnamed Corach, bishop of Clonfert, is said to have flourished in this period. (15) He had presided over a church at a place called Leamchuill (16) in Leinster, and, according to some accounts, even over the monastery of Clonenagh. (17) It is stated, that he either founded or governed a church also at Cluainmaithchin (18) in Leix. He became afterwards bishop and abbot at Clonfert, (19) and died on a 21st of February, but whether at Clonfert or elsewhere is uncertain. (20) It is said that he was succeeded, at least, as abbot, by Senach Garbh, who died in 621; (21) and, after him by Colman, son of Comgell. (22) According to our Annals a St. Senell, bishop of Maghbile or Moville, died in 603, and a St. Sillan, likewise bishop in the same place, in 619, (23) having been probably the immediate successor of Senell. St. Colman, or as other-

wise called Columban son of Beognai and of the race of Sailni (24) became a bishop some time after the death of his friend Columbkil, whom he survived by several years. It cannot be doubted that he was the same as the celebrated Colman surnamed *Elo* or *Ela*. (25) He was a native of Meath, but spent many of his earlier years in the diocese of Conor, and, while there, is said to have erected a church and monastery at Muckamore, (26) a place two miles distant from Antrim. Returning to his own country, he found king Aidus son of Anmirech (Anmiraeus) and several other persons assembled, among whom were Columbkil and St. Cannich. This was most probably in the year 590, after Columbkil had gone from Drumceat to visit his monastery of Durrough. It was proposed to the assembly by Columbkil, that a spot of ground should be granted to their relative Colman, (27) where he might establish a monastery. Aidus Fla, or rather Slani, prince of Meath, and afterwards king of Ireland, who was present, said that there was a large forest called *Fidh-elo* in the district of Fercall in the southern part of his principality, where he might settle if he liked. Colman accepted of the offer, and said; "There shall be my resurrection, and henceforth I shall be named from that place." In fact, he was thence surnamed *Elo*, and constantly called *Colman-elo*, latinized into *Colmanellus*. (28) To the monastery, which he erected there, and which became very famous, was given the name of *Land-elo* (29) or or *Lann-elo*, that is, the house or church of *Elo*, now Linally or Lynally in the King's county. (30) This foundation, according to every appearance, took place in or very soon after the year 590. (31) We find Colman-elo, while still a priest, on a visit to Columbkil at Hy in 597, some short time prior to that saint's death. (32) Afterwards he became a bishop, but in what year or by whom consecrated,

I cannot discover. (33) This saint has enjoyed a great reputation, and died in 610 (34) on the 26th of September, and in the 56th year of his age. (35)

(10) See *Chap. XII. §. 1.*

(11) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 293.*) has 597, that is, 598. He was not able to mark the day or the month of his death, but observes that several Eochuids are named in the Calendars at different days, and that, if he was one of them, he might be the Eochuid of the 1st of January. This vague conjecture is, I am sure, the only authority, that Ware had (*Bishops*) for assigning his death to that month.

(12) *AA. SS. ad 10 Mart.*

(13) Compare with *Chap. XII. §. 7.*

(14) Colgan treats of Setna or Sedna at 10 March, to which he assigns him for no other reason than that he found in some calendars a Sedonius marked at that day. Yet he was doubtful whether this Sedonius might not have been the disciple of St. Senan, whose history we have touched on, (*Not. 35. to Chap. XI.*) and who also is treated of at said day by Colgan. See more about Setna of Saigir, *Not. 48. ib.*

(15) Ware says, (*Bishops at Clonfert*) "about the end of the sixth century." He borrowed this from Colgan, who speaks rather doubtingly of it at 21 Feb. where he treats of Fintan Corach. Yet the matter is not improbable, if it be true that he was succeeded, either as bishop and abbot, or only as abbot, by Senach Garbh, who, according to the 4 Masters, died in 620 (621). There are, however, some difficulties in the way, of which lower down.

(16) Archdall has it in the Queen's county, where it borders on the barony of Fassaghding, co. Kilkenny.

(17) If this be true, and there are divers authorities for it, Fintan Corach must have lived later than the time mentioned by Ware. For the Fintan, who was abbot of Clonenagh in the latter end of the 6th century, and until 626, was Maeldubh. (See *Not. 174 to Chap. XII.*) Nor can it be said that perhaps they were not different persons; for, without enlarging on other arguments, it is

sufficient to observe, that F. Maeldubh's name is in the calendars at 20 October, while F. Corach's is placed at 21 Feb. If we may suppose, that he was not abbot of Clonenagh but a simple monk there, this difficulty may be got over; but the whole business is so confused and clogged with other difficulties, that I am not able to unravel it.

(18) I strongly suspect, that *Cluainaitchin* has been mistaken for *Cluainedhnech* (Clonenagh.) The Calendar of Cashel, which mentions it, has not F. Corach at Clonenagh; and *vice versa* in most of those, that have Clonenagh, we do not find *Cluainaitchin*. In this hypothesis the difficulty arising from placing him at Clonenagh will disappear.

(19) Marian Gorman says of him; *Episcopus de Cluanferta Brendani*. Others speak of him as abbot.

(20) We read of him in the Calendar of Cashel; "Fintanus Corach quiescit in Leamchulit inter Hy-duach et Laighis, vel in Cluainaitchin, vel in Cluainferta Brendani. Dicitur autem *Corach*, quia peregrinaturus sponsors dedit, se aut vivum aut mortuum reversurum."

(21) See *Not. 15*.

(22) The only authority I can find for making Fintan Corach predecessor at Clonfert of Senach and Colman is Aengus Kelideus, or rather, I think, (although Colgan is of a different opinion) a later scholiast on Aengus. He does not call them bishops; yet, as Fintan was one, it is probable that so were the two latter, who are omitted by Ware, but mentioned by Harris (at *Clonfert*.) The 4 Masters quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 247.*) place Colman's death in the same year with that of Senach, *viz.* in 620 (621.) The above mentioned scholiast says that Fintan, Senach, and Colman were three black Doms, *tres nigri domini*. Colgan (at 21 Feb.) explains these words as an allusion to the Benedictine habit, which, he says, was the only black one used by monks in those days. But he ought to have known that there were no Benedictines then in Ireland, and that the black habit was not prescribed to that order any where at that early period. The first mention of *black monks* occurs in the deed (*ap. Ingulf.*) of king Ethelbald for the monastery of Croyland, A. D. 716. If the scholiast meant in that passage the colour of a religious dress, he must have written at a time when such a colour became peculiar to some monks,

whether Benedictines or others, in Ireland, perhaps as late as the 11th century, and supposed that the then practice had been also that of the ancients. Perhaps he alluded not to the habit, but to the colour of those persons skins as being of a blackish hue. Nothing was more usual in Ireland than to denominate men from their complexion, and we find in our history heaps of *Dubhs, nigri, i. e.* swarthy persons, *Finns, Whites*, fair-complexioned, &c. But the phrase *domini*, seems to indicate the Benedictine order, the members of which, as also some other monks began, in the middle ages, to be distinguished from those of the mendicant orders by the title *Dominus*, contracted into *Domnus*, and changed by the French into *Dom*, such as *ex. c.* Dom Mabillon, Dom Montfaucon, &c. And it is very probable, that the Scholiast's intention was to exhibit Fintan, &c. as Benedictines, in which case we may suppose that he was himself of that order.

(23) *Annal.* 4 Masters, and Colgan, *AA. SS. p.* 650. Their dates are 602 and 618, the same in fact as our 603 and 619. Concerning those two prelates I can find no further account. Merville has been often mentioned already, particularly in the account of Finnian founder of its monastery.

(24) Adamnan (*Vit. S. Col. L. 1. c. 5.*) heads the chapter with these words; “ De periculo S. *Colmani* episcopi Mocusailni;” but in the following text he calls him Columbanus son of Beognai, and mentions the danger he was in of being lost at sea. (See *Not.* 182. to *Chap. XI.*) Although Adamnan here calls him a bishop, yet it will be seen, that he was not one until after the death of Columbkil.

(25) Usher, (*p.* 1065) while he distinguishes Colman-Elo from Colmanel mentioned by Joceline, yet makes him the same as the Colman or Columban of Adamnan.

(26) The oldest writer, that, as far as I know, mentions this foundation of Muckamore, is Joceline, who (*cap.* 96) introduces St. Patrick as foretelling that Colmanel would there erect a church, &c. and would afterwards be a bishop and legate of all Ireland. Usher (*p.* 1065.) imagined, that Joceline's Colmanel was the same as Colman of Dromore, and led astray Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 29. and *Bishops* at Dromore.) This mistake has been copied into Butler's *Lives of Saints* (at *Colman of Dromore 7th June*)

and, connected with another mistake of Usher as to Colmanel having been born in 516, has caused great confusion in the history of Colman of Dromore. (See *Note 5.* and *6.* to *Chap. ix.*) The fact is that Colmanel, *al.* Colmanalli was no other than Colman-elo, whose memory was famous at Connor, as appears from his *Life* quoted by Usher, *p.* 960. Colgan expressly states (*Tr. Th. p.* 374.) that the person, called in Latin, as *ex. c.* by Joceline, *Colmanellus*, is Colman-elo, son of Beognai and the Colman of Adamnan. And what Usher calls the *Life* of Colman-elo is called by Colgan that of Colmanel. In this *Life* he is represented as the son of Beognai. He lived also at a later period than Colman of Dromore, who was perhaps dead before Colmanel was born; (See *Chap. ix. §. 1.*) and Colgan was mistaken (*Tr. Th. p.* 113.) in making him a disciple of Macnissi the first bishop of Connor, having misunderstood a passage in Colmanel's *Life*, where, on mention being made of Connor, it is said that the most blessed bishop Macnissi *lies there*. Strange that he could have supposed Colmanel, who lived, as he well knew, until 610, to have been a scholar of that bishop, whose death, as we have often seen, occurred, at the latest, in 514.

(27) In Colman-elo's *Life* we read, that Columbkil said to the assembly consisting principally of Nialls; "Date agrum bonum sancto Colmano *fratri nostro*," &c. Hence it appears, that although of the race of Sailni, he was connected with the Nialls; and in fact he is stated in said *Life* to have been of the family of Niall.

(28) See *Not. 26.*

(29) Usher *p.* 961.

(30) It is the barony of Ballycowen, and 4 miles south of Durrogh.

(31) I have said that the meeting in Meath, before which Colman-elo appeared, seems to have been in 590. It was after Columbkil had been established at Hy; for, as will be seen, Colman-elo was still a boy in 563, the year of that establishment. We know that Columbkil was in Meath in 590, on occasion of his visiting Durrogh, which belonged to the ancient Meath. It is true, that he might have been there also at some other time between 563 and 590. (See *Not. 181.* to *Chap. xi.*) But if we consider, that Colman-elo was only about 36 years old in 590, and that he had spent many years in the diocese of Connor before

he attended at that assembly, there is every reason to believe, that this was the year in which it was held, and consequently that, or nearly so, of the foundation of Lann-elo.

(32) Adamnan relates, (*L. 2. c. 15.*) that, when the holy *priest* Columbanus, son of Beognai, had just set out from Hy on his return to Ireland, Columbkil foretold that they would never see each other again; which was verified by the event, for Columbkil died in that very year. Hence it is clear, that, as above hinted at, (*Not. 24.*) Colman-elo, *al.* Columbanus, &c. was not raised to the episcopacy until after Columbkil's death.

(33) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 374.*) most strangely imagined, that Colman-elo was consecrated bishop at Hy, and during the life time of Columbkil. He confounded him with a Columban, who is mentioned in the Life of St. Ita as a bishop in her time, and said to have been consecrated in Hy. But Colman-elo was quite too young to be a bishop before 570, the year in which St. Ita died. Besides, we know from Adamnan, (*Not. prec.*) that Colman-elo was only a priest when returning from Hy to Ireland. The Columban, spoken of in said Life, was very probably Columbanus Mocu-Loigse, a Leinster bishop, for whom Columbkil had a great regard, and whom he survived. (See *Not. 182 to Chap. XI.*) Some writers speak of Colman-elo as only an abbot; but from the testimony of Adamnan, and from his having been the bishop Colmanel of Joceline, (See *Not. 26.*) it must be allowed that he was raised to the episcopal rank. Why the latter has given him the title of *Legate of Ireland*, it would be useless to inquire. We had no apostolic legates in those days.

(34) Annals of Ulster, Innisfallen, 4 Masters, &c. Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) Colgan *passim, ex. c.* (*Tr. Th. p. 374.*) I believe with Ware, (*Writers, L. 1. cap. 13.*) that for the 610 of the Annals we ought to substitute 611.

(35) The 26th of September is the day constantly assigned for his death, and accordingly Usher has (*Ind. &c. at 610*) vi. *Kalend. Octobris*. Yet through some mistake we find, in *p. 961. Novembris*, instead of *Octobris*. That he died in the 56th year of his age is laid down by the 4 Masters, and Colgan, (*Tr. Th. p. 374*, and *ib.* (*Ind. Chron.*) an assertion, which I find no sufficient reason for contradicting. Deducting from the year 611, we may conclude, that he was born in 555 or 556. Poor Archdall hav-

ing, (at *Muckamore*) in spite of Usher and every body else, confounded Colman-elo with Colman of Dromore, tells us (at *Lynally*) that he was born in 516. And why? Because Usher, erroneously indeed, (See *Not.* 26) placed in said year the birth of Colman of Dromore.

§. III. Another bishop Colman, commonly called son of Dairene, or, more correctly, Daire (36) flourished in those times, and somewhat later than Colman Elo. He was of the royal blood of the kings of Cashel, (37) and a lineal descendant of the celebrated king Aengus. (38) Of his early transactions I meet with no account; but he was a bishop during the reign of Failbhe Fland, king of Cashel, who ascended the throne in 619, and died in 634. (39) How soon he became distinguished, cannot be ascertained; nor is there any foundation for the assertion of some writers, that he flourished as early as the year 570. (40) Colman resided in a monastery, founded by himself, at Doire-mor (great grove) in the district of Eile, and province of Munster, near the borders of Leinster. (41) Failbhe Fland had on some occasion injured Colman, upon which he applied to St. Pulcherius, who had great influence over the king, to accompany him to the court for the purpose of obtaining redress. (42) When they had represented the case, the king refused to comply with Colman's demand, and spoke in a haughty tone. Pulcherius then said to him: "It does not become you to answer in this manner to a great pontiff, (43) who is most holy in the sight of God, and not inferior to you according to the nobility of this world; for ye are of the same stock." (44) Pulcherius, continuing his discourse reprimanded the king so severely, that, being greatly terrified, he granted what was required of him. It is a misfortune, that, excepting what has been now touched upon, scarcely any thing else, not even as to the year of his death, is come down to us concerning this eminent saint. His festival was kept

at Deire-mor on the 20th of May, the anniversary of his heavenly birth. (45) About this period lived, although he was earlier than some of those now treated of, St. Evin, likewise of the royal house of Munster, and called of Ros-mic-treoin, now Old Ross in the county of Wexford, not far from the river Barrow, whom I find titled not only *abbot* but *bishop*. (46) He is said, yet on very slight foundation, to have written a Life of St. Patrick. (47) He was contemporary with St. Molua of Clonfert-molua, who paid him a visit at Ros-mic-treoin, where Evin was then abbot, and performed miracles. (48) Although Evin died before Molua, it is probable that he lived until the close of the sixth century. His death, however, was prior to 602, having occurred during the reign of Brandubh, king of Leinster. (49) The day of it was a 22d of December, at which his name appears in several Irish calendars. (50)

(36) See Life of St. Pulcherius, *cap.* 16, at 11 *Mart.* The change of *Daire* into *Dairene*, or *Darene*, was probably the cause of the unchronological fable of Colman having been an immediate son of Aengus, king of Cashel, by a Dairne, who is said to have been his wife. (See *Not.* 95 to *Chap.* VIII.)

(37) In the said Life (*ib.*) we read; “Colmanus episcopus de gente regali Mumoniae, id est, *Eoganacht*, natus est.” By the addition, *Eoganacht*, the author meant to point out Cashel, near which that territory lay, and which was then the residence of the kings of all Munster, whether of the Eugenic or Dalcassian line.

(38) In many of our old documents he is called son of Aengus. (See *AA. SS.* *p.* 174 and 597.) This must be understood of his having been a descendant of his; for how could a man, who, as will be seen, was alive and vigorous after the year 619, have been the immediate son of that king, who was killed in 490? (See *Chap.* VIII. §. 8.)

(39) Finghin or Finine, king of Cashel, died in 619, and was immediately succeeded by his brother Failbhe Fland. (*Law of Tanistry, &c.* in Vallancey's *Collectan.* *Vol.* 1.) Colgan says,

(*AA. SS. p. 597.*) that the Irish Annals place Failbhe's death in 633 (634). Hence it appears how much mistaken O'Halloran was (*History, &c. B. VIII. Chap. 4.*) in assigning the accession of Failbhe Fland to A. D. 546. According to another account his reign did not begin even as early as 619; for it is said that he died in the eighth year of it. (*AA. SS. p. p. 561.*) Add that he was the fourth in descent from Aengus. See the pedigree of M'Carthy-mor (Eugenian line) at the end of Keating's History, &c.

(40) This date was started by Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) on mere conjecture. Had he known at what period Failbhe Fland reigned, whose name he met with more than once in the Life of Pulcherius, or, as he quotes it, (*p. 960.*) Mocoemog, he would have given us a different one. He has been copied by others, such as Archdall, (at *Kilcolman*) &c. Even Colgan, though acquainted with the times of this king, implicitly quotes Usher's words without any observation, (*AA. SS. p. 193.*) and, with a still more extraordinary anachronism, makes Colman a disciple of St. Patrick, (*Tr. Th. p. 260.*)

(41) "Ipse enim (Colmanus) erat in suo monasterio, quod Scotice dicitur *Doire-mor*, id est *nemus magnum*; et est positum in confinio Mumuniensium et Lageniensium; sed tamen positum est in regione Mumuniensium, in regione scilicet Eile." *Life of Pulcherius, cap. 16.* The district of Eile, or Ely O'Carrol, is now comprized in the King's county, and Doire-mor is called Kilcolman, a place in the barony of Ballybrit, and diocese not of Meath, as Archdall says, but of Killaloe. Harris (*Monast.*) confounds Doire-mor with Lynally, although several miles distant from each other, as if the Colman we are now treating of were the same as Colman-elo, whom he makes no mention of.

(42) It is thus that the cause of Pulcherius having accompanied Colman seems to be hinted at in the Life of the former. But it is very probable, that the true and only cause was, that Colman being a bishop, required of Pulcherius to attend him as a companion. Colman could not have been shy as to calling on the king, being very nearly related to him through their common ancestor Aengus.

(43) *Summo pontifici.* Elsewhere also in said Life this title is given to Colman on account of his great sanctity.

(44) Said Life, *cap. 22.*

(45) *AA. SS. p. 597.*

(46) *Ib.* p. 215. Yet he is usually called only *abbot*. In the Life of St. Corbmac, (at 26 *March*) who was of the royal blood of Munster, of the Eugenic line, Evin, *al.* Emhin, is stated to have been a brother of his. Having left his own country, he went to the neighbourhood of the Barrow and erected, according to said Life, a monastery at Rosmictreoin, which, from the number of Munster men, who followed him thither, was called also *Ros-glas-na-Muimneach*. According to other accounts this monastery was founded by St. Abban, but afterwards governed by Evin. Had we no other authority for this position than the fabulous Life of Abban, in which it occurs, (see below *Chap.* xvii. §. 4.) it might be set aside; but we find it also in the Life of St. Molua of Clonfert-molua. It may, however, be suspected, that it slipped into this Life from that of Abban. As the matter is of little consequence, I shall not enter into a dispute about it. That Rosmictreoin was the same place as what is now called Old Ross is clear from its being described as in South Leinster, and near the boundaries of that province. (See *AA. SS.* p. 623, and 751.) It is said (*ib.*) that it was called also *Ros-glas*, as indeed the appellation *Ros-glas-na-Muimneach* indicates. But it must not be confounded with another *Ros-glas* in rather a northern part of Leinster, which is the place now called Monasterevan. (See below *Chap.* xxix. §. 14. and *ib.* *Not.* 89.)

(47) Joceline, (*cap.* 186.) attributes such a work to St. Evin. But, as there were other saints of that name, and in later times, it is uncertain which of them was the author of it. (See more, *Chap.* iii. §. 5.) To one of the late ones must be ascribed some Lives of saints, such as of Comgall, &c. said to have been written by a St. Evin. (See *AA. SS.* p. 192-215.)

(48) *Life of Molua.* See also *Tr. Th.* p. 170.

(49) Colgan (*Tr. Th. ib.*) refers to the Life of St. Evin for this statement, and observes, from the 4 Masters, that Brandubh died in 601 (602).

(50) *AA. SS.* p. 215.

§. iv. St. Barr, or Finbarr, commonly called of Cork, is usually supposed to have been distinguished, and raised to the episcopacy about the beginning of the 7th century. (51) This is not improbable, if it

be true that he was contemporary with St. Maidoc of Ferns, and had been acquainted with St. David of Menevia in Wales. He was a native of Connaught, of the sept of Hy-Briuin ratha; (52) and his real name was *Lochan*, so that *Finn-larr*, (white-haired) contracted into *Barr*, must be considered only as his surname. Barr is said to have been taught in Leinster by one Mac-corb, who is pretended to have been at Rome and to have there heard the instructions of Pope Gregory the great. (53) If this be admitted, it will follow, that Barr must have been too young about the year 600 to be then a bishop, and that he did not begin to be distinguished until several years later. (54) But, although I find no reason for denying, that Mac-corb was the master of Barr, yet we are not bound to believe that he had been a disciple or hearer of Pope Gregory, whose name has, owing to its celebrity, been more than once introduced into the Lives of some of our saints without any foundation. (55) Barr is said to have gone in company with St. Maidoc to Britain, and even to Rome, accompanied by St. David. (56) Passing over this Roman expedition, (57) it is probable that Barr spent some time with St. David, who lived until late in the sixth century, (58) and that about the beginning of the next he founded his monastery near Loch-eire (59) on ground granted to him by a nobleman of the name of Edo, and lying at the South side of the river Lee. (60) It is said, that a multitude of persons flocked to this monastery for instruction, and that the afflux was so great, that said place was changed into a large city. (61) This, however, must be understood as having taken place gradually, and after a long lapse of time. (62) And as to the number of St. Barr's disciples, there is no doubt of its having been greatly exaggerated. (63) Another part of this pompous narrative is his having erected the cathedral of Cork, (64) as if it were different from the church belonging to the mo-

nastery. Barr became certainly a bishop, as many other abbots did; but the accounts of his successors as bishops are very imperfect until a long time after his death. (65) After an episcopacy of 17 years, (66) he died on a 25th of September it is said, at Cloyne, (67) but was buried at Cork. The year of his death is not known; perhaps it was about A. D. 623. (68) Several eminent disciples of this saint are spoken of; but Nesson is the only one among them, whose history is sufficiently clear, and of whose right to that title no doubt can be entertained. (69)

(51) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 29. At *Bishops* he does not mention the time of Barr's being a bishop; but Harris has inserted into his text *the beginning of the seventh century.*

(52) The district of Hy-Briuin-ratha was a few miles to the East and N. E. of the now town of Galway, and comprized the present barony of Athenry. (See *Oxygia*, p. 376. and Harris, *Antiq. chap.* 7.)

(53) *Life of Barr*, cap. 15.

(54) Upon the supposition of Mac-corb having heard Pope Gregory, Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) brings down the time of St. Barr's flourishing until 630. Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 607.) strove to patch up the business, by stating, that Mac-corb had been an auditor of Gregory before he was made Pope. Harris, following Usher, adds, to his making Barr a bishop in the *beginning* of the 7th century, *Flor. circ.* 630.. Bravo!

(55) See *Not.* 125 to *Chap.* xi. and 94 to *Chap.* xii. Yet there may be some truth in what is said about Maccorb's having come from Rome to Ireland. In a *Life of St. Senan* it is stated, that in his time, yet many years before that of Gregory, 50 Roman monks arrived in Ireland. (See *Chap.* x. §. 1.) Some of these monks are there said to have been fixed in the establishment of St. Barr of Cork. This is indeed an anachronism; for Barr could have had no establishment at that early period. But Barr's master might have been one of those Roman or rather continental monks. (See *ib.* *Not.* 8.) And, instead of supposing that any of them were entrusted to his care, it may be conjectured, that one of them was his master. It may be objected, that *Mac-corb* ap-

pears to be an Irish name. He might, however, have got this name in Ireland, by giving a Galic turn to his real name, as was often done; ex. c. *Phadruig* for *Patricius*, *Seachlain* for *Secundinus*, &c. Hanmer (*Chronicle*, &c. p. 108 *New. Ed.*) from a Life of Barr says, that his master was a bishop Torperus a disciple of Gregory. If supposed to have been the son of a man called *Corbus* or *Corvus*, the Irish might have called him *Mac-corb*. But the whole matter is so obscure, that it is useless to enlarge on it. It is better worth remarking that, as Hanmer says, Barr was a child when Brendan of Clonfert was old, that is, about 570.

(56) Life of Barr, *cap.* 28, and *AA. SS.* p. 221.

(57) In the Life of St. David (*cap.* 18.) Barr is mentioned, not as having travelled with him to Rome, but as paying him a visit on his return thence. Many a Roman journey of this kind, that never took place, is spoken of in the lives of our saints of those times. This visit of Barr to St. David is that, to which Giraldus Cambrensis alludes (See Usher, p. 953.) in his Life of David, where he calls Barr *Barrocos*.

(58) See *Chap.* ix. §. 9.

(59) In Barr's Life we read; (*cap.* 20.) "S. Barrius venit ad lacum, qui Scotice *Loch-eire* dicitur, juxta quem construxit monasterium," &c. This lake, or rather marsh, was, in all appearance, in the hollow part of the now city of Cork. That this spot was formerly a marsh is universally admitted, and the Irish name of Cork, *Corcach*, is alone a sufficient proof it. I may here observe, that Smith (*History of Cork.* v. 1, p. 368.) was strangely mistaken in making this Corcach and Corcach-Bascoin the same; for the latter was a district of the now county of Clare. (See *Chap.* ix. §. 4.) *Bascoin* or *Baschin* was added to its name, to distinguish it from several other places called *Corcach*.

(60) Hanmer, *loc. cit.*

(61) Barr's Life, *cap.* 20.

(62) Smith (*ib.* p. 369.) says that, according to the received opinion, Cork was founded by the Danes. Yet it must be admitted, that, as usual, a village arose near Barr's monastery, situated in a part of the present city, and which gradually swelled into a town of note even before the arrival of that nation.

(63) The school of St. Barr, or of his monastery, is little spoken of in our more ancient documents, and it is only in the

the tract, called his Life, that we find any pompous account of it. This tract was evidently written at a late period, and a time when Cork, which indeed owed its origin to the monastery, had risen to the rank of a respectable city. We have already seen, (*Chap. XII. §. 4.*) that St. Fachnan of Ross-carberry (Rosailithri) has, without any foundation, been reckoned among his disciples, and (*ib. §. 8.*) corrected the mistake of those, who have ranked in the same class St. Colman of Cloyne.

(64) It is thus that Ware expresses himself, (*Antiq. cap. 29.*) but (at *Bishops*) he makes no mention of a *cathedral*.

(65) Ware (*Bishops*) reckons Nessian, and some others after him, (but so late as the eighth century) as successors of Barr in the see of Cork. Nessian was not a bishop, as appears from the account given of him by Colgan, who treats of him at 17 *Mart.* and calls him a priest. Smith, having confounded Nessian of Cork with Nessian of Mungret, who died in 552. (See *Chap. XI. §. 6.*) found himself (*History, &c. v. 1. p. 369.*) puzzled as to the period, in which Barr his master lived. But had he looked with more care than he did into the *AA. SS.* he would have found, that these two Nessans are accurately distinguished by Colgan. (17 *Mart. p. 629.*) Nessian of Cork, although a disciple of Barr, and revered at Cork; where he was buried, does not seem to have been abbot of the monastery. A Russin son of Lappain is called Comorban of Barr, that is, successor, in the Life of St. Molagga at 20 *Jan.* Hence Colgan (*ib. p. 150.*) and after him Harris conclude, that he was bishop of Cork. But the title, *Comorban*, is not alone sufficient to prove it; for the successors of abbots, as well as of bishops, were distinguished by that epithet, and Russin might have been so called as being a successor of Barr merely in the government of the monastery. The 4 Masters, who are usually careful to mark the episcopal rank of persons whenever they met with it, call Russin only *abbot of Cork*, who, according to them, died A. D. 685 (686.) Yet from other circumstances it appears quite certain that he was also a bishop. This, however, does not prove, that every abbot of Barr's monastery was likewise raised to that rank. Having touched upon this subject, I may be allowed to make an observation on a fable, to be met with in some late writers, of there having been at one time (about A. 800) seven hundred monks and 17 bishops in that

monastery. This story is founded on a misrepresentation of a passage of the Litanies of Aengus Kelideus, in which he invokes the assistance of the 17 bishops and 700 servants of God, who (*i. e.* whose remains) *lie* at Cork with St. Barr and St. Nessan. (See *AA. SS.* p. 630.) This mention of 17 bishops is very favourable to the opinion of there having been a regular succession of prelates there after St. Barr; but we have no certainty, that they were all bishops of Cork, properly speaking; for it was quite usual in Ireland to raise pious monks to the episcopacy without giving them fixed sees. Add that the *chorepiscopi*, of whom we had great numbers, were styled *bishops*, and that perhaps no small part of those seventeen belonged to that class.

(66) Some say seven years. (See Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 29 and Harris at *Cork*.)

(67) Hanmer says that he had gone to visit Calangus abbot of Cloane (Cloyne), and there met with his death.

(68) Archdall (at *Cork*) refers to a MS. of Conry for the foundation of the monastery in 606, a date, which agrees very well with the most credible account of the time, in which Barr was distinguished. If we suppose, as is highly probable, that, when founding it, he was a bishop, and add the 17 years of his incumbency, his death may be assigned to 623.

(69) See *Not.* 65. The names of the other distinguished persons, said to have been disciples of Barr, may be seen in *AA. SS.* p. 630 and 750. In the passage there quoted from Barr's Life it is stated, that all of them, and others likewise who are not named, established monasteries in divers places, and dedicated them and themselves to St. Barr and his successors. The writer's meaning was, that these new monasteries were or had been subordinate to that of Cork. This is an assertion, for which there should be better authority than his, at least with regard to the whole of them. Thus, in his partiality for the house of Cork, of which he was most probably a member, he reckons among those disciples St. Facundus or Fachnan of Ros-alithri, although it is certain that this saint was prior to Barr. (See *Chap.* XII. §. 4.) He has in that list a St. Garbhan or Garvan, of whom Colgan treats at 26 *Mart.* (p. 750.) where he makes him the same as a Garbhan of Achadh-Garbhan, whose name occurs at that day in the calendars. Colgan threw out a conjecture, that Achad-Garbhan was

perhaps the place now called Dungarvan. Following this conjecture, Harris (*Monast.*) considers them as one and the same place, and Archdall lays it down as a fact that Garbhan, a disciple of Barr, founded an abbey at Dungarvan, although he could not discover any vestige of it. The conjecture itself is very weak. *Achadh* and *Dun* have quite different meanings; the one signifies a *field*, and the other a *fort*; and the town of Dungarvan, in all probability, owes its name not to a monk but to a chieftain. Some of the monasteries ascribed to the so called disciples of Barr might have been colonies from that of Cork, established from time to time at various periods after his death.

§. v. It now remains to touch upon the history of some other distinguished persons, not bishops, who are mentioned as ornaments of the Irish church in the latter part of the sixth century. St. Domnoch, or Modomnoch, (70) a disciple of St. David, was of the princely house of the Nialls, son of Saranus, and fourth in descent from Eugene, one of the sons of Neill Neigilliach. Scarcely any thing is recorded of the earlier part of his life, except that, when returning to his own country, after he had completed his studies in Wales, he brought with him swarms of bees, which, it has been strangely said, were the first seen in Ireland. (71) He settled at a place, called Tiprad-Fachtna in Ossory near the river Suir (now Tibrach, co. Kilkenny), where his memory was revered on the 13th of February, whether as the anniversary of his death or not, is uncertain. As to the year, in which he died, no account remains; nor does it appear whether his establishment at Tibrach was a monastery or simply a church. A St. Domangart, whose name occurs in one of our hagiologies, is said to have been a brother of his. (72) He must not be confounded with another St. Domangart, once very celebrated, from whom is derived the name of Slieve Donard (the mountain of Domangart) in the county of Down, at the foot of which he is said to have erected a great monastery. (73) At what

time this Domangart of Slieve-Donard lived cannot be ascertained, and his history is very obscure. That he was not a disciple of St. Patrick is plain from the very statement of those, who pretend that he was; (74) and according to other accounts he must have lived after the period we are now treating of. (75) My making mention of him in this place is owing merely to my having met with the name of a St. Domangart in these times, and it will be sufficient to add, that I find him called bishop, (76) and that his festival was kept on the 24th of March in two churches at Slieve Donard. (77)

(70) I need scarcely apprise the reader, that *Modomnoch* means *my Domnoch*. This saint is called *Modomnoch* in the Life of St. David published by Colgan. In the one written by Giraldus Cambrensis the name has been corrupted into *Mandabnaucus*, as Usher has it. (p. 953.) Giraldus elsewhere (*Topogr. Hib. Dist. 1. c. 5.*) latinizes it into *Dominicus*, in consequence of which Usher was led astray so as to think that *Dominicus Ossoriensis*, as Giraldus calls him, was a different person from *Mandabnaucus*. Colgan has (at 13 *Feb.*) such Acts of *Domnoch* as he was able to collect.

(71) This curious anecdote is mentioned not only in the Lives of St. David just referred to, but likewise in the passage of Giraldus's *Topogr. &c.* there marked, and, what seems of more weight, in the Calendar of Cashel and in the Life of St. Molagga (See *AA. SS. p. 327.*) Solinus had said, that in his time there were no bees in Ireland. It is more than probable that he was mistaken in this point, as he certainly was in what he adds concerning the scarcity of birds. I suspect that this importation of bees by St. Domnoch is a story made up to account for the scarcity of them at Menevia; for Giraldus (Life of David) says, that they continued to fall off there from the time of the swarms having followed Domnoch to Ireland, and he tells us (as stated also in the other Life) that Domnoch was, when with St. David at Menevia, charged with the care of the bee-hives. Now, as it happened that the number of bees in that district began to decrease, some wiseacre undertook to explain this phenomenon by

saying, that they accompanied Domnoch on his return to Ireland. This story made its way over to us before the times of Giraldus, and, connected with what Solinus and others after him had said concerning there having been no bees in Ireland, induced some Irish writers of the 9th and 10th centuries to attribute the introduction of them to St. Domnoch. That there were bees in this country long before his time appears from the Rule of St. Ailbe of Emly, in which it is ordered, (*Num.* 37.) that a portion of honeycomb should be allowed the monks at their meals. (*AA. SS.* p. 328.) St. Patrick in his Confession makes mention of wild honey, apparently as a substance well known in Ireland.

(72) *AA. SS.* p. 326.

(73) This mountain hangs over the sea, and was anciently called Slieve Slainge from a hero of that name. Two churches, dedicated in the name of St. Domgard, existed there as late as Colgan's time, one at the foot of it in a place formerly called *Rath-murbhuilg*, afterwards *Machaire-ratha*; and the other on the top of the mountain, which was much frequented by pilgrims. (See *Acts of Domangard* at 24 *Mart.*) Giraldus Cambrensis, calling Domangard *Dominick*, thus writes; (*Topogr. Dist.* 3. c. 2.) "Mons altissimus, qui illi imminet mari, quod Hiberniam interfluit atque Britanniam, *Salanga* nominatur; cujus ad radices quia longis post temporibus S. Dominicus nobile monasterium construxerat, mons S. Dominici jam usitatus nomen habet." Usher, thinking that this S. Dominick was the same as Dominick of Ossory mentioned elsewhere by Giraldus, (See *Not.* 70) and not being acquainted with the history of St. Domangard, fell into a huge mistake (p. 954.) with regard to the situation of mount Slainge or Salanga, making it the same as the *sacred promontory* of Ptolemy, now *Grenore point* in the county of Wexford. The addition of *Ossoriensis* by Giraldus to the name of one of those Dominicks, as he called them, shows that he did not confound them together. Usher has led astray, or, at least puzzled Ware (*Ant. cap.* 10. al. 6. at *Hieron*) on this point. Archdall (at *Carnsore*) follows Usher implicitly, and makes the matter worse in various ways. He has St. Domangart of *Ossory*; while the saint of Ossory was Domnoch, whom Usher, following Giraldus, calls *Dominick*. Then, instead of Grenore, meant by Usher, and, as Ware has it, he places, with Harris, the *sacred promontory* at

Carnsore, and, what was never before heard of, brings, of himself, Slieve Domangard to Carnsore point, as if it were not known to be the same as Slieve Donard, which he himself has, (at *Co. Down*) where he says, that St. Domangard there founded a monastery. This slovenly bungling has been followed in part by Seward (*Topography, &c. at Carnsore point*) who, however, is correct on this subject at *Sliebh-Donard*.

(74) Domangart is said to have been son of Euchodius, who was king of Ulster in the latter end of the 5th century, and during part of the sixth. In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (*L. 3. c. 63. seqq.*) he is represented as a tyrant and persecutor of the Christians. The birth of Domangart is placed a short time before the foundation of Armagh, and it is added that he afterwards became a disciple of our apostle. Now we have seen that St. Patrick did not survive the foundation of Armagh more than about ten years. How then could Domangart have been a disciple of his? Then we are given to understand, that Domangart was not born until after his father's death, which the 4 Masters assign to A. D. 503 (504). (See *AA. SS. p. 743.*) This sets aside the whole story; for St. Patrick was dead many years before this date. Jocelin, who (*cap. 130.*) follows the Tripartite as to Euchodius, Domangart, &c. omits what is said of the latter having been a disciple of St. Patrick. There is a fable concerning Domangart having been raised from the dead at Rome by St. Patrick, according to which he should have lived in the beginning of the 5th century. Such contradictory stories show, what little reliance can be placed on the accounts given of this saint.

(75) In some genealogical documents Domangart is stated to have been a maternal brother of St. Mura of Fahan, who lived at the earliest in the 7th century. Colgan not only allows it but maintains it; and yet he would have us believe, that Domnagart was in the times of St. Patrick.

(76) This title is given to him in the *Martyrol. Tamlaet.* and in a prayer, in which occurs the fable of his having been again brought to life by St. Patrick. It does not appear in some calendars, which mention his name, nor in the Tripartite or Joceline. There is reason to suspect, that he was no more than a hermit, who led a solitary life on the top of Slieve Donard, and that the mo-

nastery at its base was erected not by him but by others in commemoration of his memory.

(77) See *Not. 73*. Archdall, who treats of Domangart in two places (*Slieve Donard* and *Carnsore*) assigns in both of them his festival to the 4th of March, and refers to Colgan, who, on the contrary, has, all through, the 24th, at which day his Acts are given. As to the time of his death, the Tripartite and Joceline (*loc. cit. Not. 74.*) inform us, that nothing was known about it. Hence it is clear, that there is no foundation for what some have said of his having died in 506.

§. VI. St. Scutin or Scothin belonged to this period, if, as is generally supposed, he also had been at the school of St. David in Wales. He was of an illustrious family, and is said to have been related to St. Ailbe of Emly. (78) On his return to Ireland he constructed a cell for himself near Sliebh Mairge, or mount Mairge, in the now barony of Slewargy, Queen's county. This cell, which seems to have been a solitary habitation, (79) has been called *Teach Scothin*, and a church was erected there probably by himself. After a very edifying life spent in the practice of great austerities, he died on a 2d of January; but in what year is not known. In these times was also St. Berach (80) abbot of Cluain-Cairpthe in the now county of Roscommon. His father was Nemnald a descendant of Brian, formerly prince of Connaught and brother to Neill Neigiliach, (81) his mother was Finmaith, sister of a celebrated priest called Froech. (82) Berach was born at a place called *Gortnalua*, belonging to Froech, near Cluan in the territory of Conmacnie, (83) and, when only seven years old, was sent to the school of St. Dagaëus of Iniscaoin in the now county of Louth. (84) Having there distinguished himself by his piety and learning he removed to Glendaloch, where he placed himself under the direction of St. Coemgen, and embraced the monastic state. (85) It has been thought, that he spent some time

with Columbkil in Hy. (86) Be this as it may, Berach formed an establishment for himself at Cluain-cairpthe in the desert of Kinel-dobhtha. (87) As to a cell attributed to him at a place called *Disert Beraigh* (Berach's desert) *alias Dubberaith* in Bregia, (E Meath) it is useless to inquire. The year of his death is unknown; (88) but the day of it was a 15th of February. (89) Some other holy men are mentioned by certain writers as having flourished in the latter half of the sixth century; but either the authority for their having belonged to this period is so defective, or their transactions so obscure, that I shall not trouble the reader or myself with endeavouring to unravel their history. (90) We shall meet with others, who began their career in these times; but, as they were distinguished principally in the seventh century, their history must be deferred for a while.

(78) According to some accounts Scutin and Ailbe were first cousins. This is a palpable anachronism, whereas Ailbe died very old long before Scutin could have gone to the school of St. David. Yet Colgan, with his usual composure, has swallowed it, at *Jan. 2.* where he has what he calls the *Acts of St. Scutin.*

(79) It does not appear that Schotin collected a religious community.

(80) Colgan has published (at 15 *Feb.*) two lives of this saint. The first is from a MS. of the Island of all saints in Loughree, and was most probably written by Magraidin. It abounds in fables. The second is from an Irish MS. and, though short, is fabulous enough.

(81) *AA. SS. p. 346.*

(82) Cruimther Froech, *al. Fraech*, that is, *priest Froech*, founded a monastery, once very famous at Cluan in the district of Muinte-eoluis in the now county of Leitrim (*AA. SS. ib.*) The place is now called Cloon in the barony of Mohill. He lived in the 6th century and died on a 20th of December, the day on which his memory was revered at Cloon.

(83) *Second Life, cap. 2.* It cannot be doubted, that the

Cluan here mentioned was the same as that of the preceding Note. The author's placing it in Conmacnie does not contradict what Colgan says of Muinte-eoluis. For Conmacnie was a territory that comprized several districts; (See *Not.* 135 to *Chap.* x.) and one of the Conmacnies was in Leitrim. (Harris, *Ant. cap.* 7.)

(84) See *Chap.* x. § 14.

(85) First Life, *cap.* 6.

(86) Adamnan (*L. 1. c.* 19.) makes mention of a monk, Berachus, as sailing from Hy to the island of Ethica, after having received St. Columba's benediction. Colgan (*not. ad loc.*) thinks it very probable that he was the Berach that we are now treating of. It is, however, to be observed, that in neither of his Lives does any thing occur, not even the names of St. Columba, to indicate that he was at any time a member of the community of Hy.

(87) Archdall calls Cluain-cairpthe *Clooncraft*, and places it in the barony of Athlone. This is a mistake; for Dr. Beaufort, a very good authority on those subjects (*Memoir of a Map of Ireland*), (*Topogr. &c.*) has it, under the name of *Cloncraft*, in that of Roscommon. Archdall says, or seems to say, that this monastery had been founded by St. Patrick, for which he refers to King (MS.) in whose papers I have not been able to find it. Then he adds that the founder died in 580 or 600. Did he mean St. Patrick! Yet, to do him justice, I believe that *Patrick* is an erratum for *Berach*. He ought, however, to have given us a table of *errata*.

(88) Archdall says, that the founder of Cluain-cairpthe, meaning Berach, died in 580 or 600, and refers to Colgan, who has no such thing. All that Colgan states, and that in *Ind. Chron.* to *AA. SS.* is, that Berach flourished in 580. As to A. 600, he is silent, and, on the contrary, expressly says (*ib. p.* 347.) that the year of Berach's death is uncertain.

(89) Berach's name is marked also at this day in some foreign calendars, and with the title *bishop*. This is a mistake; for neither in his Lives, nor in the Irish calendars, does he appear as more than an abbot.

(90) For instance, Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 253.) makes mention of an abbot Modan of Kilmodan in the now county of Longford, who is also called bishop of a place in that vicinity called *Carnfurbhuidhe*. This is all that he could, with any degree of certainty, say about him. He adds, that Modan flourished in 561, on the authority

of an Irish Life of Columbkil, in which he had read, that this saint was in Modan's monastery at the time of the battle of Culdremne, which is known to have been fought in that year. O'Donnell (*Life of Columba, L. 2. c. 6.*) tells us, that the saint, when on his way to set out for Hy, and accordingly two years after the battle, stopped on the approach of night, at Kill-mudain (al. Kilmodan) and was very badly received by one Mudan, who treated him with great contempt. He does not say, that Mudan was an abbot; but, if he was, he is exhibited as, at least at that time, an unworthy one. Some other stories are added, such as that Mudan's habitation, or part of it, was on the next day consumed by fire, and that Kill-mudain was to become a receptacle of wild beasts. On the whole it is clear, that we have no sufficient authority for Modan's having been contemporary with Columbkil, or having lived in the sixth century. It is probable that, as Kilmodan at some time or other became a waste, one of our poets took it into his head to attribute its destruction to the wrath of Columbkil. Archdall has changed the name of *Kilmodan* into *Moydoe*, and, in his usual incorrect manner, instead of Colgan's A. 561, has A. 591. Then he says that Erclac, a disciple of St. Patrick, was a presbyter of Kilmodan. Had he looked more attentively into the *Tr. Th.* he would have found that the place, called (*p. 267*) Kilmudain or Kilmodan, was not the one now under discussion, but quite distinct from it, and more properly called *Rath-mudain*, situated in the diocese of Connor, where Erclac is said to have presided over a church. (See *ib. p. 182. Not. 197.*)

§. VII. Nor was the period, now treated of, deficient in female saints. The holy virgin St. Faila, *alias* Foila or Foilenna, whose memory was revered at Kill-faile in the diocese of Kilmacduach, was of the illustrious house of the Hy-fiachra of Connaught, (91) and daughter of Aidus, or Hugh, a great grandson of Dathy, once king of Ireland. (92) Three brothers of hers (93) are reckoned among the Irish saints. St. Faila's reputation was very great, as appears from the church of Kill-faile, called from her name, having been for centuries resorted to by multitudes of pilgrims. It is not known in what year

she died ; but her festival was kept on the 3d of March. A St. Sincha died in 597. (94) Three sisters of St. Molaisse of Devenish, Osnata, Muadh-nata, and Talulla, are mentioned in the calendars at 6 January. (95) Osnata is called the virgin of Gleann-Dallain, a place either in Breffny or Carbury. (96) Muadh-nata was revered at Caille likewise in Carbury ; and Talulla at Kildare, where she was abbess about, it is said, the year 590. (97) A joint festival of these three holy sisters was kept at Enach-ard, (98) probably the place now called Annagh in the county of Leitrim and barony of Drumahare. (99) St. Libhan, or Libana, whose name occurs at 18 December, was celebrated in Ulster. She was of princely extraction, and had as her director St. Comgall of Bangor. (100) St. Schiria, from whom the church of Killskire or Killkire in Meath (barony of Kells) has got its name, and a sister of hers, Corcaria Caoin, are said to have belonged to these times. (101) Schiria was venerated at Killskire on the 24th of March, while Corcaria's name is not to be met with in the calendars. (102) The holy virgins, daughters of Aidus king of Leinster, and grand-daughters of king Corpreus, (103) who died in 547, lived also in these times. They are called by some writers, Ethnea, Sodelbia, and Cumania. Others make mention of only the two former, and calling them the daughters of Baithe, whose memory was revered in a church, near Swords, named *of the cell of the daughters of Baithe*. Yet by whatever names the daughters of Aidus were known, it is certain that they were distinguished by their piety and lived in a nunnery. (104) Some other holy nuns are spoken of, such as a St. Derbilias of Irras, the seven daughters of Fergus, who were revered on the 24th of May at Teagh-na-ninghean, somewhere in Connaught, St. Inella or perhaps, Derinella, &c. (105) But whether they lived during this period or at another

cannot be ascertained; nor do I find any account whatsoever of their transactions.

(91) One branch of this family resided in the part of North Connaught, called Tir-fiachra, now Tyr-eragh, co. Sligo; and another, to which St. Faila belonged, in South Connaught. They were called Hy-fiachra from their progenitor Fiachra a brother of Neill Neigilliach.

(92) Dathy was the immediate predecessor of Leogaire. (*Not.* 42. to *Chap.* v.) Colgan in one place, (*AA. SS.* p. 456) tracing the genealogy of Aidus, the father of Faila, seems to exhibit him as grandson to Dathy, owing to an omission, in the printed text, of another Aidus, who was his father. For elsewhere (*ib.* p. 381.) the genealogy runs thus; *Aidus son of another Aidus, the son of Lugad, the son of Dathy, the son of Fiachra.*

(93) Their names are Colgeus, or Colga, Aidus, and Sorar. (*AA. SS.* p. 381. and 456) Colgeus is mentioned by Adamnan, (*L.* 1. c. 17.) who calls him *Colgius the son of Aidus Draigniche of the race of Fiechrach.* He governed a church, and perhaps a monastery, at Kilcolgan, called from his name, in the diocese of Kilmacduach, and barony of Doolkillen in the co. of Galway. Colgan treats of him at 20 *Feb.* He must not be confounded with Colgu or Colgeus, his contemporary, and also a disciple of Columbkil in Hy, of whom Colgan gives some account at the same day. This Colgu, *al. Colgius*, is called by Adamnan (*L.* 2. c. 7. and *L.* 3. c. 15.) The son of Cellach; and it seems that he became a bishop; for Adamnan (*L.* 1. c. 34.) introduces Columbkil as speaking to him about his diocese. Yet he is not there syled *bishop*, and perhaps the phrase, *your diocese*, may mean no more than the diocese in Ireland, to which Colgeus belonged without his being bishop of it. Colgan (*ib.*) conjectures that his church was perhaps at Kilcolgan in the O'Coghlan's country, King's county; and yet he lays down, (*Tr. Th.* p. 495.) that it was Kilcolgan in the diocese of Clonfert, county of Galway. Archdall, to patch up the matter, makes Colgeus, or, as he calls him, Colgan, abbot in both these places, as if there had not been Colgas, Colgus, or Colgeuos enough in Ireland to govern churches without allowing more than one to each of them. As to Aidus and Sorar the other

brothers of St. Faila, I can find nothing further. Colgan, indeed, most strangely says, (*AA. SS. p. 456.*) that Adamnan makes mention of Aidus (*L. 1. c. 16.*) as likewise a disciple of St. Columba. There is no such thing in that chapter nor any where in the whole work. Adamnan has an Aidus in the title to *cap. 17.* of said book, but he was Aidus Draignicha the father of this Aidus; and he has nothing more about him than the words above quoted, where he marks Colgius as a son of his. In the list of Columba's disciples Colgan has no Aidus, brother of Colgius, or son of another Aidus.

(94) *Annals of Innisfallen.* Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 623.*) tells us, that there were seven holy virgins of the name of *Sincha*, and observes that there was a church in Meath called *Teagh-Sinche*, or the house of *Sincha*. He conjectures, that it was the same as *Kill-ailbe*, in E. Meath, where St. Abban is said to have established a nunnery, and to have placed over it a virgin *Segnich*. Harris following this loose and probably groundless conjecture, has confounded those places into one.

(95) *AA. SS. p. 339.* *Osnata* and *Muadhnata* have been already mentioned, *Not. 126. to Chap. XII.*

(96) In the *AA. SS. p. 337.* *Gleandallain* is placed in *Carbria*, *i. e.* the *Carbury* of co. *Sligo*, and at *p. 339.* in *Breffny*, alluding, I suppose, to the part of it now called *Leitrim*. Which of the readings be the correct one is of little importance, as those territories were contiguous to each other.

(97) *Tr. Th. p. 629.* *Archdall* (at *Kildare*) has changed 590 into 580, and the name *Tabulla*, which Colgan constantly has, into *Falulla*.

(98) *AA. SS. p. 340.*

(99) *Enach*, which, with one addition or another, was the name of several places in Ireland, is now usually spelled *Annagh*. As these students, as well as their brother *Molaisse*, were most probably natives of *Leitrim* (See *Not. 126 to Chap. XII.*) and of the part bordering on *Carbury* in *Sligo*, it is natural to suppose that the *Enach* or *Annagh*, in which their memory was revered, was rather this one than any of the other places of said names. *Archdall* (at *Enachaird*) thinks it might have been in *Carbury*; but there is no *Annagh* in that barony. He mentions the veneration there paid to the three sisters, and instead of *Osnata*, calls

one of them *Odnata*, as if to distinguish her from *Osnata*, whom he speaks of in the immediately following article at *Gleann-dallain*. Wishing to swell his Monasticon with the addition of *Enachaird*, he writes in such a manner as to make the reader think, that the three sisters, whom he there speaks of, were different from those, of whom we have now treated.

(100) *AA. SS. p. 339.*

(101) *Ib.* They were the daughters of an Eugene, who was great grandson to Fergus a brother of Neill Negialliach. This line of generations agrees very well with their having been distinguished in the latter part of the sixth century. Another sister of theirs *Corcaria Keann* is spoken of. Colgan could find no account of her; and it is more than probable, that she was the same as *Corcaria Caoin*.

(102) Colgan justly observes that one of the two *Corcagias*, whose names occur, was perhaps the same as *Corcaria*. A mistake might easily have happened by changing *r* into *g*.

(103) See *AA. SS. p. 212.*

(104) This is clear from the Acts of St. Maidoc of Ferns. But the history of *Ethnea*, &c. and whether such were the names of the holy daughters of king *Aidus*, or how many were these daughters, is so involved in the obscurity of jarring documents, that I shall do no more than refer to Colgan, who treats of them at 29 March.

(105) See *AA. SS. p. 339 and 340.*

§. VIII. We may now proceed to third class of saints, of whom we read, as follows, in the ancient document (106) often alluded to. “The third order of saints was of this description. It consisted of holy priests and a few bishops, all 100 in number, who dwelt in deserts and lived on herbs, water, and alms. They shunned possessing private property, (107) and had divers rules and masses, (108) and divers tonsures, some having the *corona* and others their hair. (109) They differed also as to the Paschal solemnity; for some of them celebrated the feast of the Resurrection from the 14th of the moon, and others from the 16th. (110) They

“ lived during the reigns of four dynasties, viz. of
 “ Aeda Allain, who reigned only three years, Dom-
 “ nail, the sons of Mailcob, and the sons of Aeda
 “ Slaine, (111) and continued until the great mor-
 “ tality. (112) Their names are, bishops Petran,
 “ Ultan, Colman, Murgeus, Aedan, Loman, and
 “ Senach, besides several other bishops. The fol-
 “ lowing were priests; Fechin, Airendan, Failan,
 “ Coman, Commian, Colman, Ernan, Cronan, and
 “ very many other priests.” The author then con-
 cludes with these words; “ The first order (or class)
 most holy; the second very holy; the third holy.
 The first blazes like the sun, the second like the
 moon, and the third like the stars.” (113) As the
 persons, whose names are here given, are not placed
 in chronological order, it would cause great confusion
 to treat of them in succession. It will be also neces-
 sary to now and then interrupt the peculiar history
 of these saints, so as to make room for an account of
 other eminent persons or some important transactions
 belonging to the times, in which they flourished.

(106) See Usher, *p.* 914.

(107) *Propria devitabant, al. omnia terrena contemnebant, &c.*

(108) Compare with *Not.* 53 to *Chap.* x.

(109) This diversity of tonsures will be explained hereafter.

(110) On this subject more in its proper place.

(111) The author's *quaterna regna*, (a number and phrase, which he has also when treating of the other classes) I translate *four dynasties*, we have seen (above §. 1.); during the time he speaks of there was a succession of more than four reigns. Yet they may be reduced to four dynasties; a subject, which I leave to our antiquaries, at the same time observing, that, in allowing only 3 years to the reign of Aeda *Allain*, or, as others call him, *Huairiodnach*, the author differs from our Annalists. I must also remark, that, although he mentions the reign of the sons of Aeda Slaine, or Aidus Slani, he has leaped over that of Aeda Slaine himself, who was the immediate successor of Aeda son of Ainmerech, the king, with whose reign he had closed the period of

the second class. (See *Chap. x. §. 4.*) As he joins the commencement of the third one, with the reign of Aeda Allain, it follows, in the supposition that O'Flaherty's chronology be correct, that the era, in which this class flourished, must be reckoned from A. D. 605. (above §. 1.)

(112) Ledwich in his sort of explanation of this document says, (*Ant. &c. p. 420*) that the third class continued from 598 to 658. As to 598 or rather 599 (*Chap. xi. §. 5.*) he would have hit the author's meaning, if the commencement of the class were affixed to the reign of Aidus Slani; but we have just seen, that he has placed it in that of Aidus Allain the successor of Slani. And as to 658, the Doctor did not reflect, that the close of the third class is placed not at the beginning but at the termination of the last reign alluded to, viz. that of Diermit II. and Blathmac, who began indeed to reign in 658, but died in 665 the year of the great mortality. (Above §. 1.)

(113) The Doctor, who is a great connoisseur in matters of piety and sanctity, attributes the inferiority of the second class, compared with the first, to corruptions, that began to appear in the church. Why not name some of them? Might not some men be more holy than others, without the church being infected? As to the third class, it appeared, he says, "when religion became clouded with superstition and human invention." How does he exemplify this assertion? Yet he finds some consolation in there being no direct acknowledgment of Rome or her doctrines. As this is not a place for controversy, I will merely tell him that the author of the document had no intention whatsoever of alluding to the doctrines of the Church, or to any corruption of them. He touches indeed on practices, but does not complain of any of them as bad. His object was to give a comparative view of the state of the Irish church at divers periods, and of the various degrees of Christian fervour, with which the clergy were in general animated. I say *in general*, because even in the third class there were individuals as religious and as holy as many of those of the higher ones. That no innovations as to doctrinal matters had taken place at the time the third class appeared, our self-sufficient Doctor might have learned from St. Columbanus, an excellent judge on these points, and who survived the appearance of said class. He might also have been instructed by that great man

concerning the light in which Rome and her doctrines were held in Ireland. (See *Chap. XIII. §. 12.*)

§. IX. The first in the list, and certainly one of the oldest, is Petranus bishop of Lusk, (114) concerning whom I find nothing recorded, except that he died in 616. (115) If Senach, whose name occurs last among the bishops, was Senach of Armagh, (116) he should had the order of time, whereas he died in 610, and dignity of rank been attended to, have been the first named. But it is more probable, that he was Senach Garbh of Clonfert, who, although usually called only abbot. was in all probability a bishop, and who died in 621. (117) Aedan was the celebrated St. Aidan or Maidoc bishop of Ferns. His original name was *Aodh* or *Aedh*, a name exceedingly common among the ancient Irish, which, besides, being modified in various ways, both in Irish and Latin, (118) has been anglicized into *Hugh*. As this saint's name appears more generally under the form *Maidoc*, I shall use it in preference to *Aedan* or *Aidan*, by which some distinguished persons, with whom he must not be confounded, (119) are usually designated. He was of an illustrious family of Connaught. His father Setna was of the Hy-briiun sept, (120) and his mother Ethne of the race of Aulai. (121) Having been married for some considerable time they had no heir, and accordingly prayed to God that he might grant them a son, for which purpose they also gave great alms and often went to the monastery of Druim-leathan, (122) where they used to request the prayers of the holy men, who resided there. The Almighty being pleased to listen to their supplications, St. Maidoc was born in a small island called *Inis-Breagh-muigh* in the now county of Cavan. (123) The time of his birth was about the year 560, as appears from his having been, when a small boy, one of the hostages, whom the chiefs of Hy-briiun were compelled to give to Anniracus king

of Ireland, (124) whose reign began in 568, and ended in 571. (125) When returned to his parents they consigned him for his education to some holy men, under whose care, besides attending to the studies suitable to his age, he became a great proficient in piety. After some time, and while Maidoc was still young, his reputation for sanctity became so great, that several well disposed persons wished to connect themselves with him, and to consider him as their master. His humility would not allow him to accept of this distinction; and to avoid it he left his own country and proceeded to St. David's establishment at Menevia in Wales. (126)

(114) One Macculind, and Cuynea M'Cathmoa, are spoken of as having been bishops at Lusk as early as the latter end of the 5th century, (See Archdall at *Lusk*) but on no respectable authority, that I can discover. Colgan makes no mention of them.

(115) Usher, *p.* 963 and *Ind. Chron.* He seemed to think, that Petranus might have been the same as the Armorican nobleman of that name, who has been mentioned *Chap.* ix. §. 12. But he afterwards changed his opinion, having directed (*Addenda, p.* 1196) the reader to affix the arrival of Petranus in Ireland to A. D. 498. Accordingly he must have been different from the bishop, who died in 616. Add, that Paternus, son of the Armorican Petranus, was bishop of Vannes about 640. (Usher *Ind. Chron.*)

(116) See above, §. 2. Usher, not troubling himself about other Senachs, laid down (*p.* 966) as certain, that Senach of Armagh was he of the list. Yet we find nothing particular as to the sanctity of this Senach, nor is there any day marked for his commemoration; a strange omission with regard to an Archbishop of Armagh.

(117) As much as is known concerning Senach Garbh has been already given. (Above, §. 2. and *Not.* 22.) His dying in 621 answers better to his being placed in the third class than to Senach of Armagh, who died in 610. That Senach-Garbh was really a bishop there is every reason to believe, as there seems to

have been a regular succession of bishops at Clonfert. Prior to him we there find Fintan Corach and Moëna.

(118) It is curious to observe, into what various shapes the name Aodh has been transformed. As the Irish used to write *OE* or *AE* for *AO*, we find this saint in some Calendars under the form *Oedus* and *Aedus*. Among the Irish diminutive particles were *an*, and *oc* or *og*. Hence, as it was very usual to add one of these particles to the names, particularly of persons beloved, as ex. c. we say *Johnny* for *John*, he is called in various Irish documents, *Aodan*, *Aedan*, *Oedan*, *Aodhog*. Next comes the endearing prefix *Mo*, omitting, however, the *o* in case of the name beginning with a vowel; and thus he appears as *Maodog*, *Moedhog*, *Moedoc*, *Maedoc*, *Maidoc*. Giraldus Cambrensis says, (*Vit. S. David.*) “S. Aidanus, qui et Hibernice *Maidocus* dicitur. In Capgrave’s Legend it is remarked that, instead of *Aidus* or *Aidan*, as named in some works, he was called at St. David’s *Moedoc*, “which is Irish.”

(119) Some, among whom Hanmer (*Chron. p. 127. New ed.*) thought he was the same as St. Aidan bishop of Lindisfarne, of whom hereafter.

(120) This sept was descended from the Brian, once prince of Connaught, mentioned above, §. 6. Their territory was either Breffny (now Leitrim and Cavan) or, at least, a part of it. See *AA. SS. p. 216.*)

(121) Life of Maidoc, *cap. 1.* Colgan says that, instead of *Aulai*, the author should have written *Amalgaid*, the name of a prince, whose sons are much spoken of in the history of St. Patrick. Yet I find no real difference between the names, as the former is only a contraction of the latter. Thus the territory, anciently called, from that prince, *Tir-amalgaid*, has, for a long time back, been called *Tir-awly*. This Life, which Colgan (at 31 *Jan.*) has published in preference to some others, is of rather a respectable kind. The style indeed, is often incorrect; and Colgan complains that there is now and then neglect of chronological order. Yet, on the whole, it is a useful document. A St. Evin is said to have been the author. Colgan admits that he was not Evin of Ross, whereas he died before Maidoc. Whatever was the author’s name, he gives us to understand, (*capp. 63-64.*) that

he was a clergyman or monk of Ferns, or, at least, of some church, of which St. Maidoc was patron.

(122) It is now called *Drumlahan* or *Drumlane*. Archdall places it in the barony of Belturbet, co. Cavan. I do not know of any such barony. *Drumlahan* is a well known place, in the barony of Loughtee, about three miles from Belturbet. It is very strange, that Colgan, in a list of monasteries founded by Maidoc, has among them *Druin-lethan*, which, as appears from what we have now seen, existed before he was born. Ware and Harris were, at least in part, led astray by him on this point.

(123) Colgan says, that this island is in a lake or marsh in a district of Breffny called *Tellach-ethach*. This is, as well as I can discover, the now barony of Tullaghagh or Tullahaw in the part of Cavan that borders on Leitrim. That district, together with some others of Cavan, was formerly comprized in Connaught.

(124) *Maidoc's Life*, cap. 2.

(125) See *Chap. XII. §. 5*. Harris (*Bishop at Ferns*) says that the account of Maidoc having been a hostage with Anmiracus cannot square with the truth of chronology, because he was a disciple of St. David, who, says Harris, died in 544; and consequently many years before the reign of that king. But what Harris, following Usher, thought to be true chronology, is quite the reverse, as has been already proved. (*Chap. IX. §. 9*.) As to the evasion of Usher and others, that there may be some mistake in the name of Anmiracus, and that the king, with whom Maidoc was a hostage, might have been one prior to him, it is not worth consideration. Independently of any mention of this circumstance or of Anmiracus, it is plain from the fact, universally admitted, of Maidoc having been a scholar of St. David, that the latter did not die as early as 544. From the Lives of both these saints it is evident, that Maidoc must have been, at least, 24 years old at the time of David's death. Thus then, in the hypothesis of it having occurred in 544, Maidoc's birth cannot be placed later than 520; and, allowing him to have been born in this very year, he should have lived to the age of 112, whereas, according to Usher himself, (*p. 966*.) he died in 632. Now in whatever accounts exist of St. Maidoc there is not the least indi-

cation of his life having been prolonged to any extraordinary length of time.

(126) Life, *cap.* 10. Menevia is there called, as usual with the old Irish writers, *Killmuine*.

§. x. Maidoc remained a long time in that place, and was greatly esteemed by St. David on account of his humility and strict observance of monastic discipline, of which some instances are related, as likewise of the interposition of Providence in his favour. (127) He is said to have wrought some miracles in Wales, and his reputation was so great, that, on an occasion of the English having invaded that country with a great army, the inhabitants, when assembled in arms to defend themselves, requested of St. David to send Maidoc to them, that he might bless them and their efforts. It is added, that his benediction had the wished for effect, and that the English were routed with considerable loss. (128) At what time he returned to Ireland is not exactly known; but it was prior to St. David's death, which was probably in 589 (129) He parted from St. David and his other friends at Menevia with their best wishes and blessings, (130) and having landed somewhere in the now county of Wexford, was well received by some of the leading men of that country, particularly by one named Dymma, who gave him some ground, on which he erected a church. (131) He afterwards formed a cell or small monastery at Desert Nairbre, a place supposed to be in the now county of Waterford. (132) There he remained for a time, apparently not long, and then set about establishing monasteries in various parts of Hy-Kinselagh, particularly, and one may say *solely*, in that now called Wexford. One of them was the celebrated monastery of Clonemore, (133) over which he placed Dicholla Gairbh one of his disciples. But his chief establishment was that of Ferns, on land granted to him by king Brandubh, after, from

having been prince of Hy-Kinselagh, he became sovereign of all Leinster, and had defeated Aidus king of Ireland in the early part of the year 599. (134) Brandubh had an extraordinary esteem for St. Maidoc, and exerted all his influence to raise the monastery and new town of Ferns to the rank not only of an episcopal see, but likewise of an ecclesiastical metropolis. Accordingly he procured the convocation of a numerous synod, in which it was decreed, with the concurrent voice of the king, clergy, and people, that the archbishoprick of Leinster should be annexed to Ferns as the see and chair of Maidoc, who was then immediately consecrated bishop. (135) This transaction must be placed either in 599, or some time before the death of Brandubh in 602, (136) and hence it appears that what is said of Maidoc having paid a visit to St. David, who wished to see him before his death, occurred, if true, before he became a bishop. (137) We find him, after his consecration, visiting the holy virgins daughters of Aidus, king of Leinster, and taking with him a plough and a pair of oxen as a present for them. (138) His ecclesiastical dignity did not prevent him from joining his monks in their agricultural labours; and we are told that on one occasion he superintended 150 brethren making the harvest. (139) He was intimate with several distinguished holy men of his time, particularly Moluã of Clonfert-melua, who was his spiritual director, or father confessor, (140) Fintan Munnu, and others. Maidoc was remarkable for his hospitality and benevolence. On being informed that some relatives of his were prisoners in Hy Conall Gabhra, (141) he went to that country, although far distant from Ferns, for the purpose of delivering them, and did not desist, until he induced the chieftain, otherwise very harsh on this point, to give them up. It is added, that this chieftain was so affected by the

saint's conduct, that he granted him a place called Cluain-claidheach, in which he erected a monastery. (142) Another time, when thinking of going to Cashel on some business, he changed his course and travelled as far as Kilmacduagh to relieve Guaire, king of Connaught, who was dangerously ill, and who recovered his health through the saint's prayers. (143) Several miracles are attributed to Maidoc; but this is not the place for giving an account of them. This much is certain, that his reputation for sanctity was very great, and that his memory has been highly revered, both in Ireland and in some other countries, particularly Wales. He died on the 31st of January, A. D. 632, (144) and was buried at Ferns.

(127) *Life, cap. 11. seqq.* See also *Life of David, cap. 16. at 1 Mart.*

(128) *Life, cap. 17.*

(129) See *Chap. ix. §. 9.*

(130) In the *Life of David* by Giraldus, we read; "S. Aidanus, qui et Hibernice Maidocus dicitur, virtutibus insignis et divinis affatim eruditus disciplinis, licentia primum a patre (David) deinde fratribus accepta, cum omnium benedictione Hiberniam petiit."

(131) In his *Life (cap. 19.)* he is said to have erected also a church on a field granted to him by a chieftain, whose name is not mentioned. Colgan thought that the place given to Maidoc by Dymma was Ardlathrann together with some ground adjoining, and hence Archdall has a monastery there. Ardlathrann, which was a maritime town, seemingly in the Southern part of the county of Wexford, is mentioned more than once in the *Life*, as a place where Maidoc happened to be on some occasions; and it is very probable, that he had there formed a religious establishment. But we are not to believe that he got a grant of the whole town.

(132) Maidoc is said (*ib. cap. 21.*) to have visited the country of the Desii (co. Waterford); and next after we are told that he erected the cell of Disert Nairbre. But it is not stated, that this cell was in that country. Yet from the context it appears probable that it was; and Colgan (*Not. at loc.*) places it there in the

diocese of Ardmore. Smith (*Hist. of Waterford*, p. 92.) makes it the same as Bolhendesart in the barony of Upperrthird not far from the river Suir.

(133) In the barony of Bantry, co. Wexford. (See Archdall). N. B. The monastery of Fiddown in the county of Kilkenny was founded by another Maidoc, of whom Colgan has a very confused and doubtful account at 23 *Mart.*

(134) See *Chap.* XII. §. 5.

(135) The Life has; (*cap.* 28.) “Deinde facta synodo magna in terra Lageniensium decrevit rex Brandubh, et tam laici quam clerici, ut archiepiscopatus omnium Lageniensium semper esset in sede et cathedra S. Moedoc. Et tunc S. Moedoc a multis Catholicis consecratus est archiepiscopus.” Usher observes (*p.* 965) that by this regulation the archiepiscopate was removed from Sletty. (Compare with *Chap.* VI. §. 5. and *ib.* *Not.* 53.) He adds that it was afterwards transferred to Kildare, where, he says, we find it in the time of bishop Ferdornach, who died in the year 1101. But that privilege, such as it was, appears to have been annexed to Kildare long before this time; for Cogitosus, who did not live later than the early part of the ninth century, (See *Not.* 18 to *Chap.* VIII.) in his prologue calls the bishop of Kildare an *archbishop*. I have already remarked (*Not.* 67 to *Chap.* VI.) that these so called archbishops of those times in Ireland, excepting the primate of Armagh, were not, strictly speaking, metropolitans invested with such jurisdiction as the canon law has established. They enjoyed, by courtesy, a sort of honorary pre-eminence, which, as may be concluded from the title passing from one see to another, was, I dare say, often contested. It is true, that also in the African provinces the title of *primate* as the head bishop of each was called, used to pass through various sees; but there was a fixed rule as to this point; viz. that, with the exception of the bishop or primate of Carthage, to whom all the other primates, bishops, &c. were subject; those African primates were always the oldest bishops, by consecration, of the respective provinces. Now in Ireland we cannot discover any such settled regulation; and I am inclined to think, that some of those provincial archbishops owed their title and rank rather to the favour of princes than to ecclesiastical constitutions.

(136) Above, *Not.* 49.

(137) We have seen (*Chap. ix. §. 9.*) that St. David died some years previous to 599.

(138) *Life, cap. 34.* Of these holy virgins mention has been made above §. 7.

(139) *Ib. cap. 40.*

(140) *Ib. cap. 20 and 54.*

(141) Now Upper Connello in the county of Limerick. (See *Not. 6 to Chap. xi*)

(142) *Life, cap. 38.* Archdall says, that this place is not far from Rathkeale and now called Cluancagh.

(143) *Ib. cap. 41.*

(144) Usher, *p. 966.* Ware, *Bishops at Ferns, &c.* The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 219*) have *A. 624* (625). The date 634 is more probably the true one, as appears from what Colgan (*ib.*) observes concerning that assigned by the 4 Masters to the death of Guaire king of Connaught, which, he says, cannot be reconciled with their placing Maidoc's death in 624. For Guaire is stated to have lived 30 years after he had been visited by the saint. It would lead me too far to enter into a discussion on this subject. This much I will say, that these Annalists are wrong either in their date for the death of Maidoc, or in their affixing that of Guaire to *A. 662.* Ware observes, that a writer of Maidoc's *Life* gives him about 50 years of episcopacy. This does not occur in that published by Colgan, and is contrary to the well known fact, that he did not become a bishop until, at the earliest, *A. 599.*

§. XI. Contemporary with Maidoc was St. Colman of Kilmacduach, who, according to every appearance, was the bishop Colman of the third class.

(145) He was of the illustrious house of the southern Hua-Fiachra of Connaught, (146) and was nearly related to Guaire, king of that province.

(147) From his father's name, *Duach*, he was sur-named *Macduach*, by which appellation he is more generally spoken of than by that of *Colman*. The earliest account I find of his transactions is, that he lived as a hermit in the forest of Burren (county of Clare), attended only by a young clerk, a disciple of his. Their only food was water cresses and wild herbs; their drink water; and deer-skins served

them for clothes. Having constructed an oratory and a small habitation surrounded with trees, they remained there for full seven years without conversing with any other person. (148) Colman's reputation becoming very great, he was taken notice of by Guaire, a prince of great piety and liberality, who offered him as much land, as he should wish for the establishment of a religious community. The saint refused to accept of more than a small spot, on which he afterwards erected a monastery, and where he became bishop. (149) It was not far distant from his former habitation, and has been called, from his name, *Kill-macduach*. This foundation took place in the early part of the reign of Guaire, (150) and probably before the year 620. (151) After a well spent life, St Colman died on a third of February, (152) but in what year is not recorded. His memory has been most highly revered in his diocese. As to the bishop Loman named in the same class, he was, as far as I can judge, no other than the Loman or Luman bishop of Trim, whom some writers have, without sufficient foundation, pushed up as far as the commencement of St. Patrick's mission in Ireland. (153) Nothing certain is known concerning this saint, except that he was revered on the 17th of February at Trim, where his remains were deposited together with those of several other saints, who are called his companions. (154) Who the bishop Murgeus was I cannot discover, unless he may be supposed to have been the same as Murgenius (155) an abbot of Glean-ussen, who might have been a bishop, although I do not find him called by that title. (156) Ultan, who is the second named in the list of bishops, I place last, because he survived the others, at least those, the years of whose death are known. He was of the house of Hua-Conchovair (O'Connor) and is said to have been related to St. Brigid by her mother's side. (157) He was bishop at Ardbraccan, and is supposed to have

been the founder of that see. (158) Ultan's name is often mentioned, particularly on account of his writings, one of which was a Life, or, at least, a work on some Acts of St. Patrick. (159) He wrote also a similar treatise concerning the transactions of St. Brigid; (160) and some have attributed to him a Latin hymn in honour of the same saint. (161) Ultan died on the 4th of September, A. D. 657. (162)

(145) Usher is evidently wrong (*p.* 964) in making Colman bishop of Lindisfarne, the same as Colman of the third class. That Colman did not die until 676, and accordingly was not the person alluded to, whereas the times of said class terminated in 665. It may, perhaps, be supposed, that Colman of Doire-mor above treated of, (§. 3.) and who flourished during that period, was the one meant by the author; but, as he seems to have been less known than Colman of Kilmacduach, it is more probable that the latter was the person whom said author had in view.

(146) See above *Not.* 91.

(147) *AA. SS.* *p.* 248. Colgan shows, that Keating was mistaken (*Hist. &c.* Book 2.) in making him a brother of Guaire. He was wrong also in calling him *Mochua*. These are trifles, compared with some prodigious fables, which Keating picked up concerning this saint.

(148) Colman's Acts, *cap.* 7. at 3 *Feb.* St. Colman retired to the forest in the time of Colman surnamed *Aidhne*, by which distinctive name the Southern Hy-fiachra of Connaught were known. (See *AA. SS.* *p.* 331.) This Colman was father to Guaire, and son of Cobhtach, who was a first cousin of Duach the father of St. Colman. (*ib.* *p.* 248.)

(149) Colgan pretends that Colman was a bishop, before he retired into the forest. His argument is, that some writers, when speaking of him as being in this retirement, give him that title. This proves no more than that he was a bishop at some time of his life; but it does not follow that he was one, when in the forest. To say that *bishop Colman spent seven years in a desert*, has nothing to do with the time of his consecration. It might as well be argued from a person's saying, *King George was born in 1762*,

that he was a king in that year. An authority, the best I find for Colman's proceedings, quoted by Colgan (*Acts, cap. 12.*) has, "Cellam extruxit (Colmanus), quae ejus nomine Kill-macduach vulgo appellata est, quaeque *postea*, a rege Guario ejusque successoribus multis praediis dotata, in *sedem episcopalem*—erecta est."

(150) We have seen (*Not. 148.*) that Colman retired to the forest prior to the reign of Guaire. How long he was there before this king's accession is not known; yet, as he spent there, in all, not more than seven years, the foundation of Killmacduagh must be assigned to some one of the first years of that reign. This is confirmed by the circumstance, that Colman was settled at Killmacduagh at the time of St. Maidoc's visit to Guaire. (*Maidoc, Life cap. 41.*) Now, it is stated, (*ib.*) that Guaire lived for 30 years after said visit. On the other hand, Guaire's reign lasted, at most, 38 years; (*AA. SS. p. 219.*) and thus it is clear, that Killmacduach was founded in the early part of it.

(151) Colgan calculates, that Colman flourished in 620. He gives it as his opinion (*AA. SS. p. 219.*) that Guaire died about 642, and that the 4 Masters were wrong in their date of 662. He asserts (*ib. p. 246.*) that Guaire flourished about 630, as appears from all our ancient histories. According to Colgan's statement, and supposing that Guaire reigned 38 years, the commencement of his reign may be placed about 604. Then, if we suppose that Colman founded Killmacduach in the 5th or 6th year of that reign (and it could scarcely have been later) this foundation may be assigned to about 610. Having touched upon the times of Guaire, I may be allowed to animadvert on a huge anachronism of Keating, who makes him contemporary with Diermit Mac Cervail, king of Ireland, whose reign began in 544, and ended in 565. How could he have fallen into such a mistake, while knowing that Guaire carried on a war against Dioma, who succeeded Failbhe Fland, as king of Cashel, and whose reign did not begin until 634? (See above *Not. 39.*)

(152) This is the day marked for his *Natalis* in the Calendars; and yet it is not, as Ware and Harris say, that on which his festival is kept at Killmacduach. The day fixed for it in that diocese is the 29th of October. How this came to pass, I am not able to explain.

(153) See *Not. 35* to *Chap. v.*)

(154) Colgan having patched up (at 17 *Feb.*) a sort of Acts of St. Loman, founded almost entirely on certain stories in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick and in Joceline, quotes from the *Martyrol. Tam-lact.* the following passage; “Lomani Athtrumensis cum sociis suis; id est, Patricio hostiario, Lurecho filio Cuanach, Fortcherno et Coelo Ochtra, Aido, Aedo, Acdo, Cormaco episcopo, Conano, Comeno episcopo, Lacteno sacerdote, Ossano, Sarano, Conallo, Colmano, Luctano episcopo, et Finnsecha virgine. Hi omnes Athtrumie requeſcunt.” If by *sociis suis* we should understand disciples of Loman, as Colgan seems to think, Loman must be brought to much later times than those of St. Patrick. If, for instance, Ossanus was a disciple of his, Loman certainly belonged to the 7th century; for this Ossanus was, in all appearance, the person of that name, whose memory was revered at Rath-ossain near the West gate of Trim, and whose death is marked at A. D. 686. (*AA. SS. p. 367.*) Others of them are placed by Colgan himself in still later times. It may be objected, that Tirechan, who is supposed to have lived in the seventh century, speaks of Loman as being in St. Patrick’s days. (See Usher *p. 853.*) But, if Tirechan lived so early, the account given of Loman is undoubtedly an interpolation thrust into his work. For no author of that century could have written certain nonsense therein contained, such as *ex. c.* that prince Fedlimid, a son of king Leogaire, made a grant of *all* his territory, property, and family to the saints Patrick and Loman, and thus to the church of Trim. Such fables, relative to ecclesiastical endowments, did not appear in Ireland until a much later period. (Compare with *Not. 35 to Chap. v.*) Usher, having swallowed, at least in part, the stories about the Loman connected with St. Patrick, mentions, as if to find out the Loman of the third class, two other Lomans. But there is no account of their having been bishops; nor does Colgan, who adds (*AA. SS. p. 363.*) something about them, pretend that they were.

(155) Usher says (*p. 965*) that in the genealogies of Irish saints Murgeus is called *Muirgeni Liban.*

(156) Colgan has (*AA. SS. p. 418.*) Murgenius abbot of Gleanussen, whose name is in the calendars at 27 *Januar.* He was later than Comgan, of whom above, (*Chap. x. §. 14.*) but is not

mentioned as his immediate successor. I do not meet any where else with the name of Murgenius.

(157) See *Not.* 20. to *Chap.* VIII.

(158) Ware *Antiq. cap.* 29. and Harris (*Bishops at Meath*). Ardraccan, or the *high place of Braccan*, was so called from an abbot Braccan, who, according to Ware (*Writers, at Braccan*) was alive in 650. If this be true, Ultan must have been but for a short time bishop there. Braccan is said to have written some prophecies.

(159) See *Tripart. L.* 1. c. 69. and *L.* 3. c. 99.

(160) In the Prologue to Chilian's metrical Life of St. Brigid (See *Not.* 18. to *Chap.* VIII.) we read; "Scripserunt multi virtutes virginis alme, *Ultanus* doctor, atque *Eleranus* ovans," &c. We have seen (*ib.*) how much Colgan was mistaken in supposing that Ultan's work on St. Brigid was the tract, which he has published under the title of her *Third Life*. Whether Ultan wrote it, as well as that on St. Patrick, in Latin or Irish I am not able to ascertain.

(161) Having already treated of this hymn, (*Not.* 81 to *Chap.* IX.) I shall merely observe, that it must not be confounded with another on St. Brigid, but written in Irish, usually ascribed to Columbkil, although, as Usher says, (*p.* 963.) some have thought it was composed by Ultan. Colgan, who has given (*Tr. Th. p.* 606.) a Latin translation of it, says nothing about its ever having been attributed to him.

(162) The 4 Masters, quoted by Colgan, (*Tr. Th. p.* 518.) have; "An. Christi 656 (657) S. *Ultanus* Hua Conchovair, episcopus de Ardbrecan, obiit 4 Sept. an. aetatis suae 180." This date is also that of the Ulster annals. (See Usher, *p.* 963 and *Ind. Chron.*) As to his having lived until his 180th year, this fable was probably made up to account for his having been a contemporary of Brogan, author of the Irish poem on St. Brigid, (See *Not.* 18 to *Chap.* VIII.) and who had been supposed to have flourished early in the sixth century. The truth is, that either Ultan was not contemporary with Brogan, or, if he was, that the latter lived in the seventh century; and that he did appears from what he has (*Stroph.* 10.) concerning St. Coemgen of Glendaloch.

§. XII. As to the holy priests of the third class, the order of time does not permit me to enter *seriatim* upon their history in this place, as several of them lived to a later period than some distinguished persons belonging to the first half of the seventh century, and after the times of certain important occurrences, by which the Irish church was much agitated. We have seen that Baithen abbot of Hy, and consequently chief of the whole Columbian order, died in 598. (163) He was succeeded by Fergnaus or Virgnous, (164) whose real name was Fergna. (165) It has been supposed that he was a distant relative of Columbkil; but this opinion is more than uncertain. (166) He had been from his youth a disciple of his at Hy, and was then remarkable for his good disposition and piety. (167) Little else is known concerning him, except that he governed Hy and its dependencies until 623, in which year he died on the 2d of March. (168) Fergnaus was succeeded by Segeneus, son of Fiachrius and great great grandson of Fergu's the grandfather of Columbkil. (169) We shall meet with Segeneus hereafter; meanwhile it is sufficient to observe, that he was the founder of the church of Rachlin, (170) and that he held the abbacy of Hy, &c. for 29 years, having lived until 652. (171) Senach, archbishop of Armagh, who died in 610, was, as already stated, (172) succeeded Mac-Laisre, or the son of Laisre, concerning whom so little is recorded, that even his Christian name is not known. (173) He died in 623, and his commemoration was held on the 2d of September, probably the anniversary of his death. (174) Mac-Laisre's immediate successor was Thomian or Thoman, the son of Roman. (175) Having governed the see of Armagh for about 37 years, Thomian died on the 10th of January, A. D. 661. (176) He took an active part in the Paschal controversy; and we find his name the first placed in the letter of the Roman clergy,

written in 640, to several Irish prelates, priests, and abbots on that and some other subjects, which will be treated of lower down.

(163) See *Chap.* XII. §. 15.

(164) Usher, *p.* 702.

(165) Colgan has the Acts of Fergna or Fergnaus at 2 *Mart.* The 4 Masters interpose between Bãithen and Fergna Lasrean, who had been abbot of Durrough in Columbkil's time. (See *Not.* 179 to *Chap.* XI.) Colgan observes, that in several calendars, which mention Lasrean at 16 *Sept.* he is called abbot of Hy. And indeed it is probable that he was, yet only for a short time. The account given by the 4 Masters of the time during which his administration lasted, as likewise of that of Baithen, is so confused and, on the whole, so different from Usher's statements derived from the Ulster annals, that I am not able to form any decision on these points. (Compare with *Not.* 242 to *Chap.* XII.)

(166) The only sort of argument for that relationship is the genealogy of a St. Fergna, (*ap. AA. SS. p.* 450.) a descendant of Conal Gulbanus, the great grandfather of Columbkil. But this Fergna was in the seventh generation from said Conal; and hence Colgan admits, that it is scarcely credible that he was the abbot of Hy.

(167) Adamnan makes mention of him (*L. 3. c.* 19.) in these terms; "Virgnous bonae indolis juvenis, qui postea, Deo auctore, huic prae fuit Ecclesiae;" and again, "Virgnous in Dei amore serviens." Colgan (Acts, &c.) has confounded him with the Virgnous, to whom Lugaid announced the death of Columbkil, (See *Not.* 117 to *Chap.* XI.) although nothing can be more clear than that they were different persons. This Virgnous, having gone from Ireland to the Hebrides after the death of Columbkil, spent, as Adamnan relates, (*L. 3. c.* 23.) the remainder of his life in Hymba, partly as a monk in a state of subjection, and partly as a hermit. How then could he have been the abbot of Hy? Colgan strove to evade this argument by a quibble founded on a false reading in his edition of Adamnan, who writes; "Virgnous post multos in subjectione inter fratres inreprehensibiliter expletos annos," &c. Instead of *multos*, as Messingham's and other editions have, that of Colgan has *multorum*, by which the whole passage becomes ungrammatical and nonsensical. He

then endeavours to shew, that the words, *multorum in subjectione*, are to be understood of Virgnous having had many persons subject to him. Where did he find such a phrase used for *the government of others*? Adamnan could not have written this barbarous Latin. But, as *multorum* is a palpable error, I need not say more about it.

(168) 4 Masters, *Tr. Th.* p. 498. *AA. SS.* p. 449. Their date is 622, *i. e.* 623 as Usher has it, p. 702, and *Ind. Chron.* Some of our calendarists have very absurdly called Fergna a bishop, and indeed of Hy. Surely nothing is more certain than that the abbots of Hy were always only priests, at least as long as they continued to be abbots. See *Not.* 234, 235 to *Chap.* XII.

(169) See *Tr. Th.* p. 374. (170) See *Not.* 111 to *Chap.* XI.

(171) Usher, p. 702. *Tr. Th.* p. 498.

(172) Above §. 2. In the catalogue of the archbishops of Armagh (*Tr. Th.* p. 293.) the name of Senach does not appear, owing to an omission of the printer. It is clear, that Colgan did not mean to live him out, as he had Senach's name before his eyes not only in the list from the Psalter of Cashel, but likewise in his favourite authority the Annals of the 4 Masters, who have at A. 609 (610); *Senachus Ardm. obiit.* Therefore Harris, instead of charging Colgan (*Bishops at Armagh*) with this omission, ought to have left it at the door of the printer, a wight, who has done infinite mischief to Colgan's works and caused vast trouble to the readers of them.

(173) Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 293.) imagined, that his real name was perhaps *Terennan*. For in a Life of St. Laurence of Canterbury it is said, that a St. Terennan archbishop of Ireland waited on him, and not only acknowledged the correctness of the Roman computation of Easter time, and of other practices, but likewise greatly exerted himself to introduce them into Ireland. Mac Laisre and Laurence were indeed contemporaries; but there is not the least foundation for what is here stated. Accordingly it cannot be of any use towards clearing up any part of Mac Laisre's history.

(174) See *Tr. Th.* p. 294, and Ware, *Bishops at Mac Laisre.*

(175) Colgan treats of Thomian at 10 *Jan.* He talks of his noble birth, singular learning, &c. all which may be true; yet I wish he had given us his authorities.

(176) Colgan, *ib.* His date, taken from the 4 Masters, is 660 which Ware justly calls 661.

§. XIII. One of the greatest ornaments of the period we are now inquiring into was St. Carthagh, usually denominated of *Lismore*, and otherwise called *Mochuttai* or *Mochuda*. (177) He was a native of Kerry, (178) and is said to have been of a noble family. (179) Yet we find him, when a boy, actually employed in tending his father's swine near the banks of the river Mang, when Providence put him in the way of being introduced to the holy bishop Carthagh the elder. (180) It is related that, as the bishop and some of his clergy proceeding in that tract were singing psalms, they were overheard by young Carthagh, who was so delighted with their psalmody, that neglecting the swine, he followed them as far as the monastery of Thuaim, where they were to remain during the night. (181) He did not enter the monastery, but unknown to the bishop and the people of the house, stopped without, near the apartment allotted to the bishop's party, listening to them, as they continued to sing until they lay down to sleep. It being now very late, Moeltuili, the chieftain of the district, who was very fond of Mochuda, and with whom he chiefly lived, became uneasy about him and sent persons to search for him, who having found him near the monastery, brought him the next day to Moeltuili's residence. Being asked why he had staid out during the night, he answered, "My Lord Chieftain, my reason for not coming to you was my being charmed with the divine song, which I heard the holy clergy singing, and I wish I were along with them, that I might learn that song." On hearing this, Moeltuili immediately sent for the bishop requesting of him to lose no time in calling upon him, and, when he came, recommended the

boy to his care and to his being pleased to instruct him. The holy prelate, perceiving that he was gifted with an excellent disposition, received him with joy, and being greatly attached to him, kept him with himself, until he ordained him priest. (182) If the time of Mochuda's ordination was, as appears not improbable, about the year 580, (183) we may calculate that he was born about the middle of the sixth century.

(177) In a Life of his called the second, and published by the Bollandists at 14 May, it is said (*cap.* 1.) that at baptism he was called Carthagh, and that afterwards the name *Mochuda* was given him by his master Carthagh the elder. Yet it is probable that his original name was *Chuda*, or *Chuttai* (Cuddy) and that his master, who was very fond of him, did no more in this respect than instead of calling him *Chuda*, addresses him by the affectionate mode, *Mochuda*, that is, my dear Chuda. This Life, which is long and circumstantial, is far from being accurate in many of its assertions. There is reason to think that his being called also *Carthagh* was owing to his having been a disciple of the real Carthagh, as if we should say *Carthagh's Mochuda*. The other Life, called the first, has no mention of this or many other circumstances, and contains very little of a historical kind. Accordingly in my references to this saint's Life the reader is to understand that called the second, which is also the one usually quoted by Usher and Colgan.

(178) *De gente Kiarraigh Luack* (Luachra). *Life, cap.* 1.

(179) Keating (*History, &c. Book 2.*) says, that he was a Kerry man of noble birth and son of Feargus mac Roigh. In the Life he is represented as the descendant of a Fergus once prince of Ulster, who had been killed by Oella king of Connaught, and whose posterity were scattered through various parts of Ireland. It is added that Mochuda's father was Fingen son of Guel.

(180) See *Cap.* xi, §. 5. (181) See *Not.* 50. to *Chap.* xi.

(182) *Life, cap.* 1. See also Colgan *AA. SS. p.* 475. In referring to the chapters of this Life I follow the division of the Bollandists, omitting their subdivisions.

(183) See *Not.* 52. to *Chap.* xi.

§. 14. Being now a priest, it is said that he constructed a cell, called Killtulach, somewhere not far from the Mang; (184) but he did not remain there long, for, as we are told, he thence went to Bangor to place himself under the direction of St. Comgall, and, having staid there for some time, returned to Kerry, where he employed his time in attending to clerical duties. (185) Next we find him visiting Molua of Clonfert-molua, and afterwards Colman-elo, with whom he wished to remain at Land-elo. But this saint advised him to form an establishment for himself at a place not far distant, called Raithin or Rathen. (186) Carthagh acted according to his directions, and there erected a monastery, which soon became very celebrated. He drew up a Rule (187) for the direction of his monks, who, as persons flocked to him from various parts both of Ireland and Great Britain, are said to have swelled to the number of 367, all of whom provided for themselves and the poor by the labour of their hands. (188) While at Rathen, where he remained forty years, Carthagh was consecrated bishop. (189) Notwithstanding his great sanctity, and the extraordinary esteem in which he was generally held, he had, as has been the case with many illustrious and holy men, to encounter the envy of some clergymen or monks (190) of a neighbouring district, who at length induced Blathmac, son of Aidus Slani, and prince of that country, (191) to expel him and his monks from Rathen in the year 630. (192) Thence Carthagh went, accompanied by many of his monks, to Drumcullin the monastery of St. Barrjin (Bar-rindeus), (193) and having stopped there a while proceeded to Saiger, next to Roscrea, and thence to Cashel, where he was very kindly received by the king Failbhe Fland, who offered him a place for erecting a monastery, and whom he cured of a sore eye. Declining this offer the saint went to Ardfinan, and there constructed a cell, rather as a temporary

habitation than a regular monastery. (194) Soon after Moelochtride prince of Nandesi, who was son in law to Failbhe Fland, made him a grant of the tract in which Lismore is situated. (195) In this place Carthagh formed a religious establishment not later, I think, than the year 633, (196) which, as he was already a bishop, became also an episcopal see, and within a short lapse of time acquired an extraordinary celebrity, and gave rise to a considerable town, as the very name, *Lismore*, indicates. (197) Its school, or, as it might now be called, university, was for a very long time equal, at least to any other in Ireland, and, (198) besides the Irish from all parts, was resorted to by students and religious persons not only from England and the rest of Britain, but likewise from various parts of the continent. (199) Lismore, however, did not rise to this pitch of greatness during the life of Carthagh, for he died a short time after he had there completed his establishments, having spent the last 18 months of his course in retirement in a lonesome part of the valley at the East of the town. (200) The day of this great saint's death was the 14th of May, and the year 637. (201) He was buried at Lismore, of which he was the first bishop. (202)

(184) It is stated in the *Life* (*cap.* 11.) that this cell was between the mountain Mysjs and the Mang. How that mountain is now called I do not know.

(185) According to the *Life* (*ib.*) it would seem as if he then acted as bishop in Kerry. This is directly contrary to what is expressly stated in the second chapter of his having been consecrated bishop at Rathen, where he was not settled until some time later. Accordingly the care, which he is said to have taken of Kerry or of a great part of it, must, if true, be understood of his exertions, not as bishop, but as a missionary priest.

(186) It is now called Rathyne, and is situated in the barony of Fertullagh, county of Westmeath.

(187) This rule was written in Irish. Usher had or saw a copy

of it in an ancient MS. together with the Rules of Ailbe, Columkill, and Comgall, all written, he says, in very old Irish, and exceedingly difficult to understand. See p. 919.

(188) *Cap. 2.* In the Life, called the first, the number of monks is stated at 847, and it is added; “*labore manuum suarum victum sibi ac pauperibus acquirentium.*” Usher (p. 911.) refers to another Life, in which the number is said to have been 844.

(189) Life, *ib.*

(190) In the Life (*cap. 4.*) they are called envious clergymen. Keating says that they were the monks of Jobh-Neill. This place was somewhere not far from Rathen; how it is now called I cannot discover.

(191) In the Life, and elsewhere, it is said that Carthagh was expelled by *king* Blathmac. This must be understood not as if Blathmac were then king of all Ireland, which he did not become until 658 (above §. 1.) many years after the expulsion, but as said of him by anticipation, or inasmuch as he was at that time prince or king of Meath.

(192) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* The 4 Masters have A. 631 (632). See *AA. SS.* p. 561. Either of these dates come much nearer the truth than that of the Annals of Innisfallen 636. For, as, even according to these annals, Carthagh died in 637, where could time be found for his transactions subsequent to the expulsion, in case it occurred as late as 636? Besides, it was, as will be soon seen, prior to the death of Failbhe Fland, king of Cashel, which fell in the year 434. (Above, *Not.* 39)

(193) See *Chap. XII.* §. 9.

(194) The monastery, properly so called, of Ardfinan, was founded by St. Finian, surnamed the *leper*, who lived late in the seventh century.

(195) We read in the Life; (*cap. 4.*) “*Dux Nandesi Mochlochtride filius Cobh-aich istam regionem, in qua nunc est civitas Mochudae Lismor, coram multis testibus obtulit S. Carthago.*” By *regionem* we are not to understand a large tract of country; for it is spoken of (*ib.*) as not much more than a field, formerly called *Maghsciath*, *i. e.* the field of the shield. Keating (*Book 2.*) says, that the old name of Lismore was *Dunsginne*, alluding,

I suppose, to the hill near Lismore, on which there might have been a *Dun* or fort in old times.

(196) Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) places Carthagh's arrival at Lismore in 630, the year of his expulsion from Rathen. But from his haltings here and there it appears probable, that it was somewhat later. Yet it could not have been as late as 636, to which it is assigned, together with the expulsion, in the *Annals of Innisfallen*. Carthagh could not, in this hypothesis, have completed this establishment and fixed it on a permanent footing before his death; nor could he have, as it is stated that he did, lived retired for 18 months after every thing had been properly arranged.

(197) According to the *Life* (*cap. 4.*) it would seem as if the name *Lismore*, or rather *Lios-more*, which signifies *great habitation, village, &c.* had been given to that place, before Carthagh's death. It states, that, when marking a site for the monastery, he was asked by a virgin Coemell, who had a cell in the neighbourhood, what he and his companions were about doing. He answered that they were preparing a small habitation to shelter themselves. It will not, she replied, be small but great; on which he subjoined; "What you say is true, for this place will be called *Liosmor scotice, latine autem Atrium magnum.*" The author then adds; "Egregia jam et sancta civitas est *Liosmor*, cujus dimidium est asyllum, in quo nulla mulier audet intrare, sed plenum est cellis et monasteriis sanctis; et multitudo virorum sanctorum semper illi manet. Vir enim religiosi et omni parte Hiberniae, et non solum, sed ex Anglia et Britannia confluunt ad eam volentes ibi migrare ad Christum." That Lismore was resorted to also by continental students will be seen when we shall come to treat of St. Cataldus.

(198) See *AA. SS. p. 154.* (199) *Ib. p. 557.*

(200) *Life, cap. 4.*

(201) *Annals of Innisfallen and Ulster.* Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) The 4 Masters, (*ap. AA. SS. p. 561*) have A. 636; which comes to the same point. Ware, (at *Writers*) agrees with Usher, &c. Yet (*Antiq. cap. 29.* and *Bishops*) he marks 638. This is a mistake founded, I suppose, on his having thought, that the 637 of the *Annals of Innisfallen* should be understood as 638. He might

have observed, that these annals do not generally anticipate the vulgar era, as those of Ulster and the 4 Masters do.

(202) Colgan, or some fellow-labourer of his, has most awkwardly placed, in the Topographical index to *AA. SS.* under the head of Lismore in Munster, Lugadius, who was bishop or abbot of the island of Lismore one of the Hebrides, and died in 589. Hence Archdall has him at our Lismore, thus leading astray the reader, as if there were, at least, a monastery in this place before that of Carthagh. (Compare with *Not.* 102 to *Chap.* XII.) And what is still more unchronological, he places there a bishop, John in the time of St. Senan of Inniscatthy. Colgan, indeed, is to blame for this mistake also; for having met with, in a Life of St. Senan, a bishop of that name as contemporary with him, he threw out, with his usual carelessness about anachronisms, a conjecture (*AA. SS.* p. 539.) that he was perhaps the John, who is mentioned as bishop of Lismore in a calendar at 13 *Nov.* But the Calendar does not state at what period this John of Lismore lived. Archdall, however, had no right to give as certain what Colgan proposed as a conjecture. Then we find another mistake as to a St. Neman, whom the 4 Masters (*ib.* p. 568) call abbot of Lismore, placing his death in 610 (611). They could not have meant the Lismore of Munster; but it has unluckily happened, that in the above-mentioned index Neman is mentioned under the head of it, and thence Archdall removed him to that place. In like manner he brought thither an abbot Eochaid, or, as he incorrectly calls him, Leochaid, whose death is assigned (*ib.* p. 163.) to A. D. 634 (635). And why? Because he likewise is called abbot of Lismore, as if there were no Lismore except that of Munster. The 4 Masters and Colgan well knew that the abbot of this Lismore in 635 was Carthagh himself. Eochaid was, in all probability, a Columbian monk, and perhaps the Eochaid or Eoglod celebrated by Scottish writers as a preacher among the Picts, and of whom Colgan treats at 25 *Januar.* It is very natural to suppose, that he was abbot of the island of Lismore. Besides all these strangers, Archdall introduces another, as prior to Carthagh, for whom Colgan is not any way responsible, viz. St. Maidoc (misspelt *Maidoe*), and for no other reason than that Colgan, reckoning up (*ib.* p. 221) several saints of this name, has among them a bishop of Lismore, without, however, a word concerning the times, in which

he lived. The wonderful critic Archdall took it into his head to make him earlier than Carthagh. The fact is, that, as is evident from the concurrent testimony of his Lives, and all our Annals, and even of Colgan, when expressly treating on this subject, there was no monastery at Lismore until the foundation by Carthagh, and that he was both its first bishop and first abbot.

§. xv. St. Cuanna of Kill-chuanna (Killcoonagh) in the county of Galway, where he governed a monastery, or, at least, a church, was maternal brother to St. Carthagh. (203) It is probable that he spent some time at Rathen, before he formed any establishment for himself. (204) If he became abbot of Lismore, as I find him called (205), it must be admitted, that, leaving Kill-chuanna, he succeeded Carthagh as abbot, and perhaps as bishop. (206) But the whole matter is very uncertain. Equally uncertain is the supposition of his having been the author of a historical work concerning Ireland. (207) St. Cuanna died on a 4th of February; but in what year is not known. (208) Out of the vast number of disciples, whom St. Carthagh had at Rathen, some are particularly named as having distinguished themselves by their humility; and it is related that the saint before his death assigned cells or religious houses to be governed by them (209) The first mentioned, as he had been the first who became a monk at Rathen under Carthagh, is Mochua son of Mellain, (210) otherwise called Cronan. (211) Nothing more is known concerning his parentage, or in what part of Ireland he was born. As to the time of his birth, it was probably about the year 570. (212) Having spent many years in a most exemplary manner at Rathen he was placed by Carthagh over a small establishment at Cluain-Dachran, (213) a place in that neighbourhood; Carthagh telling him at the same time, that this would not be the place of his resurrection, as he should have to go elsewhere. At what peculiar time Mochua was appointed to that

situation we do not find ; but it must have been prior, by perhaps several years, to the expulsion from Rathen. (214) In the general persecution of the monks of that institution we may justly suppose that Mochua was not spared ; and we find him afterwards in another part of Ireland, as Carthagh had foretold. It appears that he governed a church, and perhaps a monastery, at Glaismor in the now county of Waterford. (215) According to some accounts Mochua presided over a monastery at another Glaismor (216) situated near Swords. But they rest upon very doubtful authority, and, as far as I can discover, no better than a mere similarity of names. (217) In what year this saint died is not recorded. His memory was revered at Lismore and in other parts of Nandesí on the 10th of February. (218) Among the eminent disciples of Carthagh are reckoned three Mochoemogs, one the son of Vairt, another the son of Cuaith, and a third, who afterwards became a bishop. Nothing further is known concerning them, (219) and almost equally obscure is the history of the three brothers Gobban, Graphan, and Laseran, sons of Nescainn, the first of whom is called a bishop. (220) This much may be relied on, that they were placed by Carthagh in a monastery, which he erected in a small island called *Inispict*, (221) about or before the year 620 on occasion, of a visit to Munster. Having remained there for a year, Carthagh, returning to Rathen, left these three brothers at *Inispict* under the care of a bishop Domangen, (222) together with twelve other monks. From this superintendence of Domangen it is clear, that Gobban, although he became a bishop somewhere or other, was not one at the time of his entering this monastery. It is not improbable, that his see was the very island of *Inispict*. (223) As to his brothers, I can find nothing further, that can be depended upon. (224) Next come, in the list of Carthagh's disciples, the names *Molua Lughayr*. Whether they indicate one

or two persons, (225) nothing is known concerning him or those, to whom they belonged. Then are mentioned Aidan, Fiachna, (226) and last of all Finlug.

(203) In Cuanna's Acts at 4 *Febr.* Colgan quotes the following passage from the calendar of Cashel; "4 Febr. Natalis S. Cuanna, cujus ecclesia est in occidentali plaga Connaciae, et alia de Killchuanna in regione de Tirbrivin: Cormana nomen matris. Est de Lismoro, et ex eadem matre frater sancti Mochudae." His mother Cormana was otherwise called *Meadh* or *Finmeadh*; but Colgan shows that there was no real difference between these names. He says that Cuanna's father was Midarn or Midhurn of the house of Niall. Yet elsewhere (*AA. SS. p. 338.*) he distinguishes, and I believe justly, Cuanna son of Midarn from the half brother of Carthagh. Killcoonagh the saint's principal establishment is now a parish church in the diocese of Tuam and deanery of Annadown. The other Killcoonagh was somewhere in the Hy-briun country (*Tir-brivin*) likewise in Connaught, and was probably only a church dedicated to St. Cuanna. Archdall places it in Roscommon near the Shannon. Neither of them must be confounded with a Killchuanagh, supposed to have been in Sligo, and governed by a Cuanna disciple of Columbkil. (See *Not. 115. to Chap. xi.*) Nor must this Cuanna be confounded with the other, although Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 489.*) seems to have done so. But in the Acts he does not, where not a word occurs about the brother of Carthagh ever having been with Columbkil. Archdall, who seems to have been fond of jumbling, has confounded them completely.

(204) It is said in Carthagh's Life (*cap. 3.*) that Cuanna a disciple of the saint went from Rathen to a district called *Huibh-echach*, not far from Lismore, together with a bishop Dimma, who also had been a disciple of his. Cuanna is likewise there called bishop, but, as Colgan thinks, by anticipation. Perhaps he was the same as the maternal brother of Carthagh, although styled only his disciple.

(205) St. Cuanna is usually said to have been of Lismore; *de Lismoro* (See *Not. 203.*) or *Cuanna Lismorensis*. In one Calendar he is expressly called *abbas Lismorensis*. This may be a

mistake founded on his being named *of Lismore*, as he might have been in consequence of his having been there with Carthagh. Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 338.*) explains the words, *de Lismoro*, of the Calendar of Cashel, as signifying that Cuanna's memory was revered at Lismore on the 4th of February. But it does not follow that he was abbot in that place; and, had he been, it is odd that in said calendar this title is omitted.

(206) Colgan (*ib.*) was of this opinion, for which, however, he adduces no satisfactory proof. Were it true, it would throw light on what is said of the bishop Cuanna. (See *Not. 204.*)

(207) Ware (*Writers*) observes that the book of Cuan or Cuanna is often quoted in the Ulster Annals down to A. D. 628, but not later. Hence he thought it probable, that the author Cuanna flourished about this period. Whether he did or not, something more than this circumstance would be requisite to induce us to believe that he was the Cuanna of Kill-chuana.

(208) Cuanna's death seems to have occurred during the time that St. Fursey was at Perron in France. Hence Colgan deduced, that it probably was about 650; whereas Fursey was not at Perron until 648, and died there in 652.

(209) Life of Carthagh, *cap. 3.*

(210) Usher, (*p. 971*) instead of *Mellain*, has *Niellain*, and has been followed by Harris (*Monaster. at Cluan-Dachran*) and Archdall (*at Clonrane.*) Every where else I find him called *Mellain*, or *Mellan*.

(211) Colgan has him under this name at 10 *Febr.* In the Menologium of Maguir we read; "Mochua de Miliuc, id est, Cronanus filius Mellani." It is remarkable, that many of our saints Cronan are also called *Mochua*, *i. e.* My Chua.

(212) In Carthagh's Life (*cap. 3.*) Mochua is represented as having been from his youth a monk at Rathen. As he was the first, who there embraced the monastic state, we may assign his profession to about 590, the year in which, or nearly so, that establishment was formed, as appears from Carthagh's having governed it for forty years until his expulsion in or about 630. Now, if we suppose that Mochua was only 20 years of age, when he became a monk, we will have his birth about 570. According to a canon of the ancient Irish church the age of 20 years was necessary for the validity of the monastic vow, *voto per ficiendo*,

as laid down in the 17th article of the *Synodus S. Patricii*, p. 35, in Ware's *Opusc. S. Patr. &c.* In some other churches the age of 18 was sufficient in those times, as appears from a decree of the second council of Toledo held in the year 531.

(213) Archdall calls it *Clonrane*, and places it in the barony of Moycashel, Westmeath. It was certainly somewhere very near Rathen; *in proximo civitatis Rathen*, as expressed in Carthagh's Life.

(214) The foundation of Cluain-dachran is very stupidly assigned by Archdall to about 630. Surely that, being the time of the persecution of Carthagh and his monks, was not a fit one for his forming new establishments near Rathen.

(215) It is now called Clashmore. In the calendars Mochua or Cronan is said to be *de Glaismor in Desiis Momoniae*. Glaismor is confounded by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 598.*) with an unknown place called *Gassmor*, where one Cuancheir, a disciple of Pulcherius of Liathmore, is said to have erected a monastery. Colgan thought that Cuancheir was the same as Mochua, of whom we are now treating. But Mochua was never a disciple of Pulcherius; and the account given of Cuancheir is so fabulous, that what is said of him is not worth attending to. Yet Archdall assigns the foundation of Clashmore to said Cuancheir, differing in this respect from Harris, who more correctly attributes it to Cronan, *al. Mochua*.

(216) Archdall has it under the head of *Moortown*.

(217) In some calendars a doubt is expressed, whether the Glaismor of Mochua was that in the Nandesi country, or the one near Swords. This doubt was increased by the circumstance of there having been a Cronan abbot of the latter. Looking to the connexion between Mochua and Carthagh, it appears much more probable that his Glaismor was the former, as being situated not far from Lismore. The fact is, that the Cronan of Glaismor near Swords must have been different from the disciple of Carthagh, and lived at a much later period. He and all his monks were killed, as our calendarists tell us, by a party of Danes, who went to attack his monastery from their station at Inbher-Domnann. Now the Danes had no such stations in Ireland as early as the period we are treating of; nor is there any certain account of their infesting the Irish coasts until 795. (See

Ware, *Antiq. cap. 24*, and J. P. Murray, *De Colon. Scand. &c. in Nov. Comment. Soc. Gotting. Tom. 3.*) This is more than sufficient to dispel the doubt, and to show that there is no sufficient foundation for removing Mochua from the Glaismor of Nandesí. Each Glaismor happened to have its Cronan, and hence the confusion. Inbher-Domnann was the mouth of some river to the north of Dublin between it and Holmpatrick, as we learn from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, (*L. 1. c. 44.*) where it is stated that the saint, sailing along the coast of the *Bregenses*, and therefore northwards of Dublin, put into the river's mouth Inbher Domnann, and thence passed over to Inis-Padruic (Holmpatrick.)

(218) The Martyrologium Tamlaet. has at 10 *Febr.* "S. Cronani filii Mellain in Desiis et *Lismoriae*." From this and some similar expressions it does not follow, as Colgan thought, that he might have been abbot at Lismore. The phrase merely means that his festival was kept there.

(219) Archdall (at *Lismore*) has thrust in among its saints a St. Mochoemog, or, as he calls him, Macaomog as having died in 655. But the Mochoemog whom he meant, did not belong to Lismore. He was the celebrated Mochoemog or Pulcherius of Liathmore, a person quite different from the disciples of Carthagh.

(220) Colgan has patched up, chiefly from the Life of Carthagh, the Acts of St. Gobban, (at 17 *Mart.*) in which he treats also of his two brothers.

(221) Inispict lies near Inisharkan or Inishirkan off Carberry, county of Cork. Archdall says; "near Inishircan in the barony of Muskerry." If near Inishircan, how could it be in that barony? Colgan indeed, not knowing its situation, happened to place it in Muskerry. He might have easily perceived, that it could not have been in that district, being a maritime island, *in freto Eogain*, as mentioned in the Life of Carthagh.

222 St. Domangen's memory was revered on the 29th of April at Tuaim Muscraige. Archdall did not know where this place was situated. I believe it was the same as Tome, a place marked, as in Muskerry, in Smith's map of the county of Cork.

(223) Colgan conjectures, and with much probability, that Inispict was the place, in which Gobban's anniversary was com-

memorated on the 17th of March. In this hypothesis we may suppose, that it was there he presided as bishop and finished his earthly career. The monastery of Inispict was for a long period held in high consideration.

(224) Colgan has, without any authority, changed the name of Sraphan into Stephen. And why? Because he wished to find out a day for his commemoration. Now a St. Stephen was revered at Clonemore (co. Wexford) on the 23d of May. *Ergo*, he concludes, Sraphan was Stephen. Bravo! Archdall was such an humble follower of Colgan, that (at *Inispict*) he omitted the name *Sraphan*, instead of which he has given us *Stephen*. Then to find a day for Laseran, Colgan makes him the same as a Lasrean of Ardmacnasca (co. Down) for this mighty reason that Lasrean was son of one Nasc or Nascha. But in the first place *Nasc* is not the same name as *Nescainn*. And supposing it were, surely such an accidental coincidence is not a sufficient argument for removing Laseran, the brother of Gobban, from Inispict all the way to the county of Down. To what Colgan has about Lasrean of Ardmacnasca Archdall (*ad loc.*) adds from himself, that he was abbot of Hy, and died about 650. But even admitting, that there was a Lasrean abbot of Hy, (See above *Not.* 165.) he was different from the one of Ardmacnasca; for his father was not Nasc but Feradach. (*Tr. Th.* p. 498.) And as to his dying about 650, the 4 Masters (*ib.*) place the death of the supposed abbot of Hy in 601 (602). Colgan says nothing about the year, in which Lasrean of Ardmacnasca died. He states, (*AA. SS.* p. 17.) that he *flourished* about 652, which has been understood by Archdall as meaning death. Colgan observes that he died on a 25th of October. On this point Archdall is right enough; and it should have helped him to know, that this Lasrean was different from the supposed abbot of Hy, whose death is assigned to the 17th of September. Another mistake of Archdall is his placing Ardmacnasca in the county of Antrim. It was situated (Colgan, *ib.*) near a lough called *Loch-loedh*. Archdall, who cared nothing about misspelling names, instead of *loedh*, has *laigh*, and then learnedly tells us that it is now called *Lough-neagh*. This is not true; nor is there an instance to be found of this lake having ever had such a name. *Loch-loedh*, or the *Calf's pool*, was near Downpatrick. (See *Tr. Th.* p. 386.) It is called by Adamnan (*Vit. S. C. L.* 3. c. 13.)

Stragnum demersi vituli, and is connected with Strangford lough. Steward has (*Topogr. &c.*) followed Archdall in this mistake, as unfortunately he has done in too many other cases.

(225) Usher (*p.* 971) reads them as a name and sur-name; Colgan (*AA. SS p.* 631.) as two distinct names, and, I dare say, justly. For, unless they be considered as such, the number of the 12 distinguished disciples of Carthagh, whom the author undertook to enumerate, will not be complete. Yet elsewhere (*p.* 303) he seems to read them as Usher does.

(226) Aidan had a cell near Mount-Luachra in Connillo, county Limerick. (See *Not. 6. to Chap. xi.*) Fiachna had also one near Coningnibh, somewhere, it seems, in the same district. Yet this is not the cell called from him *Kill-fiachna*, but that of Aidan, to which this name, instead of *Kill-Aidan* which it had at first, was given in consequence not, as Archdall says, of Fiachna's having lived in it, but of his having been buried there. (See Usher, *p.* 971.) He was, in all probability, the Fiachna, whose memory was revered in Inispict on the 30th March, (*AA. SS. p.* 589) and whom Colgan has confounded with Fetchuo a companion of Columbkil, and one of the persons employed in the conversion of the Picts. To prop up his hypothesis, Colgan (*ib.*) pretends, that Inispict mentioned in the calendars, where Fiachna's name occurs, means the islands of the Picts, that is, some of the Western isles of Scotland. Yet he knew that there was an Irish Inispict, (See *Not. 221.*) and inhabited by monks of Carthagh's institution, to which Fiachna belonged. Why then go elsewhere to look for the place, in which this saint was venerated, or make *Fiachna* the same name as *Fetchuo*?

§. xvi. St. Libba or Molibba is said to have been bishop of Glendaloch in the early part of the seventh century. (227) His father was Colman or rather Colmad of the illustrious Leinster house of Dal-Mesincorb, and his mother Coeltigerna was sister to St. Coemhgen. Molibba was probably the first bishop of that see, (228) and died on an eighth of January, but in what year is not recorded. Three brothers of his, Dagan, Mobai, and Menoc are also reckoned among the Irish saints. The most celebrated of

them was Dagan, usually called of Inverdaoile, a place near the sea in the now county of Wexford, where he governed a monastery. He is said to have been a disciple of Pulcherius of Liathmore, and it is added that he was but a small boy when this saint took him under his care. (229) He remained for many years at Liathmore, until being duly qualified for the purpose, and approved of by Pulcherius, he formed the above-mentioned establishment. Dagan is said to have, while still abbot, made some excursions out of Ireland, and to have visited Rome. (230) He was promoted to the episcopacy some time before the death of St. Molua, and probably about the year 600. (231) His see is called Achadh-Dagan, which seems to be only another name for Inverdaoile, or part of it. (232) He was an ardent supporter of the Irish practices as to the Paschal computation, &c. and his zeal was so great on these points, that, on occasion of his being in Britain and meeting with Laurence, archbishop of Canterbury, and other Roman missionaries, he refused not only to eat in their company, but even under the same roof with them. (233) Notwithstanding his warmth in this respect he is represented as a man of a very mild disposition, (234) and was greatly esteemed for his sanctity, as appears from his having been consulted by St. Molua on an important affair, (235) and from what is said of his having wrought miracles. He died on the 13th of September in the year 640, (236) and was buried at Inverdaoile. As the opposition of this saint to the Roman Paschal cycle, &c. is the first fact we meet with relative to the great contest on these subjects between the Roman and Anglo-Roman clergy on one side, and the Irish on the other, it offers a favourable opportunity for investigating the origin and nature of those disputes.

(227) Harris (*Bishops at Glendaloch*) places his accession in 612. I do not know where he found this date. Colgan, who

treats of Molibba at 8 *Januar.* merely says, that he flourished about the beginning of the 7th century.

(228) See *Not.* 161. to *Chap.* x. Colgan and Harris, supposing that St. Coemhgen had been a bishop, make Molibba his immediate successor at Glendaloch, that is, according as Harris adds, six years before Coemhgen's death.

(229) Dagan's Acts at 12 *Mart.* from the Life of Pulcherius. If this be true, we may conclude that Dagan was not born before 565. For, as will be seen, the monastery of Liathmore did not exist until, at the earliest, about 576. Now supposing, which, however, there is nothing to prove, that Dagan was placed there soon after its commencement, and allowing him ten or twelve years of age at that time, his birth cannot be assigned to an earlier period than 565. On the other hand it cannot be placed much after 570; for he was a bishop before the death of Molua of Clonfertmuloa, who died, at the latest, in 609. (See *Chap.* xii. §. 7. and *ib.* *Not.* 100.) Colgan has most strangely confounded Dagan with one Dacan, who is said to have been with Petrocus in Cornwall, after he had left Ireland, as if he could have been contemporary with a man, who in all probability was dead before he was born. Petrocus had been the master of Dagan's uncle Coemgen when a child. (See *Chap.* x. §. 10). Are we then to suppose, that he lived to the time of Dagan's manhood, that is, until near the end of the sixth century. Harris (*Writers at Dagan*) has copied this mistake of Colgan.

(230) In one of the calendars he is called Dagan the traveller. As to his having been at Rome see *Not.* 94 to *Chap.* xii.

(231) Compare with *Not.* 229.

(232) *Achadh-Dagan* signifies the *field of Dagan*, alluding to the site of his church and monastery. There is nothing to prevent our supposing, that the old name *Inverdaoile* might have yielded to this new one, or that a part of the tract so called was, in consequence of that erection, thenceforth distinguished by the name of *Achadh-Dagan*. This would be a question of little moment, were it not that, in the hypothesis of these names belonging to two different places, it might be thought that Dagan of *Inverdaoile*, as he is usually called, was different from the bishop. His having been buried at *Inverdaoile* shows that this was his regular residence to the last. But, as the period, in which he flourished,

was exactly the same as that of bishop Dagan of Achadh-Dagan, (a name, by the bye, which I find only in the Life of St. Molua) and as only one Dagan is spoken of as distinguished in those times, the difference of the names *Inverdaoile* and *Achadh-Dagan* does not furnish a sufficient argument to introduce two Dagens instead of one. Having touched on those names I may be allowed to add, that Harris was wrong (*Monasteries*) in calling the place of Dagan's establishment *Inverdagan*. For this he had no authority except an error of the press in *AA. SS. p. 586*, where this name occurs instead of *Inverdaoile*, *i. e.* the mouth of a river called Daoile.

(233) See the letter of the bishops Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, written in 609, to the Irish clergy *ap. Bede, L. 2. c. 4.* Smith the editor of Bede says, (*Not. ad loc.*) that Dagan had been deputed from the monastery of Bangor in Ireland to confer with Laurence on the points then in dispute. As to Bangor he was mistaken; for Dagan had nothing to do with that monastery. Smith's mistake was, I dare say, founded on a Scotch story concerning Dagan having studied at Bangor, which it places in Scotland! Smith, knowing that there was no monastery of Bangor in Scotland, thought that Dagan might have belonged to the real one in Ireland. I suppose that it was some similar story, that induced Mr. Lingard (*Anglo Saxon Church, Chap. 1.*) to make him a Caledonian bishop. That Dagan was an Irish bishop is evident from the very letter of the Roman prelates. For this letter was written to the clergy of Ireland, and in it bishop Dagan is spoken of as one of them. Then it represents Dagan as "coming into this island" (Britain); "*Daganum episcopum in hanc insulam venientem.*" Accordingly he did not come from Caledonia or any part of Britain. With regard to Dagan's having gone to Britain for the purpose of conferring with Laurence, this is very probable and seems to be hinted at in the letter, where Dagan is said to *have come* to the Roman prelates; *Daganus episcopus ad nos veniens, &c.* This phrase conveys the idea of his having paid them a visit, whether to do so was his chief object in passing over to Britain, or, that happening to be there, he thought it right to call upon them. It will be asked, how could he have induced himself to visit persons, with whom he would not condescend to take food. To this I answer, that, if, as in all appearance was

the case, he did really visit those bishops, his refusing to eat or even stay in the same house with them could not have been in consequence of any predetermination to that effect, but of something that occurred after his paying the visit. The best manner to account for the matter is to admit, that in their conversation concerning the disputed points some hot words were uttered, and that Dagan felt himself so hurt that he refused to partake of their hospitality. To suppose that he was previously resolved to keep up no sort of communion with them is directly opposite to the fact of his visit, and would indicate a line of conduct very unbecoming a bishop. Surely he would not have prejudged them before he had heard their proposals and what they had to say in their defence. Whether Dagan after conferring or disputing with the Roman bishops became determined, besides shunning their society, not to communicate with them *in divinis*, is not sufficiently clear. If he did, he went further than he ought to have done, as whatever difference occurred between the parties regarded neither faith nor any essential article of ecclesiastical discipline. In a similar case St. Columbanus, firm as he was on these points, did not cease to hold communion with the Gallican clergy, notwithstanding his being constantly teased by them. (See *Chap. XIV. §. 4.*) Yet, even in the supposition that Dagan proceeded so far as a separation *in divinis*, this is to be understood not as if he considered them excommunicated in the full sense of the word, that is, as quite out of the church, but of that sort of partial separation, of which we have innumerable instances in ecclesiastical history, and according to which some particular bishops or churches declined communicating together, while at the same time both parties were in communion with the great body of the Catholic church. One of the penalties or censures used in the African church was, that in certain cases a bishop was suspended from communion with other bishops, still, however, retaining the government and communion of his own particular church. (See *Tillemont Mem, &c. Tom. XIV. p. 412.*) Had Dr. Ledwich understood those subjects, he would perhaps not have exhibited, (*Antiq. p. 369*), Dagan's proceeding as tantamount to real excommunication, nor have exemplified it by the uncharitable conduct of the Britons towards the Anglo Saxons, a conduct founded not on religious principles but on their inveterate hatred of

that nation, and quite different from the feelings and behaviour of the Irish towards the same people.

(234) Marian Gorman calls him *Daganum praeplacidum* de Inverdaoile.

(235) See *Chap. XII. §. 7.*

(236) The 4 Masters in Dagan's Acts. Their 639 is our 640. The name of this saint is marked in the calendars at 12 *Mart.* to which day Colgan has affixed his Acts.

CHAP XV.

Diversity of practice with regard to the time of celebrating Easter or the Paschal festival—Some of the Eastern Churches observed it on the 14th day of the Hebrew lunar month Nisan—Others, particularly those of Rome and all the West, did not celebrate it until the Sunday following the 14th day—Irish Church always adhered in substance to the Western practice—Decrees of Councils against the Quartadecimans—Difference in the mode of determining the commencement of the first lunar or paschal month—the Western Church followed the old Jewish Cycle of 84 years, and those of Alexandria adopted the Cycle of 19 years—Hence arose a difference in the time of celebrating the festival between these Churches—Roman Church adhered to the old Cycle of 84 years until the middle of the 6th century, when they adopted the Cycle framed by Dionysius Exiguus, which agreed with the Alexandrine method—This method not received in France until the year 590—The Irish Church from its beginning used the Cycle of 84 years—The whole paschal system of the Irish, introduced by St. Patrick, continued in Ireland without any dispute until after the arrival of the Roman Missionaries in Britain—Passed from Ireland into

North Britain—Irish never received their paschal computation from Eastern missionaries—Synod of Old Leighlin, wherein the generality of the Irish clergy agreed to adopt the Roman mode of keeping Easter—Opposed by some others of the Irish, and by the people of Hy—St. Cummian's paschal Epistle to Segenius abbot of Hy—Cummian's great knowledge of Greek—Irish libraries well stocked with books—Cummian supposed to be the same as Cummin-fada—St. Laserian a supporter of the new paschal computation—St. Fintan of Munnu opposed Laserian on this subject—Fintan refused admittance into the community at Hy returns to Ireland, and erects the monastery of Teach-munnu, now Taghmon—Discussions in Legh-cuin on the paschal controversy—Thomisan Archbishop of Armagh and several of the Irish clergy write to Rome to Pope Severinus upon that subject—Roman clergy answer the Irish prelates, and warn them against the Pelagian Heresy—No Pelagian sect ever in Ireland—Mission of St. Aidan to Northumberland on the invitation of king Oswald—Oswald gives Aidan the Island of Lindisfarne, and acts as his interpreter—Several monasteries erected and several of the English converted by Aidan and his auxiliaries—Aidan's diocese extended into Scotland; he had also the care of the church of York, which he and his successors governed for 30 years—Character of St. Aidan—Finan succeeds Aidan in the see of Lindisfarne, and like him perseveres in the old Irish mode of observing Easter—Variety in the mode of keeping the paschal feast among some of the English—Finan baptizes Peada prince of the Middle Angles and all his suite—Peada obtained from Finan four learned priests for the instruction of his subjects—Diuma an Irishman consecrated bishop and placed over the Middle Angles and the kingdom of Mercia—Ceallach or Kellach an

Irishman succeeds Diuna, who died shortly after his consecration—Finan baptizes Sigebert king of the East Saxons, and also several of his friends and attendants—Finan, with the assistance of two other bishops, consecrates Ced, and appoints him bishop over the East Saxons—Death of Finan—Is succeeded in the see of Lindisfarne by Colman.

SECT. I.

FROM a very early period of the Christian church there was a diversity of practice with regard to the time of celebrating Easter or the Pasch. One general rule was universally admitted, viz. that it could not be celebrated before the fourteenth day of the first lunar month of the year, called in Hebrew *Nisan*, the month, in which our Saviour suffered on the cross and rose from the dead. Some churches, particularly those of Asia Minor, kept this festival as the Jews did their Pasch, on the fourteenth day itself, on whatever day of the week it happened to fall, alleging for their practice the authority of the apostles John and Philip, from whom they said it had been handed down to them. On the contrary, the far greater number of churches, such as those of Rome and all the West, together with the churches of Egypt, Palestine, Pontus, &c. &c. did not celebrate it until the Sunday following the 14th day, in consequence of our Saviour's resurrection having taken place on the first day of the week, now called Sunday. (1) This is not the place to enter into a narrative of what occurred, in consequence of this difference, between Pope Anicetus and Polycarp, or between Pope Victor and Polycrates of Ephesus, &c. As the Irish church was by no means in this quarrel, and always adhered, in substance, to the Western practice, I shall only remind the reader that the great council of Nice, to establish uniformity as to the

time of celebrating so great a festival, decreed that it should be kept by the whole church on one and the same day, and that this day should be the Sunday next after the 14th day of the first lunar month. It was also resolved that it should not be celebrated before the vernal equinox, lest the church might seem to agree with the Jews, whose Pasch in some years fell before that point. For, according to the cycle used by them in arranging their lunar years, the first month sometimes began as early as the 5th of March, so that in such a case they held their Pasch on the 18th of said month, and consequently prior to the equinox, which was affixed to the 21st, either by the council, as some have said, or, at least, by very ancient custom, followed as far back as the fourth century by the Greeks and Orientals, but not so early by the Latins. The decrees of the council were submitted to by the churches of Asia minor, some of which had given up their former practice even before the council was held, and by whatsoever other churches, that had followed the Jewish computation of the Paschal festivity. Yet some troublesome individuals appeared here and there in the East, who retained the condemned system, and many of whom belonged to heretical associations of one kind or another. Against these obstinate persons, designated by the name of *Quartadecimans*, several decrees of councils were issued, and some severe Imperial laws enacted. For, in consequence of their resisting the authority of the council of Nice and of several other synods, they were henceforth considered as heretics, schismatics, and disturbers of the public tranquillity, whereby they were looked upon in a very different light from those who had, without any schismatical intention, followed the same practice previous to its being condemned by the Church.

(1) I do not know how to account for the practice of the Asiatics (of Asia Minor,) if their object was to commemorate the resurrection. I cannot but think, that the Easter or Pasch, which they observed, was meant, at least originally, as a commemoration of the last supper, or the Paschal one, which our Saviour had with his disciples on the evening or rather night immediately previous to his crucifixion. As this supper took place on the night of the 14th day of the moon, according to the more general method of reckoning the days, or, according to the Jewish mode, on the night commencing the 15th, the Asiatics, after fasting on the fourteenth in the day time, were accustomed to celebrate the Pasch immediately after, and to cease from fasting, while the rule observed in other churches was to continue the fast until the Sunday following, their object being that of commemorating the resurrection. Usher has touched upon these subjects with great learning in his *Dissertat. de Ignatii martyris epistolis, &c. cap. 9.* where he distinguishes the Pasch of the *passion* from that of the *resurrection*, the former, he says having been that of the Asiatics, and the latter that of the Romans, &c. I wish, however, he had been somewhat more explicit on this intricate question. The definition of the two Paschs, given by Bingham, (*Book xx. ch. v. sect. 1.*) does not agree with the statement of Usher, who understands by them not two distinct weeks, but distinct days. It may be asked whether those, who held that Easter should not be celebrated except on a Sunday, considered the 14th of the moon, in case of its falling on Sunday, as a fit day for the purpose. Some of them certainly did; among others Anatolius of Laodicea, as appears from his Paschal cycle. And, as far as I can judge, the same rule is marked in the Paschal canon of Hippolytus Portuensis, which was anciently observed for some time at Rome. (See Norris, *De Paschali Latinorum cyclo.*) But these Paschal calculations were drawn up before the holding of the council of Nice, after which new methods and computations were introduced.

§. II. It might seem that, matters having been so wisely arranged by the council of Nice, there could be no further questions agitated in the Church as to the true time of celebrating the Christian

pasch. But a very great difficulty arose in consequence of a disagreement as to the mode of determining the commencement of the first lunar or the paschal month. The primitive Christians had adopted for this purpose, the Jewish cycle of 84 years, which was followed in very many churches until the time of the council of Nice, soon after which the church of Alexandria substituted in its stead the cycle of 19 years, not according to the method of Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, its first inventor in the year 276, but as reformed by Eusebius of Caesarea. (2) This church was entrusted with the calculation of Easter time, (3) of which it was bound to give due notice to the Pope, to be by him announced to all the churches of Christendom. (4) It would have been well if the Romans had placed full confidence in the Alexandrine calculations; but some how or other it happened, that they retained or returned to the use of the old cycle of 84 years, which was accordingly received generally throughout the Western church. Now this cycle was incorrect, inasmuch as it supposed each lunation to be shorter by two minutes and some seconds than it really is; and hence it followed that in the time of St. Cyril of Alexandria there was a difference of two days between the Roman and Alexandrine reckonings of the days of the moon, the former calling, for instance, the *third* that, which the latter very properly called the *first*. (5) Another very important difference consisted in this, that in calculating the days of the solar months, to which the first day or New moon of the Paschal lunation should be affixed, the Latins began with the 5th of March and ended with the 2d of April; whereas the Alexandrians would not allow any new moon, prior to the eighth of March, to be considered as belonging to the Paschal moon, while they extended the latest new moon, fit for that purpose, down to the 5th of April. Hence it followed that the 14th day,

which served for fixing Easter Sunday, might fall, with the Latins, on the 18th of March and should be no later than the 15th of April; while, according to the Alexandrine method, it could not be earlier than the 21st of March, and might be as late as the 18th of April. To these differences was added another, the Latins not allowing Easter Sunday earlier than the 16th day of the moon, whereas the Alexandrians were content with the 15th. Thus, if the 14th of the moon fell on a Saturday, the latter celebrated Easter on the following day, and the former put it off until the Sunday sennight. Connecting together the Latin rules, it might seem that, according to them, Easter Sunday could have fallen on a 20th of March; but it appears, that the earliest day allowed by them for it was the 21st. Yet even with this precaution they differed again from the Alexandrines, who marked the 22d as the earliest for that purpose, in consequence of their affixing the equinox to the 21st and their adhering to the rule that Easter should not be celebrated until after it. But afterwards, coming to admit the 21st as the equinoctial day, the Latins received likewise the rule as to the non-celebration of Easter before the 22d; still, however, differing in another point, *viz.* that they would not allow any Easter Sunday later than the 21st of April, although according to the Alexandrians it might be as late as the 25th of said month.

(2) See Smith's excellent dissertation on the Paschal controversies, *Appendix to Bede's Works*, No. 9. He shows that this cycle was not, as some have said, drawn up by the council itself.

(3) Many learned men have attributed to the council the commission with which the church of Alexandria was charged to this effect. Whether or no, that church was invested with it about that time with the general consent and approbation of the Christian world. See Smith, *ib.*

(4) Prideaux (*Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Part II. Book 4.*) says on this subject ; “ The Alexandrians being then of all others the most skilled in astronomy, for this reason the making of this calculation was referred to the bishop of that place ; and they, having applied the nineteen years cycle in a much better method to this purpose than Anatolius had before done, found it the best rule that could be made use of for the settling of this matter ; and accordingly went by it for the discharge of what was referred to them by the council. And therefore they having every year hereby fixed the day, the custom was for the bishop of that church to write of it to the bishop of Rome, who, having the day thus signified unto him, first caused it by his deacons to be published in his patriarchal church on the day of Epiphany preceding the festival, and then by paschal epistles notified it to all the metropolitans through the whole Christian world, and they by like epistles to their suffragans ; and by this means the day was every where known, and every where observed in an exact uniformity of time by Christians all the world over.” Prideaux is not correct in placing the paschal epistles of the Pope after the Epiphany ; for this was the day, on which the time of Easter used to be announced in all churches ; and consequently it was necessary to write said epistles previous to it. The notification of Paschal time used, as Smith justly remarks, to be made by the Pope even before the council of Nice. This is clear from the first canon of the council of Arles held in 314.

(5) See Usher, *p.* 927.

§. III. Considering this diversity of principles and rules, it is not to be wondered at, that serious questions occurred now and then concerning the time proper for the Paschal solemnity. In the year 387 it was celebrated at Rome on the 18th of April, and at Alexandria on the 25th, on which day it was kept also by St. Ambrose in his church of Milan, as he preferred the Alexandrine computation to that of the Romans (6) In 417 Easter day fell at Rome on the 25th of March, and at Alexandria on the 22d of April. Without searching for further instances,

two important discussions occurred during the pontificate of Leo the great, one relative to the Paschal time of the year 444, and the other to that of 455. As to the former, the Roman calculation differed, by nearly a month, from the Alexandrine. The Pope, having consulted, on this occasion, Cyril of Alexandria and Paschasinus bishop of Lilybacum in Sicily, was induced by them to order the celebration of Easter on the 23d of April, the day marked by the Alexandrines. The second discussion was not so easily brought to a close, yet, for the sake of peace, Leo, although not fully convinced by the arguments of Proterius bishop of Alexandria, joined him in affixing the festival for that year to the 24th of April. To obviate these inconveniencies it was deemed adviseable to form a new Paschal cycle. That of 84 years continued at Rome down to, at least, 457, (7) when there appeared that of 532 years drawn up by Victorius of Aquitaine, concerning which let it suffice to observe, that, although it brought matters nearer to the Alexandrine computations than the other, yet it differed from them in several respects so as to leave room for further disputes. (8) Nor was there a final stop put to this controversy between the Romans and Alexandrians until about the middle of the sixth century, when the former adopted the cycle framed by Dionysius Exiguus about 525, and which agreed with the Alexandrine method and rules. Yet this cycle was not received in several parts of the Western church as early as at Rome. A difference concerning the Paschal time existed in France down to not only the year 590, (9) but to a later period, owing to the cycle of Victorius being still followed in some churches.

(6) See Smith, *Dissertat*, &c.

(7) Norris has proved (*De Paschali Latinorum cyclo*) that the cycle of 84 years, and no other, was followed at Rome before

and during the time of St. Leo, and, at least, until towards the end of his pontificate.

(8) See Smith, *loc. cit.*

(9) *Ib.*

§. iv. The churches of Britain had originally followed the Roman practices, in every respect, as to the celebration of Easter. (10) Their cycle was of 84 years, to which they adhered, until after the arrival of Augustin and the other Roman missionaries, nor did they ever meddle with the Quartadeciman controversy, or with the differences, that took place afterwards between the Roman and Alexandrine computations. Even at the time of their disputes with the Romans and Anglo-Romans their Paschal system was substantially the same as that, which the Romans themselves had observed, until their adoption of the cycle and rules of Dionysius Exiguus, with scarcely any exception but one, viz. that, for a reason which shall be soon explained, at this period they considered the 14th day of the first lunar month, if a Sunday, as fit for the celebration of Easter, while according to the old Roman method, it was necessary to wait for the 16th. (11) What discussions occurred between the British and Roman clergy on this or other points, it is not my business to inquire into, (12) and I shall now endeavour to show how matters stood in Ireland. The Irish church had from its very first regular formation made use of a cycle of 84 years, (13) and its Paschal computation seems to have been exactly the same as that followed by the British church when Augustin arrived in Britain. It was quite different from the Alexandrine method, (14) and nearly agreed with the old one of the Romans, that is, the one followed by them before they fixed the 22d of March as the earliest day, on which Easter could be celebrated. (15) Another point, in which the Irish agreed with the Romans before the latter had received the Alexandrine rules, was their not allowing Easter time to be as late in the year as

was allowed by the Alexandrians. (16) There is no doubt, that their whole Paschal system was introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick. (17) Yet he was not the author of it. Our Apostle merely delivered it to the Irish church, according as he had found it followed in some parts of Gaul. For it must be observed, that it was exactly the same as that, which was observed at Rome in his time, there being this very important difference between the two methods, that, while in the Irish system Easter could be celebrated on the 14th of the moon, if falling on a Sunday, the Romans, in St. Patrick's days, did not allow its celebration until the 16th. (18).

(10) Smith writes; "Notandum est illos vehementer errare, qui putant Britannos nona Romanis et Occidentalibus, sed ab Orientalibus ritum Paschatis edoctos. Diserte enim testatur Constantinus (magnus) in epistola, quam de hac re scripsit, eodem modo, ac Romae, in Britannia Pascha celebrari solitum."

(11) See Usher, p. 929 and 933. Bingham, accounting for the Paschal controversy between the Britons and Romans (*Book xx. chap. v. sect. 4.*) attributes it to the adhesion of the former to the old Roman canon.

(12) I cannot pass over an abominable calumny of some writers, among whom Ledwich, (*Antiq. &c. p. 412.*) against Augustin, archbishop of Canterbury. They say, that he excited Ethelbert, king of Kent, to slaughter the British bishops on account of their not submitting to the Roman practices. Nothing can be more false. Ledwich quotes a passage from Usher, (*De Libert. Eccl. Britann.*) in which indeed he states, but without any foundation, that Augustin excited Ethelbert against those bishops. Yet Usher has not a word about slaughter, either in the quoted passage or in what follows; nor were any bishops slaughtered by Ethelbert, or during the life time of Augustin. The whole matter is most clearly exhibited by Bede, (*L. 2. c. 2.*) who has been copied by Henry of Huntington (*L. 3.*): Augustin had, with the assistance and influence of Ethelbert, *adjutorio usus Aedilbereti regis*, procured two conferences about A. D. 603 with some British bishops and doctors, at the second of which several

monks of their famous monastery of Bancor (near Chester) attended. After much debating Augustin reduced the terms, on which they and the Romans might live in ecclesiastical fraternity and peace, to three points; 1. that they would receive the paschal computation of the Romans; 2. that they would administer baptism according to the rite used at Rome; and 3. that they would cooperate with himself and his brethren in preaching the word of God to the English. They refused to agree to any one of these proposals, even to the third, in not complying with which they were certainly inexcusable in the sight of God, and added that they would not acknowledge him as their archbishop, thinking that he was a haughty prelate, because, on their coming to the conference, he did not stand up to salute them. Augustin, finding them so obstinate, is said to have announced to them, that, whereas they would not keep peace with their fellow Christians, they would get war from their enemies, and that, as they were unwilling to preach the way of life to the English, they would be punished by that nation with death. And so, says Bede, it came to pass; for, several years after Augustin had been removed from this world, Aedilfrid king of Northumberland, who was a pagan, (see Bede, *L. 1. c. 34.*) invaded the country near Chester with a great army. Together with the Britons, who marched out to oppose him, there was a great number of the British clergy and particularly of the monks of Bancor, who, when the battle was about to begin, stood apart from the scene of action praying for the success of their countrymen, and protected by a detachment under the command of one Brocmail. Aedilfrid, on being informed what they were employed in, said; "Whereas these men are crying out to their God against us, they, although unarmed, are in reality fighting against us;" and immediately ordered the first attack to be made upon them. Brocmail and his men instantly fled, leaving the clergy and monks to be slaughtered by the Northumbrians, while the battle was raging elsewhere. It is said, that about twelve hundred of those unarmed persons, who had assembled merely to pray, were killed in this massacre. It took place in the year 613 (*Usher, Ind. Chron.*) about eight years after the death of Augustin in 605. (See Smith, *Not. to Bede L. 2. c. 3.*) This is the dreadful slaughter alluded to by certain calumniators. Now who does not see that

neither Augustin, nor Ethelbert, nor any Christian whatsoever contributed to it in the least ; and that it was totally unconnected with either the Paschal or any other question of ecclesiastical discipline? We may here remark, by the bye, that it evidently appears from what occurred in the above mentioned conferences, that there was not the slightest difference in points of faith or doctrine between the Romans and Britons ; for, had there been any, Augustin would not have requested the British clergy to join him in preaching to the Anglo-Saxons, upon the mere condition of their observing the Roman Easter and rites of baptism, matters purely of changeable discipline, and concerning which there exists in the Catholic church at this very day a diversity of practice, without its implying the least breach of Christian communion. As to the refusal of the Britons to submit to Augustin as archbishop, it is to be observed, that they had already an archbishop of their own, the bishop of Caerlegion on Usk (near where this river falls into the Severn) ; and surely it was not the intention of Augustin to compel them to receive himself as their metropolitan, unless all their bishops would consent to this change of jurisdiction. Nor does it appear that Augustin insisted upon it, although he had been invested by Pope Gregory with a legatine jurisdiction over them. (See Bede, *L. 1. c. 27.*) There have been many oppositions to the exercise of legatine powers even in very late times without their being considered as amounting to the guilt of schism. When the abbot of Bancor in his letter to Augustin (*ap. Spellman and Wilkins, Concil. &c. and Smith's Appendix No. 10.*) declined acknowledging his jurisdiction, he declared, however, his obedience to the church, and to the Pope, and to every one according to his just rank, observing at the same time, that he was under the immediate government of the bishop of Caerlegion. This bishop was considered by the Britons as possessed of a sort of patriarchal power, similar, for instance, to that of the bishops of Antioch and Alexandria, a power recognized by the see of Rome, and in no manner clashing with the supremacy annexed to said see. Away then with the quibbles and unfounded allegations of certain writers, who talk of a difference of doctrines between the Britons and Romans, and of the former not having been in communion with the latter, nor

acknowledging any supremacy of the see of Rome at the period of Augustin's arrival in England.

(13) Usher, *p.* 929.

(14) See Cummián's Paschal epistle.

(15) Cummián says that among other differences between the Irish computation and the others there was one relative to the equinox. This must have consisted in their not affixing it to the 21st of March, and consequently not waiting for the 22d as the day, before which the celebration of Easter should not be allowed. Now the older Latins followed the same rule; (see above §. 2.) and we find an Easter Sunday observed in Spain on the 21st of said month as late as the year 577. (Smith *loc. cit.*)

(16) We have seen (§. 2.) that the Alexandrians celebrated Easter as late as the 25th of April at a period when the Romans did not allow it to be subsequent to the 21st. Bede observes (*L. v. c. 22.*) that the monks of Hy, after they had received the Alexandrine or new Roman computation kept Easter Sunday, in the year 729, on the 24th of April, and that this was the first time that they celebrated it on the corresponding day of that month. Hence it is plain, that the Irish had a rule, according to which Easter could not be as late as the 24th; for, otherwise, it would happen more than once to fall on that day.

(17) Cummián represents it as different from the cycle, which, he says, St. Patrick formed and brought to Ireland. Of this he gives no proof; and, as Usher observes, (*p.* 930) it is clear from the catalogue of Irish saints, that during the times of the two first classes there was only one Paschal computation known in Ireland, viz. the very one, which Cummián disapproved of, and which allowed the 14th day of the first lunar month, if falling on a Sunday, to be fit for the celebration of Easter. It was not until the time of the third class that, as expressly stated in said document, questions began in Ireland about the incorrectness of that cycle, or concerning the propriety of altering it. Nor is there any foundation for supposing that St. Patrick drew up one differing from it; whereas, if he had, the Irish would have followed his and no other.

(18) In the year 414 there was a question at Rome concerning the Easter time for that year, in consequence of the strict adhesion to the rule of not celebrating it until the 16th of the moon.

(See Smith, *ib.*) This was 18 years prior to St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland. Several writers have laid down, that the Irish computation was in all respects the same as that, which the Romans themselves practised in the time of St. Patrick. I cannot express their ideas on this subject better than in the words of Prideaux, (*Connection, &c. Part II. Book 4.*) who writes: "Till the Saxons came into this island (which was A. D. 449) the British churches having always communicated with the Roman, and received all its usages, as having been till about that time a province of the Roman empire, they agreed with it in the use of the same rule for the fixing of the time of their Easter; and the Irish, who had not long before been converted by St. Patrick, who was sent to them from Rome, followed the same usage. But afterwards, when the Saxons having made themselves masters of all the eastern and southern coasts of this island had thereby cut off all communication with Rome, all that correspondence, which till then the British and Irish churches had held with the Roman, thenceforth ceased, and was wholly interrupted, till the coming hither of Austin the monk to convert the English Saxons, which was about 150 years after. And therefore neither the British nor the Irish knowing any thing of the reformation, that had in the interim been made in this rule concerning Easter, either by Victorius or Dionysius, went on with the observing of the said festival according to the old form of the 84 years cycle, which they had received from the Romans before the Saxons came into this land. And in this usage Austin found them on his arrival hither; and they, having been long accustomed to it, could not easily be induced to alter it for the new usage of the Romanists, which Austin then proposed to them. And hence arose that controversy about Easter, which, &c." It was thus also that Bingham (see *Not. 11.*) and many others each understood the origin and nature of this controversy; but, though otherwise nearly exact, they were not aware of the true cause of the difference as to the 14th and 16th days of the moon.

§ v. To understand the origin of this difference, it must be recollected that, owing to the incorrectness of the cycle of 84 years followed at Rome, a

palpable mistake, which could be discovered merely by eyesight, had crept into the Roman mode of reckoning the days of the moon. In the early part of the fifth century it had come to such a pitch, that what was really only the first day, was called at Rome the third, (19) and what was only the 14th was called the 16th. Sulpitius Severus, who lived at this period, having undertaken a revisal of the cycle of 84 years, and observing that the day called the 16th, on which, according to the Roman method Easter could be celebrated, was, correctly speaking, the 14th, thought it absurd to go on calling it the 16th. According he gave it the name of 14th, and laid down as a rule, that, as it was in reality the same day as the 16th of the former edition of the cycle, Easter Sunday might fall on the 14th, but not earlier. (20) St. Patrick, who was undoubtedly acquainted with Sulpitius Severus, and followed the Gallican practices, such as were observed at Tours, Auxerre, &c. brought this reformed cycle, and its rules, to Ireland, where it was observed without any dispute until after the arrival of the Roman missionaries in Britain. From Ireland it passed into the parts of North Britain possessed by the Scots and Picts, in consequence of its having been adhered to by Columkill and his disciples. The Britons also adopted it, not indeed as, strictly speaking, a new cycle different from the old Roman, which they had followed from the beginning, (21) but as a more correct and rational edition of it. The Romans, on finding the 14th day of the moon considered by the Britons and Irish as a fit day for celebrating Easter, thought that their system smelt of the heresy of the Quarta-decimans, (22) not reflecting that they never kept the festival on the 14th, unless it were a Sunday, (23) and that their admitting the 14th into their Paschal canon was owing to an error of the Romans themselves. For, had they not been in the habit of

calling by the name of the 16th, that, which was really only the 14th, the first Paschal day of the Irish canon would have been called the 16th. They would have also recollected, that it was but a short time before their arrival in Britain that the Alexandrine system was received at Rome, instead of the former computation, which was, at least, as different from the Alexandrine, as that of the Britons and Irish. (24) From all that has been now said it is clear, that there is not the least foundation for the hypothesis of those, who pretend, that the Irish received their Paschal computation from Eastern missionaries. And indeed, had such been the case, it would have been very different from what it really was. (25).

(19) See above §. 2.

(20) Usher, *p.* 933. *seqq.*)

(21) In the time of Constantine the great there was no difference whatsoever between the Roman and British computations. (See above *Not.* 10.) That relative to the question concerning the 14th and 16th days was introduced many years after.

(22) The charge of heresy is brought, in the letter of the clergy of Rome (A. D. 640) against such of the Irish as still adhered to the former computation. In it we read; “ Reperimus quosdam provinciae vestrae, contra orthodoxam fidem, novam ex veteri haeresim renovare conantes, Pascha nostrum, in quo immolatus est Christus, nebulosa caligine refutantes, et quartadecima luna cum Hebraeis celebrare nitentes.” (See Bede, *L.* 2. *c.* 19.)

(23) This is acknowledged by Wilfrid in his conference with Colman; (*ap.* Bede, *L.* 3. *c.* 25) and Bede himself attests it more than once. Thus he observes, (*L.* 3. *c.* 4) that it is a mistake to charge them with always celebrating Easter on the 14th of the moon, as the Jews did; whereas they never kept it except on a Sunday, although, he adds, they had not learned the method of discovering which was the true Paschal Sunday.

(24) The abettors of the new Roman method looked upon as an important error the affixing of the earliest Easter Sunday to any day of the first moon except the 15th. Now we have seen (§. 2.) that, until the adoption of the Dionysian or Alexandrine rules

that day was objected to at Rome, and that it was thought necessary to wait for the 16th. If then it was such a mighty error to assign any day different from the 15th the Romans had been as much mistaken as the Irish, with this only difference, that, while the latter began one day earlier than the 15th, the former began a day later. It is curious to observe with what confidence Wilfrid asserts, (*ap. Bede, L. 3. c. 25.*) that St. Peter, being at Rome, established the rule of beginning with the 15th; as if the Paschal computation observed there in Wilfrid's time were that which the Romans had followed from the commencement of their church. Colman was, unluckily for his cause, equally ignorant of the old Roman system, and, instead of showing the falshood of Wilfrid's assertion, appealed to the authority of St. John the Evangelist, who, he said, had celebrated Easter on the 14th. On this point Wilfrid had greatly the advantage of Colman, and pressed him with an argument, which he was not able to answer. Yes, said Wilfrid, St. John observed the Pasch on that day, according to the injunction of the Mosaic law, not caring about the day of the week; but your system is different from his, whereas you never celebrate it except on a Sunday.

(25) Spotiswood derived the Scottish Easter from some disciples of St. John the Evangelist; (See *Chap. i. §. 5.*) Sir G. Mackenzie from the Grecian church. (See O'Flaherty's refutation in *Ogygia vindicated, ch. 17.*) This nonsense having been overturned by Usher, Prideaux, Bingham, Smith, &c. it was reserved chiefly for Ledwich to revive it. This mighty Doctor, who cannot bear any sort of communication with Rome, tells us (*Antiq. p. 358, seqq.*) that it was brought to Ireland by Asiatics; and why? Because Colman said that it had been observed by St. John, (See *Not. prec.*) and because it agreed with the Asiatic system. But Colman, however mistaken on this point, did not say, that St. John or any of his disciples introduced it into Ireland; nor did it ever come into his head or into that of any Irishman of those times, that the first preachers of the Gospel in this country were Asiatics. If the Irish had been converted by missionaries from the East, how came it to pass, that the liturgy and every part of the church service were celebrated in Latin? Had those missionaries been Greeks, or from countries where Greek was generally spoken, the ecclesiastical language of Ireland might have been Greek; or if they

had come from places still more to the East, it might have been Syriac. But there was no reason whatsoever why it should be Latin; for Ireland was not a province of the Roman empire, and Latin was as little known by the Irish as Greek, Syriac, or any other foreign tongue. The Doctor urges, that their Paschal computation agreed with that of the Asiatics, thus giving us a sample of his profound ignorance of the whole question. By *Asiatics* he seems to have meant those of Asia minor, who followed the Quartadeciman practice, previous to the Council of Nice. Now, in the first place, this practice was essentially different from that of the Irish, who always celebrated Easter on a Sunday. Ledwich identifies it (*p.* 360) with the British system, not knowing that, even before the council, the Britons, so far from agreeing with those Asiatics, had no other Paschal computation than the Roman one. (See §. 4. and *Not.* 21.) To see more of his ignorance, it is to be observed, that, in his hypothesis, there must have been a regular Christian church existing in Ireland before the time of the council, and as far back as the third century; for his favourite Asiatics immediately renounced their Quartadeciman system on the promulgation of the decree of the council. What immortal honour would our hero acquire were he able to prove that there was a settled Christian establishment in Ireland at that early period, and that it calculated Easter time in a manner different from that of the whole Western church? But it will be said, he does not distinguish it from the method of *all* the West; whereas he states, that it was the same as that of Britain. Aye; but this excuse will serve only to show that the poor Doctor contradicts himself, although unwittingly, through lack of knowledge. Great as he thinks himself, he did not know, that in those times there was no difference between the British and Roman computations; so that if the Irish one was the same as the British, it must have been also the same as the Roman, and consequently quite the reverse of the Asiatic. Perhaps he meant to insinuate, that we received Christianity from some of those outcast Quartadeciman heretics, who rambled about the world after the council was held. It may be that he would rather this had been the case than allow, that we had any thing to do with the Romans. But here likewise comes a stumbling block in his way, whereas the great maxim of these Quartadecimans was that the Paschal should be always celebrated on the 14th of the

moon, whatever day of the week it might fall upon. If in his loose and desultory sentences concerning Asiatics and Greeks the Doctor alluded to Catholic missionaries, as having come to Ireland from the Eastern countries some time after the council of Nice, he might have easily learned, that they would have brought with them the Alexandrine computation, it being at that period and thenceforth universally received in all the Catholic churches of those countries. The truth is, that, in whatever manner the question be considered, it is evident that the Irish Paschal system was of Western origin. This has been so ably proved and learnedly illustrated by Usher, that every writer of any reputation, who since his time has touched on the subject, agrees with him on this point. Even the Doctor would agree, were it not for his inveterate hatred of the Romans. I know that, many years ago, after he had published the first edition of his book, he was told in a friendly manner that Usher had completely settled this controversy. The Doctor said, that he had not met with Usher's explanation of it. A strange answer, indeed! For Usher has left us full sixteen pages concerning it in the *Primordia*. But, if he had not, by that time, seen it in Usher, he ought to have looked for it before he undertook his second edition, and I dare say he did. Yet in this edition (*p. 55. seqq.*) the same stuff about Asiatics, and their having brought to Ireland their Paschal method, is found exactly as in the first, without the least notice of what Usher had written. Hence it may be judged by what spirit the Doctor was moved, when treating of this and other parts of our ecclesiastical antiquities.

§. VI. After the letter of Laurence and the other Roman prelates (26) became generally known, in Ireland, inquiries began to be made which was the right method of calculating the time of Easter. Some few were, it seems, willing to adopt the new Roman one, while others thought it sufficient to make a correction in the Irish system by affixing the earliest Paschal Sunday to the 16th of the moon, according to the old Roman practice, instead of the 14th. (27) But the bulk of the clergy and nation were attached to the old computation until the year

630, when, in consequence of an admonitory, letter from the Pope Honorius I. (28) a synod was held at or near Old Leighlin, (29) which was attended by a great number of persons, and among others, by the heads of several of the greatest religious establishments in the Southern parts of Ireland. (30) St. Laserian, abbot of old Leighlin, spoke in favour of the Roman system, and was strenuously opposed by St. Fintan Munnu of Taghmon. (31) The heads of the old establishments (32) declared, that they had been directed by their predecessors to follow the practices of the successors of the Apostles, (33) and accordingly proposed that Easter should for the future be celebrated at the same time with the universal Church. This was agreed to and the matter appeared to be quite settled, when not long after a troublesome person (34) started up, and by his intrigues rendered abortive part of what had been decreed. To put an end to this opposition, it was resolved by the Elders, that whereas, according to a Synodical canon, every important ecclesiastical question should be referred to the head of cities, (35) some wise and humble persons should be sent to Rome, as children to their mother. These deputies being arrived there saw with their own eyes Easter celebrated at one and the same time by people from various countries, and, having returned to Ireland in the third year from their departure, solemnly declared to those, who had deputed them, that the Roman method was that of the whole world. It is added, that several miracles were wrought in Ireland through the reliques of martyrs, which these persons had brought from Rome. (36) Henceforth, that is, from about the year 633, the new Roman cycle and rules were received in the Southern division of Ireland, comprizing not only Munster, but likewise the greatest part of Leinster and a portion of Connaught. (37)

(26) See *Not.* 233 to *Chap.* xiv.

(27) In the account of the third class of saints it is stated, that, while some of them celebrated Easter on the 14th, according to the old Irish rule, others held it on the sixteenth. And we find that in some churches (Usher says Gallican, *p.* 932) this was considered as the earliest Paschal day down to, at least, A. D. 710. The abbot Ceolfred, in his letter to Naitan king of the Picts (*ap.* Bed. *L.* 5. *c.* 21.) written in this year, inveighs against the rule of the 16th and represents it equally bad with the 14th. It had been, however, long observed at Rome, and was marked in the Paschal canon of Victorius. Thence it was seen by some of the Irish clergy, merely, I suppose, for the purpose of warding off the great objection of the Romans, *viz.* that in some years they celebrated Easter at the same time with the Jews.

(28) See Bede *L.* 2. *c.* 19. Usher assigns this letter to A. D. 629.

(29) Cummián (*Paschal Ep.*) has in *Campo-Lene*, the field Lene. Others have, *in the White field*, which was near Mount Marge, and not far from the Barrow. It was adjacent to St. Lasarian's monastery of Leighlenn, now called Old Leighlin. (See Usher, *p.* 936.)

(30) Cummián says, that the successors of bishop Ailbe (of Emly), Queran (Kieran of Clonmacnois), Brendin (Brendan of Birr), Nesson (of Mungret), and Lugidus (Molua of Clonfertmolua) were present either in person or by their deputies. Usher states, that the archbishop of Emly was president of the synod.

(31) Usher *p.* 936. *seqq.* from the Life of Fintan.

(32) See *Not.* 30.

(33) Cummián represents them as saying; "Decessores nostri mandaverunt per idoneos testes, alios viventes, alios in pace dormientes, ut meliora et potiora probata a fonte baptismi nostri et sapientiae et successoribus Apostolorum Domini delata sine scrupulo humiliter sumeremus."

(34) Cummián calls him a *white-washed wall*. It is not known who he was. It cannot be supposed that he was Fintan Munnu; for, his sanctity was so universally acknowledged, that Cummián would not have ventured to speak of him in that disrespectful manner, or to use some other severe expressions, which he has against that disturber of the peace.

(35) Cumnian's words are ; " Ut si causae fuerint maiores, juxta *decretum Synodicum* ad caput urbium sint referendae." One of the canons ascribed to St. Patrick runs thus in Ware's edition ; (*Opusc.* &c. p. 41.) " Si *quae* quaestiones in hac insula oriantur, ad sedem Apostolicam referantur." In Dachery's edition *quae* is omitted. The meaning of this canon is more clearly expressed, as quoted by Usher, (*Discourse on the religion, &c. chap. 8.*) the substance of which is as follows ; " If a difficult cause may occur, which cannot be easily decided by the Irish prelates and the see of Armagh, it shall be sent to the Apostolic see, that is, to the chair of the apostle St. Peter, which hath the authority of the city of Rome." This canon, which Usher copied from an old book of the church of Armagh, is attributed to a synod of Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, and Benignus, and is on the whole in these words ; " Quaecunque causa valde difficilis exorta fuerit, atque ignota cunctis Scotorum gentium judiciis, ad cathedram archiepiscopi Hibernensium (idest, Patricii) atque hujus antistitis examinationem recte referenda. Si vero in illa, cum suis sapientibus, facile sanari non poterit talis causa praedictae negotiationis, ad sedem apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam, id est, ad Petri apostoli cathedram, auctoritatem Romae urbis habentem. Hi sunt, qui de hoc decreverunt, id est, Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, Benignus." Ware adds, (*loc. cit. p. 128.*) that it was headed, "*De alienis provinciis adeundis ad judicandum in causis difficilioribus.*" I suspect that this canon, as now quoted, is not quite as ancient as St. Patrick's times, and that it is a paraphrastic explanation of the original short one of St. Patrick, &c. yet conveying its true meaning. It seems to allude to Scottish churches out of Ireland, which also should have recourse to the see of Armagh. Now there were no such churches in St. Patrick's days. These canons prove, besides the primacy of Armagh, that the Irish church did from the beginning acknowledge the supremacy of the see of Rome. Otherwise would it have referred its difficult questions to a see so distant from Ireland, while at that period there were several eminent churches much nearer to us, such as those of Tours, Toledo, &c. unless a peculiar prerogative were believed to belong to the chair of St. Peter.

(36) I have here followed Cumnian's narrative as closely as I could. He was himself one of those, who had deputed these

messengers, received their report, and saw the miracles, &c. As to the arrangement of the transactions, including the synod of *Campus Lene*, I have, for the sake of perspicuity, followed that of Usher. Yet Colgan, who also had followed it, (*AA. SS. p. 53*) offers elsewhere (*p. 409*) some arguments to show, that it is not correct. He observes, that Usher was wrong in confounding Maghlene (*Campus Lene*) with the White field, the former having been in the territory of Fearcall (in the now King's county) and the latter in Lethglin, the district in which Old Leighlin (county Carlow) is situated. Accordingly he distinguishes two synods, one at Maghlene, and the other at White-field. His statement comes to these points. 1. There was a synod held at Maghlene, *viz.* that spoken of by Cummian. 2. Subsequently to it, the deputies were sent to Rome. One of them was, he thinks, Laserian, who, in his Life, is said to have gone to Rome together with several other persons, and to have been there consecrated bishop. 3. Laserian had returned from Rome before the holding of the synod of White-field, it being, says Colgan, so stated in the account of that synod given in the Life of Fintan Munu, where we read; "*Lasreanus enim abbas monasterii Leithglinne, cui suberant mille quingenti monachi, novum ordinem defendebat, qui nuper de Roma venit.*" Colgan connects the *qui*, &c. with *Lasreanus*, as if the author meant to say, that he had come lately from Rome. But the context seems in some part to indicate, that *qui* is to be joined with *novum ordinem*, and that the author's meaning was, that the new order or computation had lately come, or been brought, from Rome. If Colgan's interpretation be right, it may be supposed, that Laserian was the bearer of the letter of Pope Honorius, and that on this account we find him called the Pope's legate, or messenger, a title, which has been afterwards misunderstood as indicating that Laserian was appointed Apostolic legate for Ireland. 4. After the return of the deputies from Rome was held the synod of White-field, described in Fintan's Life, and in which Laserian and Fintan Munu acted the distinguished part, which we have seen. Here a weighty difficulty occurs from the silence of Cummian concerning any synod being held after the return of the deputies. Yet it may be answered, that his mentioning the report delivered by them to those, who had sent them, pre-supposes a synod. And it is to be remarked, that Cummian says nothing

about any contest at the synod of Maghlene, nor makes any mention of Laserian or Fintan. On the whole, Colgan's statement appears very consistent; and if Maghlene was, as he asserts, a place different from White-field, we must admit that two synods were held, one about three years before the other. But how is the chronology of these transactions to be determined? Usher calculated that the synod of Maghlene, which he considered the same as that of White-field, or Old Leighlin, was held in 630, because he thought the enormous difference of about a month between the Paschal computations for the year 631, occurred in the year next after that of the synod. It is known that, according to the Irish method, Easter should have been celebrated in 631 on the 21st of April, while at Rome it fell on the 24th of March. Cummian makes mention of this difference, where he says, as understood by Usher, that the deputies were at Rome in the Easter time, when said difference of a month occurred, alluding to the year 631. Colgan explains Cummian's text as signifying, that this great difference took place in the year of the return of the deputies, which, as well as the synod of White-field, he accordingly marks at 631; thus supposing, that the synod of Maghlene might have been held in 628, whereas, if different from that of White-field, there must have been at least three years between them. But his interpretation of Cummian's words cannot be reconciled with the context, and that of Usher is the only correct one. It may, however, be doubted, whether the year 631 was the first next, or the second next, after the synod of Maghlene, whereas the deputies might not have arrived at Rome prior to the Easter of the year immediately subsequent to that of the synod. In this case the Easter of 631, which the deputies saw celebrated at Rome, would have been in the second year after the synod, which consequently would have been held in 629. Yet this is an inquiry of very little importance, and we may safely adhere to the date assigned by Usher. It now remains to observe, that, if the synod of White-field was, as seems exceeding probable, different from that of Maghlene, it must have been held in 633 or 634. O'Flaherty, who agrees with Colgan as to the two synods, differs from him with regard to the times. He admits with Usher, that the synod of Maghlene was held in 630, and then places that of White-field in 633. (See *Ogygia vindicated*, ch. 17.) But, as delays usually occur in such

cases, it might have been as late as 634. Bede, making mention (*L. 2. c. 19.*) of the letter of Pope Honorius to the Irish nation, seems to assign it about the same time that he sent the pall and wrote to Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, which was, he says, in 634. (Others have said, in 633.) Supposing this to have been Bede's meaning, it will follow, that said letter was not written prior to the synod of Maghlene, or in 629, as Usher thought, (see *Not. 28.*) but after it, and when the Irish deputies were setting out from Rome. And thus we have an additional argument in favour of Colgan's statement of those transactions, excepting, however, his dates, which are in opposition even to Bede, if, as appears very probable, he ought to be understood as placing the Pope's letter to the Irish about the year 633 or 634.

(37) Bede writes *L. 2. c. 3.*) " Porro gentes Scottorum, quae in australibus Hiberniae insulae partibus morabantur, jamdudum ad admonitionem Apostolicae sedis antistitis Pascha canonico ritu observare didicerunt." He is treating in that chapter of some transactions of the year 635. His saying *jamdudum* cannot be construed into his having meant to state, that the Roman method had been universally received in the South of Ireland—a considerable time before that year; for, not to repeat what has been given from Cumman, in this case Bede would have contradicted himself, whereas from the manner, in which he speaks (*L. 2. c. 19.*) of the letter of Pope Honorius, it is clear that he did not consider that method as received in any great part of Ireland at the time said letter was written. Therefore the phrase *jamdudum* is not relative to the year 635; or, if it be, it must be translated merely *already*, without an allusion to any particular length of time. In fact, the Southern Irish had adopted the Roman system before that year. Bede makes mention, in the same chapter, of the Northern province of the Scots, meaning the Northern half of Ireland, in which, he says, the old Irish method was still observed at that period. He alluded to the well known ancient division of Ireland into two parts, viz. Legh-Cuin and Legh-Mogha, separated from each other by a boundary line extending from the mouth of the Liffy to where Galway now stands. Legh-Cuin, *al.* Legh-Con was the northern, and Legh-Mogha the southern half. (See Ware, *Antiq. cap. 3.* in Harris's *ed. 4.*)

Instead of *Legh*, it would be more correct to spell it *Leath*, which signifies *half*.

§. VII. One of the principal abettors of the Roman computation and promoters of its adoption by the Southern Irish was Cummian, author of the celebrated Paschal epistle to Segienus, or Segenius, abbot of Hy and others. (38) He seems to have been a Columbian monk, (39) and was probably educated in the monastery of Durrough, (40) which was subject to the superintendence of the abbot of Hy. At the time of the proceedings now related he had, apparently, an establishment of his own, which was, in all likelihood, that of Disert-chuimin, (so called from his name) now Kilcomin or Kilcummin in the King's county. (41) Segienus and his monks of Hy, who were greatly attached to the Irish method, in consequence of its having been observed by St. Columba, (42) were much displeas'd with Cummian for his opposition to it, and for his having, as there is great reason to believe, induced the Columbian monks of Durrough to unite with the whole clergy and people of the South in the adoption of the Roman system. To answer the charges brought against him, Cummian wrote his epistle (43) in defence of himself and of those, who were of his opinion. He says, that prior to his having consulted the successors of Ailbe, &c. (44) he spent a whole year in studying the subject in dispute, that he searched the holy scriptures, examined ecclesiastical history, inquired into the various cycles and into the divers Paschal systems of the Jews, Greeks, Latins and Egyptians. And very ably has he executed his task. Besides a multitude of texts of Scripture he quotes passages from Origen, St. Cyprian, St. Jerome, St. Augustin, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and Gregory the great. He refers also to councils, and dives into the intricacies of the Paschal computations, resting his arguments partly on the

origin and nature of the Paschal solemnity, and partly on authority, particularly that of the great body of the Catholic church. Laying great stress on the doctrine of St. Cyprian and other Holy fathers concerning the unity of the Church, he says; "Can any thing more pernicious be conceived as to the mother church than to say; Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, Antioch errs, the whole world errs; the Scots and Britons alone are right." Cummián's knowledge of Greek is discoverable, and perhaps too much so, in this tract, which, on the whole, exhibits an extraordinary degree of learning of various kinds, and shows how well stocked with books, considering the times, the Irish libraries were at that period, and with what ardour the students made use of them. Cummián did not, however, succeed in convincing the monks of Hy, who, as will be seen, continued for many years after to follow the Irish computation.

(38) In the head to this Epistle, besides Segineus (of whom see *Chap. xiv. §. 12.*) Beccan, a solitary, is particularly mentioned as brother to Cummián. Colgan treats of him at 17 *Mart.* and says, that he was surnamed *Ruim* or *Ruiminn*. He makes him a native of Tyconnel and of the house of Niall, in consequence of his having confounded Cummián with Cummineus Albus abbot of Hy. Several Becans were distinguished in the South of Ireland, where we find a Becan of Kinsale, a Becan, son of Cula (*AA. SS p. 623.*) and a Becan of Cluain-ard. Mobece in Muskerry (*ib. p. 615*) or, as Archdall calls it, Killbeacan. The Becan, brother of Cummián, was probably in Hy at the time Cummián wrote his epistle, but might have afterwards settled in Ireland. For we are not bound to believe, that he was the Becan Ruiminn, who, according to the 4 Masters (*ib. p. 630*) died in Britain A. 676.

(39) Cummián's letter is in the form of an apology to persons invested with some jurisdiction over him, and he addresses them as his fathers, protesting that his differing from them on the Paschal question was not owing to any contempt of them but to a conviction of the truth of his opinion.

(40) According to Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 411.*) Cummian is said to have been abbot of Durrough. He might have been raised to that situation before his death; but it is more than doubtful whether he was abbot there at the time he wrote that letter. It is worth remarking that, as Colgan observes, Durrough was situated in the plain called Magh-lene. Hence it follows that the synod, called of Maghlene, may be supposed to have been held in that monastery, or in the open air near it. This furnishes an additional argument in favour of Colgan's account of that synod, &c. (See *Not. 36.*)

(41) Colgan says (*ib. and p. 408.*) that Disert-chuimin was at the borders of Leinster and Munster (old Munster), and west of Roscrea. This agrees with the situation of Kilcomin, which is seven miles west of that town. (See Archdall at *Kilcomin.*) Cummian placed some reliques of St. Peter and Paul in the church of Disert-chuimin; (Colgan, *ib.*) and we may justly suppose, that it is to them he alludes in his Epistle. He represents his habitation as a sort of lurking place; "Haec dixi, non ut vos impugnam, sed ut me *ut nycticoracem in domicilio latitantem* defenderem." This passage cannot be well understood as referring to the great monastery of Durrough, but is very clear if applied to Disert-chuimin.

(42) See *Not. 236. to Chap. XII.*

(43) Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigns it to A. D. 634. It seems, indeed, to have been written not long after the return of the deputies from Rome, which was in 633. If, as appears most probable, the synod of White-field was different from that of Maghlene, and was accordingly held after said return, we may be allowed to suppose that the Epistle was written previous to it; and thus the silence of Cummian with regard to this synod may be satisfactorily explained. (Compare with *Not. 36.*)

(44) See *Not. 30.*

§. VIII. This really learned man has, as observed elsewhere, (45) been most strangely confounded with Cumineus Albus, abbot of Hy, and hence it has been inferred, that he was of the Tyrconnel line of the Nialls and nephew to the abbot Segineus. (46) It is plain, that Cummian was a native of some part

of the southern half of Ireland, or Legh-Mogha, (47) from which were all those members of the synod of Magh-lene (*Campus Lene*) mentioned by him, and whom he calls the successors of *our* former fathers, (48) thus alluding to the part of Ireland, to which he belonged. It has been conjectured, and with great probability, that he was the same as Cummin surnamed *Fada*, or *the long*, (49) a man celebrated for his learning. The names are not different; (50) and nothing can agree better than the times. For Cummin Fada, who was son to Fiachna, king of West Munster, was born in 592 and died in 662. (51) Now, as Cummian wrote the Paschal epistle about 634, he would, supposing him the same as Cummin Fada, have been at that time about 42 years old, an age answering very well for the composition of so learned a production. Next comes the great reputation for learning enjoyed by Cummin Fada; (52) and certainly it would have been well merited, were he the author of the Epistle. The only objection of any weight that I can find against this hypothesis, is that Cummin Fada is said to have been bishop of Clonfert, whereas Cummian seems to have been only a priest. Yet it is not certain that he never became a bishop; (53) and on the other hand there is reason to doubt, whether Cummin Fada was one. (54) Besides the Paschal Epistle, Cummian was, in all appearance, author of the treatise, *De poenitentiarum mensura*, a very learned abridgment of the ancient penitential canons. (55) I have nothing further to add concerning this distinguished man than that, if he was the same as Cummin Fada, he lived until 662, and died either on the 12th of November, or 2d of December in said year. (56)

(45) *Not.* 70 to *Chap.* xi. To the writers there mentioned, who fell into this mistake, we may add Archdall (at *Kilcomin*), and Ledwich, (*Ant.* p. 168) who adds that Cummian was a Culdee

and apostatized. When the Doctor talks of Culdees he does not know what he is saying. And as to *apostatizing*, what did Cumman apostatize from? He received the Alexandrian, or new Roman cycle, &c. instead of the Irish one. If this be apostacy, there is not a greater apostate in the world than the Doctor himself. For he has received, and does pertinaciously follow, the Gregorian calendar or New stile, which has been brought from that mother of corruption, Rome, rejecting the good Old stile, which had been so long observed by the church of England. Cumman, by whatever name the Doctor may please to call him, was, at least, an honest man. He did not conceal the known truth. He did not act like the Doctor, when, analyzing Cumman's epistle, (*ib.* and *p.* 169.) he wilfully omitted what is there said of St. Patrick and his cycle. (See *Chap.* 11. §. 5.)

(46) This and similar stuff will be found in Colgan's *Acts of Cumineus* at 24 Feb. In consequence of said confusion he makes also Becan a nephew of Segineus. (See *Not.* 38.) But, if Segineus had been uncle to Cumman, would he not have been mentioned as such in the inscription to the epistle, in the same manner as Cumman there calls Becan his brother?

(47) See *Not.* 37.

(48) *Successores nostrorum patrum priorum, Ailbei episcopi, &c.* (See *Not.* 30.) Afterwards he says; "Visum est senioribus nostris. These elders were all Southernns.

(49) Ware, (*Writers at Cummin Fada*) who has been followed by Dupin, *Bibliothèque*, &c. at *Cumman*. Harris argues against this conjecture of Ware on the ground that the author of the Paschal epistle was connected with the monks of Hy, with whom Cummin Fada had nothing to do. How did he know this? Or how could he prove, that Cummin Fada was not a Columbian monk belonging to one or other of their establishments in the South of Ireland?

(50) The names, *Cumin*, *Cummin*, *Cumman*, latinized into *Cumineus* and *Cummanus* are frequently used for one and the same person.

(51) Usher, *p.* 972. from the Ulster annals. Colgan has (*AA. SS. p.* 149.) a fable concerning Cummin Fada having been educated by St. Ita, as if a man, who was not born until 592, could have been reared by a person, who died in 570. This fable has

been copied by Harris, (*Writers*) although he might have observed, that Colgan acknowledges that the history of Cummin Fada has been corrupted by various anachronisms. In what Colgan adds concerning his having had for preceptor a St. Colman O'Cluasaigh, who is said to have written a panegyric on him, I find nothing contradictory. Of this Colman nothing further is known than that he died, according to the 4 Masters (*ib. p. 247*) in 661 (662) the year, to which, together with the Annals of Ulster, they assign also the death of Cummin Fada.

(52) In the *Festilogium* of Aengus, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 746*) it is stated that, while other holy men received one gift or another from the Almighty, Cummin Fada received that of science and wisdom. He is said to have been the author of a hymn beginning with the words, "*Celebra Juda festa Christi gaudia.*" (See Usher, *p. 972* and Ware at *Cummin Fada.*)

(53) If Cumminian was the same as the priest Commian of the third class, (see *Chap. xiv. §. 8.*) it will follow that he was never raised to the episcopacy, as he was dead before the catalogue of saints was written. Usher thought (*p. 968*) they were the same; yet we have no positive proof of it, and there were other Commians distinguished in those days, to one or other of whom the author might have alluded, perhaps to Commian or Cumineus abbot of Clonmacnois, who died in 665. (See Usher, *ib.* and *AA. SS. p. 90.*) Colgan (*ib. p. 59*) reckons a heap of saints Cummins, Cummians, Cumineus's, &c. all of one and the same name.

(54) Colgan (*ib. p. 149.*) calls Cummin Fada bishop of Clonfert, and has been followed by Ware, (*Bishops*) who, however, does not give him that title in *Writers*, which he had published before the *AA. SS.* appeared. Nor does Usher, wherever he mentions his name, call him a bishop, as he certainly would have done, had he found him so styled in his documents. Cummin Fada is spoken of several times in the *Life of St. Molagga* (20 *January*) without that title; and it is particularly remarkable, that in the 19th chapter of said *Life* he is mentioned immediately after Conang ô Daithil and Russin, the former of whom is called comorban of St. Ailbe (of Emly) and the latter comorban of St. Barr (of Cork); while Cummin Fada is designated merely as the son of Fiachna. Had he been bishop of Clonfert, would he not

have been styled a *comorban* as well as the prelates just named, that is, comorban or successor of St. Brendan? I suspect that the only foundation for making him bishop of Clonfert is a genealogical story of his having been half brother, by his mother's side, of Guaire king of Connaught. Hence it was inferred, that Guaire invited him to that province, and procured a bishopric for him. How little that story is to be depended on appears from its stating, that he was also maternal brother of Crimthann, son of Aidus king of Leinster. Thus his mother would have been married to three kings, Fiachna, Colman (father of Guaire), and Aidus. This is not enough; they moreover tell us that the said prolific princess was the mother of six bishops and six kings! (See *AA. SS.* p. 148.)

(55) This treatise was found by Fleming in the monastery of St. Gall under the name of abbot Cumean of Scotia or Ireland. It was afterwards published by Sirin, together with several other works, which Fleming had collected. Thence it has been republished in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Tom. 12. Lyons, A. 1677. It bears every mark of that line of studies, to which Cummián had addicted himself, and shows a great knowledge of the discipline of both the Greek and Latin churches. It contains, indeed, several penitential rules inapplicable, at least in Cummián's time, to Ireland, such as those against heretics, persons treating with barbarous invaders, &c. &c. so that I thought for a while it might have been the work of a Cummián, who, though an Irishman, lived somewhere in the continent. But on observing the stress laid by the author on the canons against the Quartadecimans, whom he names very particularly, it appeared to me that the author must have been one, who wished to guard his readers against having any, the most remote, connexion with those heretics. There was no Irishman or Cummián, to whom this criterion is so applicable as to the writer of the Paschal epistle. His detailing penitential regulations then unnecessary in Ireland can be easily accounted for, whereas his object was to give a summary of the penitential discipline of the whole Christian church in every part of the world. The style of this tract is often coarse and somewhat incorrect like that of the epistle. Dupin observes, (*Bibliothèque, &c. at 7th century*) that it is well worth consideration on account of the knowledge it conveys of various ecclesiastical prac-

tices of that period. In it we find the confession of secret sins and bad thoughts, with the penances enjoined, (*passim*) masses for the dead, (see *capp.* XI. and XIV.) the holy Eucharist constantly called *sacrifice*, (*capp.* XI. XII.) the celibacy of the clergy (*cap.* III.) &c. &c. As Cummin lived many years before Theodore of Canterbury, Fleury was mistaken (*L.* 40. §. 46) in saying that the latter was the first among the Latins that drew up a penitential.

(56) Some old calendarists assign the *Natalis* of Cummin Fada to 12 Nov.; but the 4 Masters place his death on the 2d of Dec. See *AA. SS.* p. 149.

§ IX. St. Laserian, the other great supporter of the new Paschal computation, was, it is said, (57) son of Cairel a nobleman of Ulster and of Gemma daughter of Aiden king of the British Scots. (58) The year of his birth is not known (59); and the early part of his life is involved in obscurity. According to one account he was a disciple of Fintan Munnu, while another places him under an abbot Murin. (60) When arrived at a mature age, he is said to have proceeded to Rome, and to have remained there for 14 years. (61) Then we are told that he was ordained priest by Pope Gregory the great, and soon after returned to Ireland. Coming to Leighlin (Old Leighlin) he was most kindly received by St. Gobban, who there governed a monastery. This saint conceived such a high opinion of Laserian that he gave up to him his establishment, and went to erect a monastery elsewhere. (62) Laserian is said to have had 1500 monks under him at Leighlin. (63) About the year 630 he went again to Rome, probably as chief of the deputation sent by the heads of the Southern clergy after the synod of Maghlene, (64) and was there consecrated bishop by the then Pope, Honorius I. (65) After his return to Ireland, in or about 633, he greatly contributed towards the final settlement of the Paschal question in the South, (66) which he

survived only a few years, having died in 639 (67) on the 18th of April. This saint was buried in his own church at Leighlin, and his memory has been greatly revered in the province of Leinster. (68)

(57) The Bollandists have (at 18 April) a Life of Laserian or Lasrean, which, they say, was written after the year 1100. They justly observe, that it is a confused tract and often not worthy of credit. He is sometimes called *Molassius* or *Molaissus*, latinized from *Mo* and *Laisre* his real name, in the same manner as his namesake of Devenish was so called, with whom he must not (as has been done by Hammer, p. 123, new ed.) be confounded. (See *Not.* 124 to *Chap.* XII.)

(58) Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 29. and *Bishops at Leighlin*) says, that Laserian was son of Cairel *de Blitha*. Harris (*Bishops*) translates *by Blitha*; and perhaps this was Ware's meaning; for his account of this saint differs in many respects from that of the Life published by the Bollandists. For instance, according to Ware, his mother was daughter of a king of the Picts.

(59) The Bollandists supposed, (*Comment. praeuv.*) but without any authority, that he was born about 566. This conjecture is connected with a huge mistake of theirs, of which lower down, in stating that Fintan Munnu was then a monk in Hy.

(60) The Bollandist Life makes Fintan his master. But it is probable that Laserian was nearly as old as Fintan, who was young at the time of Columbkil's death in 597. In the account of the contest between them at Whitefield there is no allusion to this discipleship. According to Ware, Laserian studied under Murin, until he set out for Rome. Who this Murin was Ware does not tell us. He could not have been St. Murus of Fohen, (in Donegall) who flourished about the middle of the seventh century. Perhaps the person meant by the name of *Murin* was Murgenius abbot of Glean-Ussen; (see *Chap.* XIV. §. 11.) and there is reason to think, that Laserian studied rather in the South, where the clergy were inclined to receive the Roman cycle, &c. than in the North where it was violently opposed.

(61) Ware agrees with the Life as to these 14 years spent at

Rome. The Bollandists think that, instead of *fourteen*, we ought to read *four*.

(62) Colgan was of opinion (*AA. SS. p. 750*) that this was the Gobban who governed a church at Kill-Lamhraighea, a place in the West of Ossory, viz. after having left Leighlin, and who was buried at Clonenagh. Archdall (at *Leighlin*) refers to Colgan and Usher as if placing the death of Gobban in 639, although Usher says nothing about him, nor does Colgan even mention his name in the page referred to.

(63) See *Not. 36*.

(64) *Ib.* I wish the account of Laserian's having been at Rome in the time of Gregory the great were as well founded as that of his mission thither after the synod of Magh-lene.

(65) Usher, *p. 938*. Ware, *Antiq. cap. 29*.

(66) See *Not. 36*.

(67) *Annals of Innisfallen*.

(68) Ware, *loc. cit.*

§. x. The distinguished opponent of Laserian, Fintan Munnu or Munna, was of the Niall family, and son of Tulcan and Feidelmia. (69) Whether he belonged to the Northern or Southern Nialls I do not find recorded; but it appears probable, that he was of the former, and that he was a native of the North of Ireland. (70) He is said to have been placed first at the school of Bangor under St. Comgall, and to have afterwards studied in the school of Kilmore Deathrib, which Columbkil is supposed to have governed for some time before his departure from Ireland. (71) Passing by this more than doubtful statement, Fintan's chief master and instructor seems to have been Sinell, son of Maynacur, with whom he remained for 18 years at Cluain-inis (72) until about the time that he resolved on going to Hy for the purpose of being admitted a member of the monastery. While preparing to set out for the island he was informed, that St. Columba died a few days before and was succeeded by Baithen. Fintan still persevered in his determination, hoping to be received by Baithen into his community.

When arrived in Hy, he was treated as a mere stranger; for even his name was not known there, and Baithen had never seen him until that time. (73) On being introduced to Baithen, he was examined by him as to his name, family, studies, conduct, &c. and his object in coming to Hy. Fintan, having answered all his questions, humbly requested to be admitted as a monk. Baithen replied; "I thank my God, that you are come to this place; but this you must know that you cannot be a monk of ours." Fintan much afflicted at these words said; "Is it that I am unworthy of being one?" "No;" answered Baithen; "but, although I should be very glad to keep you with me, I must obey the orders of my predecessor Columba, who some time ago said to me in the spirit of prophecy; Baithen remember these words of mine; immediately after my departure from this life, a brother, who is now regulating his *youthful* age by good conduct, and well versed in sacred studies, named Fintan, of the race of Mocu-Moie, (74) and son of Failchan, will come to you from Ireland (Scotia) and will supplicate to be reckoned among the monks. But it is predetermined by God, that he is to be an abbot presiding over monks, and a guide of souls. Do not therefore let him remain in these islands of ours, but direct him to return in peace to Ireland (Scotia), that he may there establish a monastery in a part of Leinster not far from the sea, and labour for the good of souls." The holy *young man*, shedding tears, returned thanks to Christ, and said that he would follow these directions. Soon after, having received Baithen's blessing, he returned to Ireland. (75) What is here related must have occurred in the year 597, as it was very soon after the death of St. Columba. We may fairly suppose, that Fintan did not delay long to set about forming his monastery, which has been called, from his

name, *Teach-munnu*, the house of Munnu, (76) now Taghmon in the county of Wexford. He is said to have presided there over 152 holy monks. (177) Were we to believe certain confused accounts, Fintan founded some other establishments; but I shall not tire myself or the reader with searching for them. (78) Nor is it necessary to undertake a serious refutation of his having been abbot and bishop of Clonenagh. (79) Some writings have been attributed to this saint, but on such authority as cannot be depended upon. (80) Notwithstanding his opposition to the Roman cycle, he was, even at the time of the contest with Laserian, most highly revered for his sanctity and power of working miracles. (81) It appears, that Fintan soon after withdrew this opposition, and agreed with his brethren of the South. (82) He did not long survive this happy event; whereas he died in 635 on the 21st of October. (83)

(69) His Life begins with the following words, as quoted by Ware; (*Writers, cap. 13. al. 15.*) “Fuit vir vitæ venerabilis nomine Munnu, de claro genere Hiberniæ insulæ, idem de nepotibus Neil, cujus pater vocabatur Tulcanus, mater vero Feidelmia dicebatur.” Tulcan was descended from Conal son of Niall. (*Tr. Th. p. 373.*) Archdall, according to his usual carelessness as to spelling names, has (at Taghmon) *Fulcan* instead of *Tulcan*. This saint is sometimes called simply *Munnu*, as in the passage now quoted, and elsewhere throughout said Life; or *Munna*, as in the Life of St. Maidoc of Ferns; (*cap. 32.*) and at other times simply *Fintan*, as by Adamnan, (*Vit. S. Col. L. 1. c. 2.*) who calls him Fintan son of Tailcan. Colgan says (*Tr. Th. ib.*) that *Munnu* was a surname, and latinizes it into *mundus*, meaning, I suppose, that it signified *clean*. Adamnan speaks of Fintan as of the race of *Mocu-Moie*, which Colgan thinks ought to be read *Mocu-Maine*, by allusion to Fintan’s maternal descent, as his mother was of the family of Maine or Manius likewise a Niall. (*ib. from Fintan’s Life.*) Might it not be conjectured, that the

name or surname *Munnu* may have some reference to the *Maine* branch of that family?

(70) Adamnan (*L. 1. c. 2.*) makes mention of a clergyman, named Colum-crag, as a friend of Fintan. Colum-crag lived somewhere not far from Derry. (See *Not.* 117 to *Chap.* xi.)

(71) O'Donnel, *Life of St. Col. L. 1. c. 110* and Fintan's Life. (See *Tr. Th. p. 460.*) But how reconcile Fintan's having been a disciple of Columbkil before A. D. 563, the year of his departure for Hy, with Adamnan's speaking of him as a young man at the time of the same saint's death in 597? To mend the matter, it is added in the same Life and by O'Donnel, that Columbkil being at Kilmore-Deathrib told Baithen, that young Munnu, who was then in the school, would become a great and holy man. Now we know from Adamnan, (*L. 1. c. 2.*) that Baithen had never seen him until he went to Hy, and that even his name had not been heard of before in that island. Hence it is clear, that the account of Fintan having been a scholar of Columbkil's any where is fabulous. It was too much the fashion of our hagiologists to make the saints, whose acts they undertook to write, disciples of various eminent men without caring about times or places. Concerning Kilmore-Deathrib see *Chap.* xi. §. 10.

(72) See *Chap.* xii. §. 12.

(73) Hence it appears how much mistaken the Bollandists were (at Life of Laserian, *Comment. pr.*) in stating, that Fintan Munnu had been in Hy since the year 566, and that he was then a monk there. The fact is that, as will be seen directly, he was not at any time a monk of Hy.

(74) See *Not.* 69.

(75) Adamn. *L. 1. c. 2.* and Munnu's Life, (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 461.*) which adds, that the part of Leinster, to which he was directed to go, was Hy-kinselagh.

(76) In the Life of St. Maidoc of Ferns we read; (*cap. 32.*) "Quodam tempore sanctus episcopus Moedoc exivit visitare S. Munna abbatem habitantem in suo monasterio, quod dicitur *Teach Munnae.*"

(77) *AA. SS. p. 218.* Yet, *ib. (p. 606.)* Colgan makes them 233; and (*p. 50*) 234.

(78) Colgan quotes (*ib.* p. 606) from the Life of Munnu a passage, in which he is said to have spent, before he went to Hykinselagh, five years in a monastery of his at Teachtelle in the district of Heli (Ely O'Carrol) in Munster. But why go to Munster, after he had been directed to settle in Leinster? From what I have met with of that Life, it is easy to perceive, that it is a confused fabulous tract; and it is better to follow Adamnan, and the author of the Life of Maidoc, who give us to understand, that Fintan, or Munnu, governed only one monastery, viz. that of Taghmon.

(79) Colgan has this fable, *AA. SS.* p. 356. Whence he got it he does not tell us. Perhaps he took it from some scholiast, who, finding that there were one or two Fintans at Clonenagh, and that there was a bishop Fintan, confounded Munnu with more than one of them for this wise reason, that he also was a Fintan. (Compare with *Not.* 174 to *Chap.* XII.) Archdall, the humble follower of Colgan, has copied this stuff (at *Clonenagh*).

(80) Hanmer (*Chron.* p. 123.) makes him the author of a book on the Paschal controversy, as if his disputation on that subject were to be construed into a book. Dempster ascribes to one Fintan a work on the Acts of Columbkil, and some Epistles to St. Baithen. Colgan thought, (*Tr. Th.* p. 470) that Dempster meant Fintan Munnu, although he was wrong in his account of Fintan. It is of no consequence whom he meant; for we may be sure, that the whole is one of his usual inventions.

(81) In the account of the proceedings at White-field it is related, that Munnu proposed to refer the question to the judgment of God to be declared by miracles. I very much doubt of his having done so. Such a proposal smells of later times than those, in which he lived. Be this as it may, Laserian is said to have declined the challenge, observing that, if Munnu wished to change the mountain Marge into White-field, or vice versa, God would grant him his request. (See Usher, p. 937.)

(82) We read, (*ib.*) that the synod of White-field terminated in the general consent of all those, who had attended it. "Postea consentiantes populi cum sanctis ad sua reversi sunt."

(83) The Annals of Tigernach have; "A. D. 634. the rest of Fintan, *i. e.* Mundu Mac Tullcain 12 *Cal. Novemb.*" Usher has retained (*Ind. Chron.*) A. 634; but Ware (*Writers at Munnu*)

more correctly substituted A. 635. For the 4 Masters, who generally anticipate a year, have also 634. (See *Tr. Th.* p. 373.) In Harris' edition the 24th of October appears, through an error of the press, instead of the 21st; and in Archdall's book, which is full of such errors, the 25th (at Taghmon). But, (at *Clone-nagh*) he has the 21st, joined, however, with another error, viz. 638 for the year of Fintan's death, instead of 634 (635).

§. XI. The proceedings in the southern half of Ireland concerning the Paschal controversy gave rise to discussions on the same subject in Leigh cuin or the northern half. It seems, that several of the clergy of this division were inclined to receive the new Roman computation, while others held out for the Irish one. It was accordingly thought advisable to consult the Holy see on this question; whereupon Thomian, archbishop of Armagh, (84) and several other prelates and distinguished clergymen wrote a letter to Rome, accompanied with some documents relative to it. (85) This letter was not received until a little before the death of Pope Severinus, who consequently had not time to draw up an answer to it, nor was it even opened during the short time that he survived. (86) But soon after his death the heads of the Roman clergy, the see being vacant, wrote, in answer to that of the Irish prelates, &c. a letter directed to the very same persons who had addressed the Holy see. It was written in 640, (87) some time between the first of August and the Christmas of said year, (88) and is headed with the names of Hilarus the archpriest, acting for the holy Apostolic see; John a deacon and Pope elect; John the primicerius, and acting for the holy Apostolic see; and John, counsellor of the same Apostolic see. The persons, to whom it is directed, are thus mentioned; "To the most beloved and holy Thomian, Columban, *Cronan, Dima*, (89) and Baithan bishops; *Cronan*, (90) Ernian, Laistran, Scellan, and Segenus priests; Saran and the other Scot doc-

tors and abbots." (91) The letter begins with a charge against some persons of their province, as if renewing the Quartadeciman heresy; (92) whence it appears, that false reports had been circulated at Rome, and that the true state of the question was not rightly understood. Unfortunately the remainder of it is lost, except a part, in which the Irish clergy are cautioned against allowing the poison of Pelagianism to spread in their country. "For," say the Roman clergy, "you cannot be ignorant of "how that execrable heresy has been condemned; "whereas it has not only been abolished for 200 "years back, but, although buried, is every day "anathematized by us; and we exhort you to take "care, that the ashes of those, whose weapons have "been burnt, be not stirred up among you. For who "will not execrate the proud and impious endeavours "of those, who say that a man can exist without sin "through his own will, and not by the grace of "God? And, first of all, it is a foolish blasphemy "to say, that man is without sin, which no one can "by any means be, except the one mediator of God "and men the man Christ Jesus, who was conceived "and brought forth without sin. For all other men, "being born with original sin, are known (even "though not in a state of actual sin) to bear testi- "mony of Adam's prevarication, according to the "words of the prophet; *For behold I was conceived "in iniquities, &c.*" This truly execrable heresy did not begin to make its appearance in Ireland until a short time before the Roman letter was written, (93) It was not infected with any such heresy in the days of St. Columbanus; (94) nor does Pelagianism seem to have made any progress in Ireland, or to have given rise to even one congregation separated from the Catholic church. (95) The most that can be allowed is, that, although there was no Pelagian sect in this country, there were some theologians, who, in discussing the important questions relative to

Grace and Free will, were more inclined to favour the latter than the former, and, as has been too much the case with many divines of later times, intermingled certain Pelagian principles or embers with the doctrine of the Gospel.

(84) See *Chap. xiv. §. 12.*

(85) That such a letter was written by Thomian, &c. although not remarked by Usher and Ware, is evident from the letter of the Roman clergy, which is represented as an answer to the papers sent from Ireland, and begins with these words; “*Scripta, quae perlatores ad sanctae memoriae Severinum Papam adduxerunt, et, eo de hac luce migrante, reciproca responsa ad ea quae postulata fuerant, siluerunt. Quibus reseratis,*” &c. It is thus the passage appears in Smith’s edition of Bede, *L. 2. c. 19.* In an older edition, followed by Usher, (*Sylloge Ep. Hib. No. 9.*) it runs somewhat differently, so that Usher thought that before *scripta* we should place *Ad.* Be this as it may, the word, *Scripta* seems to indicate something more than a mere letter.

(86) Hence we understand why the Roman clergy say, *Scripta —siluerunt. Quibus reseratis,* that is, unsealed after the death of Severinus.

(87) Ware, (*Bishops at Thomian*) assigns this letter to 639. Usher also had (*Sylloge, &c.*) marked the same date; but having afterwards found, that Severinus died in 640, he affixed it (*Pr. p. 938 and Ind. Chron.*) to this year, and indeed justly; for Pope Severinus died on the first (not second, as Usher says, this being the day of his burial) of August in said year. (See Pagi, *Critica, &c.* ad A. 638. §. 3. and A. 639. §. 3. As the pontificate of Severinus lasted little more than two months, having begun on the 28th of May, and ended on the first of August, it is right to conclude, that the letter of Thomian, &c. directed to Rome, was written also in the same year 640, that is, the early part of it, and for the same reason I have stated, that it was not received by Severinus until a short time before his death.

(88) The vacancy of the Holy See after the death of Severinus continued four months and 24 days, and ended with the consecration of John IV. which, says Pagi, (at A. 639 §. 7.) took

place on the 24th of December, A. D. 640. Hence it follows that, as the Roman letter was written during said vacancy, its date must be assigned as here stated.

(89) In all the editions of Bede, instead of *Cronan*, we find *Croman*; but Colgan observes (*AA. SS. p. 16.*) and, I think, justly, that *Cronan* is the true reading. *Croman* is not an Irish name, whereas *Cronan* was a very common one. As to *Dima*, Smith has changed it into *Dinna*. Yet there can be no doubt that the real name was *Dima* or *Diman*.

(90) Here again Bede's text has *Croman*.

(91) Some account of the persons here named will naturally be expected by the reader. Concerning Thomian we have seen already, *Chap. xiv. §. 12.* Of the others Colgan treats (*AA. SS. at 6 Januar. p. 16, 17.*) in a brief, but rather correct, manner. The bishop Columban was Columban Hua Telduibh, bishop of Clonard, who died on the 8th of February, A. D. 652 (653). Elsewhere (*ib. p. 406.*) Colgan calls him *Colman*; for the names *Colman* or *Columban* were frequently interchanged. Usher makes mention of him (*p. 964*) by the name of *bishop Colman, son of Cuidel-dubh*, and says that, according to the Ulster annals, he died in 653 (654). Ware (*Bishops at Meath*) marks his death at 651, for no other reason, as well as I can discover, than that, having found in *AA. SS. (p. 406.)* the death of Ossan, the successor of Colman at Clonard, assigned also to 652, he thought Colman's death ought to be drawn back at least one year. Harris, in his additions to Ware, mentions a typographical error, following which Ware would seem to place the death of Colman 852. This error appears in the Latin edition of Ware's *Bishops*, but has been corrected in the English translation. Cronan was bishop of Antrim, and died in 642 (643).

Dima or *Diman* was bishop of Connor. He was a native of Munster, and son of Aengus of the Dalcassian line of the royal house of that province. The occasion of his being settled at Connor was his having been, when young, placed in the monastery and school, which was governed by Colman-elo, while he resided in that diocese. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 2.*) He is mentioned in Colman-elo's Life, as a most exemplary disciple of his, by the name of *Dima dubh*, or black, on account of his black hair or dark complexion; and in that of St. Croán of Roscrea (if, however, the *Dima* there spoken of was the same, which I much doubt of), as

very expert in transcribing books, After Colma-elo's return to his own country, Dima became abbot of his monastery, and afterwards bishop of Connor. He lived to a very great age, and his death is assigned in various Irish annals to the year 658 (659), and sixth of January, at which day Colgan has given his Acts. Ware (*Bishops at Connor*) has the 16th of January, 656. As to the 16th it must be an error of the press; for Colgan, from whom he took his account of Dima, constantly has the 6th. And as to A. 656, Ware was led astray by a similar error in *p.* 16 of *AA. SS.* where we find that number, while every where else (*ex c. p.* 17. 18, and *Ind. Chron.*) we have 658. Harris, to show his learning, adds to Ware that, according to an ancient calendar, Dima died on the 5th of January. And why? Because the calendar has the 8th of the ides of that month. Now a schoolboy might have informed him, that the 8th Ides, &c. was exactly the sixth of January in the modern mode of reckoning.

Baithan was, says Colgan, (*ib. p.* 17), in Airteach, *i. e.* at a place in that district called from his name, Tegh-baithin in the diocese of Elphin, and not far from the town of said name. He treats of him at 19 *Febr.* and calls him son of Cuanach, who was a Niall. Yet he doubts, whether the Baithan of this Tegh-baithin (for there were other places so called) might not have been Baithen son of Alla. Be this as it may, the son of Cuanach is expressly called a bishop, and perhaps his see was the Teghbaitin of Westmeath, where some of our calendarists have placed him. Smith is quite wrong. (*Not. to Bede, L. 2. c.* 19.) in making the bishop Baithan of the Roman epistle Baithan of Clonmacnois; for this place belonged to the Southern half of Ireland, none of whose prelates or clergy were concerned in this correspondence; nor was Baithan of Clonmacnois a bishop as early as 640. Besides we know from Cummian, (above §. 6. and *Not.* 30.) that the abbot or bishop of Clonmacnois had declared in favour of the Roman computation at the synod of Maghlene.

Cronan, the first mentioned among the priests, was abbot of Maghbile, or Merville in the county of Down. He died on the 7th of August, A. D. 649 (650.) Usher (*p.* 969) makes mention of a Cronan son of Silni; but nothing more is accurately known about him than that he died in 665. Here again occurs another mistake of Smith. He makes the Cronan of the letter Cronan of Roscrea. Without adducing other arguments it is sufficient to ob-

serve, that Cronan of Roscrea belonged to the South of Ireland. It is strange, that this laborious editor of Bede did not look into Colgan's *AA. SS.* Had he done so, his annotation on the persons named in said letter would not have been so meagre and incorrect as it is.

Ernian was, in all probability, Ernan abbot in Torey island, who flourished at this period. He is called the son of Colman, and must not be confounded with Ernen or Erneneus, son of Crescen, of whom Adamnan says (*Vit. S. C. L. 1. c. 3.*) that he was famous and very well known throughout all the churches of Ireland. For this Ernen, besides having been a Southern, died, as will be seen hereafter, in 635, and accordingly some years before Thomian, &c. wrote to Rome. Ernian of the letter was different also from Ernene or Ferreolus, who was buried at Druim-Tomma, and who, according to every appearance, was not a priest. (See *Not. 118 to Chap. xi.*) Usher seems to have confounded together these three Ernenes or Ernans. (Compare *p. 968.* with *Ind. Chron. ad a. 635.*) Colgan has taken care to distinguish (*Tr. Th. p. 490.*) Ernan of Tory island from the one of Druim-Tomma. Of the latter he treats particularly, at 1. January, the day to which he assigns his death; while he observes elsewhere (*Tr. Th. ib. and p. 451.*) that Ernan of Tory island seems to be the Ernan, whose memory was revered on the 11th of January.

Laistran was the same as Lasrean son of Nasca, and abbot of Ardmacnasca near Down. To what has been said of him already (*Not. 224. to Chap. xiv.*) I will only add, that the name *Ardmanasca* signifies the *height of the son of Nasca.*

As to Scullan there is some difficulty. Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 17.*) changes the name into *Stellan*, and makes him the abbot Stellan of Iniskeltair in Lough-Derg of the Shannon. That *Scellan* and *Stellan* were one and the same name I do not mean to deny; and it seems that Stellan of Iniskeltair was the Scellan disciple of St. Molua of Clonfert-molua, mentioned by Usher, (*p. 969.*) and who, he says, was the person named in the letter. But these statements cannot be reconciled with the fact, that both Iniskeltair and Clonfert-mulua were comprized in the southern division of Ireland. And then we know from Cumnian (above §. 6. and *Not. 30.*) that the monks of Clonfert-molua had received

the Roman cycle, &c. since the time of the synod of Maghlene The Scellan of the letter was most probably St. Scellan, surnamed the *leper*, who was revered at Armagh on the first of September. (See *Tr. Th. p.* 311.) And hence we may discover at what period this saint lived.

Segenus is supposed by some writers to be the abbot Segenius of Hy; but, were this the case, it must seem odd, that his name should be placed so far down in the series. His rank, as abbot of Hy, would have entitled him to the first place after the bishops. It may also be observed, that the monks of Hy were at that time so much attached to the Irish cycle, that they were probably not inclined to enter into any negotiation about it. There were other Segens then living in the North, *ex. c.* Segen, son of Hua-cuinn, who died abbot of Bangor on the 10th of September, A. 662 (663), and whom Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 17.) gives the preference to with regard to this inquiry. Or he might have been the Segen who succeeded Thomian in the see of Armagh, and who was probably a priest of that church in 640 although then young.

Saran, the last mentioned, was, says Colgan (*ib.*) St. Saran O'Crain, who died in 661 (662). I wish he had given us some further information concerning him. This much is clear that, although either an abbot or a master of theology, he was not a priest.

(92) See above *Not.* 22.

(93) The Roman clergy say; “*Et hoc quoque cognovimus, quod virus Pelagianae haereseos apud vos denuo reviviscit.*” This does not mean, that it had existed of old in Ireland; but that having been already crushed every where, it was beginning to be received, and that the abettors of this heresy fixed upon Ireland as one of the scenes of their wicked endeavours. The words now quoted are explained by what is added concerning the care to be taken against admitting its ashes into this country.

(94) See *Chap.* XIII. §. 12.

(95) There is not in any Irish document the least allusion to any Pelagian sect formerly existing in Ireland. Usher, treating (*Gotteschalei, &c. Historia, cap.* 1.) of this charge made by the Roman clergy, does not name a single Irish school or individual, to whom it could be applied. He justly rejects the fable advanced by the German author of the Life of St. Kilian, the apostle of Franco-

nia, that one of the reasons why this saint went to Rome (A. D. 686, or 687.) was to be absolved from the censure under which Ireland lay on account of the Pelagian heresy; "Hibernia siquidem olim Pelagiana foedata fuerunt haeresi, Apostolicaque censura damnata, quae nisi Romano iudicio solvi non poterat." The falshood of this assertion shall be exposed hereafter; meanwhile I may observe, that it seems to have originated in an exaggerated interpretation of the passage quoted from the Roman letter.

§. XII. Whatever was the effect of admonition against the Pelagian heresy, of which there is no reason to think that it was not attended to, the Northerns, or at least a great part of them, still adhered to the Irish Paschal computation. Their perseverance in following this system was probably owing to the influence, which the monks of Hy enjoyed in that part of Ireland. (96) These monks were so much attached to it, that they observed it not only in the monastery, but likewise wherever they happened to be stationed. St. Aedan or Aidan, the apostle of Northumberland, introduced it into that country as late as the year 635. As a serious controversy was afterwards carried on there concerning this point, it becomes necessary to give some account of Aidan's mission. Oswald, king of Northumberland, (97) who had spent some years in exile among the Scots, and, together with his followers, had been converted by them to the Christian religion, was a very pious and zealous prince, insomuch so that, as soon as he got possession of his kingdom, wishing for the conversion of all his subjects, he sent to the elders of the Scots, with whom he was acquainted, requesting that they would send him a bishop, through whose ministry the English nation, over which he ruled, might be brought over to Christianity. (98) His request was granted; for they appointed for that purpose Aedan, (99) a monk of Hy, who, being found duly qualified in every respect, was consecrated

bishop, (100) and immediately set out for Northumberland. The early part of this great prelate's life is involved in obscurity. It cannot be doubted that he was a native of Ireland; (101) but I can find nothing further concerning him (102) until what is related as to the occasion of his being raised to the episcopal rank. On his arrival among the Northumbrians king Oswald gave him, according to his wish, the small island of Lindisfarne, since called Holy island, as a place for his see. Aedan lost no time in commencing his mission, and, as he was not as yet perfect master of the English language, the good king, who understood Irish very well, often served him as interpreter. Soon after numbers of auxiliaries, chiefly monks, came over from Ireland, (103) who preached with great zeal throughout the whole country, while such of them as were priests administered baptism to the new converts. Churches were erected in various places; the people flocked with joy to hear the word of God; lands and properties were granted for establishing monasteries and schools, in which the children of the English were taught by Irish masters and even the higher studies were cultivated. (104)

(96) Compare with Bede, *L. 5. c. 15.*

(97) The Northumbrian kingdom comprized at this period a much greater tract of country than what is now called Northumberland. A very considerable part of the South of Scotland was included in it. See Usher *p. 653. seqq.*

(98) Bede, *L. 3. c. 3.* It has been inquired, who were the Scots, among whom Oswald had been an exile. Some say they were the British Scots, and hence Mr. Lingard states (*Anglo-Saxon Church, ch. 1.*) that Oswald had concealed himself in the mountains of Scotland. Maihew, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 45.*) maintains (*Trophæa, &c. Life of Aidan at 31 Aug.*) that Oswald had taken refuge in Ireland, and that it was there he became a Christian. Fleury also observes (*Hist. Eccl. L. 38. §. 18.*) that by the Scots, among whom Oswald was baptized, are to be understood the Irish. And indeed, as Colgan justly remarks, it does not

seem probable, that Oswald or his Northumbrian relatives would have entrusted themselves to the protection of the British Scots, who were by no means friendly to that nation, and who must have felt sore at the signal defeat, which they had received some years before from Oswald's father Aedilfrid. (See Bede *L. 1. c. 34.*) On the other hand the people of Ireland were on the best terms with the Anglo Saxons; and, as Bede attests more than once, very kind to them. If it be admitted, that Oswald took shelter in Ireland, it follows of course that the elders of the Scots, as Bede calls them, to whom that prince applied, were some of the Irish prelates and superior clergy, not indeed of the South but of the North. This is plainly intimated by Bede, who after telling us, that they sent Aedan, accounts for his following the Irish computation of Easter, by observing, that the northern province of the Scots still adhered to it. By *northern province* he evidently meant the North of Ireland; for immediately after he opposes to their practice that of the Scots of the Southern parts of Ireland. And hence we have an additional argument, that the Scots, with whom Oswald was concerned, were those of Ireland. Cressy refers (*Book xv. chap. 3.*) the *northern province* to the Scots of North Britain, among whom he thought that Oswald spent his exile. But he might have observed that, when Bede speaks of the British Scots, he usually calls them the Scots *in Britain* or *who inhabit Britain* (See *L. 1. c. 34.*) Cressy argues from Bede's stating, (*L. 3. c. 1.*) that the sons of Aedilfrid, of whom Oswald was one, and many young noblemen, had been in exile among the Scots or Picts. Yet this may be well understood of some of those exiles having taken shelter in Ireland, and others in Pictland. This, however, is a question of little importance, and the reader may chuse for himself between Maihew and Cressy.

(99) Bede (*L. 3. c. 5.*) details a report (*ferunt*) concerning there having been a bishop sent to Oswald before the mission of Aedan. He does not mention his name; but Hector Boethius (poor authority) calls him *Corman*, alluding, I suppose, to a confused account (See *AA. SS. p. 335.*) of a bishop Corman, Connan or Couran, whom some Scotch writers pretend to have been one of those named in the Roman letter above treated of, as if said letter had been written to persons living in the modern Scotland. The report goes on to state, that this bishop being of rather

an austere disposition, was not willingly heard by the people, and, finding that he was doing no good among them, returned to his own country, (not monastery, as Mr. Lingard has, *loc. cit.*) and announced at a meeting of the elders, that his failure was owing to the untractable, rough, and barbarous disposition of that nation. A consultation was then held to determine on what should be done; for the assembled clergy, while sorry for the ill success of the missionary, wished to contribute to the salvation of the Northumbrians. Aedan, who was present, then addressed the returned bishop in this manner; “ I think, brother, that you have “ been too hard towards your unlearned auditors, and have not “ first offered them the milk of gentler doctrine according to the “ apostolic discipline, until, when nourished with the word of “ God, they might be able to comprehend and observe the more “ sublime precepts.” On hearing these words all eyes were turned on Aedan, and it being unanimously agreed that he was a proper person for that mission, he was consecrated bishop and sent to preach in Northumberland.

(100) Lloyd (*Church government, chap. 5.*) and others suppose, that Aedan was consecrated in Hy. This is indeed very probable; and we know that a bishop resided in the island, (see *Not. 234 to Chap. XII.*) by whom he might have been consecrated. To this supposition they add, that the monks of Hy were the persons applied to for a bishop by Oswald, and that it was by them that Aedan was sent. But, although it is certain that the superiors of Hy had a share in this transaction, whereas Aedan could not have been made a bishop without the consent of his abbot, then Segenius, it does not follow that they were the only persons concerned in it. For by those *elders of the Scots*, among whom Oswald had lived, Bede could not have understood the monks or superiors of Hy alone, unless we should suppose, what cannot be admitted, viz. that he and his followers had spent their exile in that very island. Therefore among said elders there were some prelates and dignified clergymen besides the abbot and heads of that monastery. Bede’s saying (*L. 3. c. 5.*) that Aedan was sent from Hy and from its monastery; “ *Ab hac ergo insula, ab horum collegio monachorum, ad provinciam Anglorum instituendam in Christo missus est Aedan, accepto gradu episcopatus*”; proves no more than that he was chosen out of that monastery. Nor does Bede

state, that he was appointed by the abbot; but, on the contrary, merely observes that his election and consecration occurred in the time of Segenius's administration. In another place (*L. 5. c. 22.*) Bede says, that the monks of Hy had sent Aedan to preach to the English; which indeed is true, inasmuch as they had taken a part in that business, and Aedan belonged to their body; but this does not exclude the interference and cooperation of those prelates, &c. to whom he most clearly alludes in *L. 3. c. 3.* and particularly, *c. 5.* (See *Not. prec.*)

(101) This is clear from the Annals of Roscrea, *ad A. 650* (651), and the calendars of Cashel, Donegall, and Tamlacht or Tallagh, at 31 August (the day of Aedan's death), in which he is spoken of as an Irishman, and bishop in England. (See *AA. SS. p. 47.*) It is well known, that the great majority of the monks of Hy in those days were from Ireland, and that the abbots and other superiors of that monastery were, for five or six centuries after the death of Columbkil, constantly chosen from among the Irish; and hence we find the names and deaths of the abbots and other distinguished men of Hy as regularly marked in the Irish annals, &c. as those of the members of any religious establishment existing in Ireland. (See *Tr. Th. p. 498. seqq.* and *AA. SS. p. 48.*) Now Aedan was undoubtedly, although not abbot, one of the superiors of Hy, as appears from his having had a place in the council among the elders. (Above, *Not. 99.*) Camden, accordingly (at *Ireland, Gen. Treatise*) makes him a native of Ireland; and both he and Usher, Ware, Fleury, and all those, who have studied these subjects impartially, speak of the illustrious missionaries, who preached to the English in the 7th century, under the general denomination of Irish. The British Scots were not at that time sufficiently settled to attend to sacred or other studies, and they received their chief clergymen and teachers either from Hy or from the Columbian monasteries of Ireland. Mr. Lingard would have done well in his short sketch of the proceedings of those missionaries to have explained what he meant by the name of *Scottish* monks, as he usually calls them, *ex. c. ch. 1.* and *iv.* He should have let the reader know, that those Scots or Scottish monks, so often mentioned by Bede, were the Irish Scots; a precaution, which he might have found frequently observed by Fleury, when treating of these parts of Ecclesiastical history.

(102) Maihew, having laid down (*Life, &c.*) that Aedan was a native of Ireland, thought that he was the Aidan, son of Liber, who was a monk of Hy in Columbkil's time, and is mentioned by Adamnan (*L. 3. c. 6.*) as a religious man of good disposition. Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 386.*) was inclined to be of the same opinion, for which, however, there is no foundation except the mere name *Aedan*, which was exceedingly common in Ireland. Besides its being hard to believe, that a person, who was a monk and grown up man, perhaps, for aught we know, several years before the death of Columbkil, would have been able in 635 to undertake the arduous mission of Northumberland, we may be sure that, if Aidan son of Liber were the same as the bishop, Adamnan would not have omitted this circumstance.

(103) Bede writes; (*L. 3. c. 3.*) “*Exin coepere plures per dies de Scottorum regione venire Britanniam, atque illis Anglorum provinciis, quibus regnavit rex Osvold, magna devotione verbum fidei praedicare.---Monachi erant maxime qui ad praedicandum venerant.*” As these preachers came over from the *land of the Scots to Britain*, it is plain that they came from Ireland; for the land of the *British Scots* was itself in Britain; and accordingly Lloyd states (*chap. v. §. 5.*) that these auxiliaries of Aedan “*came out of Ireland.*” Thus also Fleury (*L. 38. §. 19.*) calls them *missionaries Irlandois*.

(104) Bede, *ib.*

§. 13. Aedan had need of many co-operators to assist him in his pious labours. His diocese stretched far to the North into Scotland, and comprized that of York, of which St. Paulinus had been archbishop for six years. (105) But after Edwin, king of Northumberland, the protector of Paulinus, had been killed in 633 fighting against the British king Caedvalla and the Mercian king Penda, Paulinus, to avoid the fury of the conquerors, retired to Kent. (106) Thenceforth all was confusion at York and throughout all the Northumbrian kingdom; and religion suffered extremely. Aedan, on coming into that country, found himself charged not only with the new mission among people, to whom the Gospel had

not yet been preached, but likewise with the care of the church of York, which he and his successors continued to govern for 30 years, without assuming or applying for any title, except that of simple bishop, although they acted in fact as metropolitans. (107) At Lindisfarne Aedan, following the Irish custom, collected around him a monastery, and united the observance of monastic duties with those annexed to his episcopal character. (108) In fulfilling all his obligations he was indefatigable, and "his instructions were well received by every one, because he did not teach otherwise than as he lived with his companions. He neither sought the things of this world, nor cared for them. Whatever he got from kings or wealthy persons he immediately distributed among the poor, that fell in his way. In his journeys here and there he travelled not on horseback, but on foot, except in some case of great necessity, so that, as he went along, he might address those whom he happened to meet, whether rich or poor, and, if infidels, exhort them to embrace the Christian faith, or, if already believers, confirm them in it, and encourage them by words and deeds to almsgiving and the performance of good works. He made it a rule that all those, who accompanied him, whether of the clerical order or not, should be engaged in reading the Scriptures or getting the Psalms by heart. This was a daily occupation of his and theirs, wheresoever they happened to be. And if, what seldom occurred, he accepted of an invitation to the king's table, he took with him only one or two clergymen, and after a short repast hastened away to read with his companions or to pray. From his example religious persons of both sexes adopted the practice of fasting until None (three in the afternoon) on every Wednesday and Friday in the year except between Easter and Whitsuntide. He never overlooked, either through respect or fear, the transgressions

“ of the rich, and severely reprimanded them if
 “ guilty. He made no presents in money to the
 “ powerful, although he used to treat them with ec-
 “ clesiastical hospitality, but, on the contrary either
 “ gave to the poor, as above mentioned, whatever
 “ money he might get from them, or laid it out on
 “ the redemption of slaves, several of whom he after-
 “ wards instructed and even raised to the priest-
 “ hood.” (109)

(105) *Id. L. 2. c. 14.*

(106) *Ib. cap. 20.*

(107) Simeon of Durham writes; (*Epist. ad Hug. de archiepis-
 copis Ebor*, in Twysden's *Scriptores* x.) “ Recedente Paulino,
 Eboracensis ecclesia per xxx annos proprium non habuit episco-
 pum: sed Lindisfarnensis, ecclesiae praesules, Aidanus, Finanus,
 Colmannus, et Tuda, Nordanhimbrorum provinciae administrarunt
 pontificatum.” Eddius Stephanus (*Life of Wilfrid, cap. 10.* in
 Gale's xv. *Scriptores*) calls Colman *metropolitan* bishop of York;
 and he would have so styled his predecessors, if occasion required.
 See more in Usher, p. 78.

(108) “ Aidan quippe, qui primus ejusdem loci episcopus fuit,
 monachus erat et monachicam cum suis omnibus vitam semper
 agere solebat. Unde ab illo omnes loci ipsius antistites usque
 hodie sic episcopale exercent officium, ut, regente monasterium
 abbate quem ipsi cum consilio fratrum elegerint, omnes presby-
 tori, diaconi, cantores, lectores, caeterique gradus ecclesiastici
 monachicam per omnia cum ipso episcopo regulam servent.” Bede,
Vit. S. Cudberti, cap. 16.

(109) Bede, *Hist. Eccl. L. 3. c. 5.*

§. XIV. Such was Aedan, and such was the man-
 ner in which the Almighty made use of his ministry
 to convert the Northumbrians, and to establish Chris-
 tianity on a firm footing in that extensive country.
 To what a degree of religious perfection king Os-
 wald attained through his instructions and example,
 it is not my province to relate, (110) or to give an
 account of the veneration, in which he was held both
 by him and the pious prince Oswin. (111) The

only part of Aedan's conduct, with which any fault could be found, was his adhesion to the Irish Paschal computation; (112) yet he was not disturbed in the observance of it, "because every one knew that, although he could not keep Easter contrary to the practice of those who sent him, he diligently fulfilled every Christian duty like all other saints, and accordingly was justly beloved by all, even by those who differed from him on that point, and was held in veneration not only by the people at large but likewise by the bishops Honorius of Canterbury and Felix of the East Angles." (113) This great saint died on the 31st of August, A. D. 651, in the 17th year of his episcopacy. (114) Some writings have been attributed to him rather, I think, on conjecture than on good authority. (115) Aedan was succeeded in the see of Lindisfarne by Finan, who also had been a monk of Hy, and, being consecrated bishop, was sent from that monastery to fill Aedan's place. (116) Finding Lindisfarne without a church sufficiently respectable for the see, which the exertions of Aedan had raised to such a pitch of eminence, Finian erected a suitable cathedral, not however of stone, but, according to the Irish fashion, of oak, and covered with reeds. Soon after his arrival the Paschal question was again revived, owing to some persons, who had come from Kent or France, and who asserted that the Irish computation differed from that of the universal church. Among these was an ardent abettor of the more general practice, Ronan an Irishman, who had learned the true Paschal method in France or Italy, and who, while he brought over several persons to his system, was not able to convince Finan, but rather by his reproofs rendered him more obstinate. (117) The deacon Jacob, whom Paulinus had left at York, used to observe the Roman Easter together with such persons as he had influence over. Also the queen Eanfled, who had lived in Kent, and who had with her a Kentish priest,

named Romanus, followed it, while the king Oswiu celebrated the Irish Easter; and it is said to have sometimes happened that, while the king, bishop, &c. were enjoying the Paschal festivity, the other party were still fasting the Lent. (118)

(110) See Bede, *L. 3. c. 6---9. seqq.* (111) See *ib. cap. 14.*

(112) Bede, having related various miracles wrought by Aedan, and described him in the highest terms possible as a model for Christian bishops, and as a man that observed every injunction prescribed in the holy scriptures, says (*ib. cap. 17.*) that he cannot approve of his conduct as to the Paschal system. Then apologizing for it he observes, among other things, that Aedan in the celebration of his Easter had no other object in view than what the whole church had, viz. the redemption of mankind by the passion, resurrection, &c. of our Saviour, and that he did not, as some falsely imagined, keep that festival on any day of the week along with the Jews, but always on a Sunday in commemoration of the resurrection.

(113) Bede *L. 3. c. 25.* Ledwich, in his ravings concerning the Culdees, endeavours (*Antiq. p. 64.*) to represent Aedan as not in communion with the Roman prelates, and throws out a malignant charge against Bede's veracity. What impudence! Ledwich to impute lies to such a man as Bede! ! ! Yet he had read Lloyd, who (*Church, &c. ch. v. §. 5.*) proves from Bede, and particularly from the circumstance of Aedan's having been held in veneration by Honorius and Felix, that he was in communion with the bishops that came from Rome. Ledwich says that one of Aedan's reasons for choosing Lindisfarne for his see was, that, had he fixed upon York, he would have acquiesced in the decision of the Roman pontiff, contrary to the system of the Irish hierarchy. For Paulinus, who came from Rome, had been bishop of that city, and thus York was a Roman see. Now a writer of common honesty would, if inquiring into the reason of Aedan's not settling himself at York, which had been abandoned by Paulinus, have observed that Aedan perhaps thought it improper to reside there, while Paulinus was still alive; although it may be said, that he need not have had any scruple on that score, as Paulinus was actually bishop of Rochester since about two years before Aedan went to Northumberland. (See

Bede, *L. 2. c. 20.*) Had Paulinus returned to York, we may be sure that Aedan would have willingly given up to him the care of his diocese; but, as he did not, Aedan was under the necessity of taking care of it. Whether he had, or not, any such consideration in view, it is easy to account for his having fixed on Lindisfarne, it being a much more retired place than York, and better suited to a monastic establishment. Ledwich says, that Oswald took no notice of Paulinus, being “no admirer of Roman innovations.” It may be that Oswald was not inclined to invite Paulinus to return to York, whereas he was attached to the family of Edwin, (*Bede ib.*) during whose whole reign Oswald, and his brothers and friends, were obliged to live in exile. (*L. 3. c. 1.*) To talk of *Roman innovations* in this case is ridiculous. If Oswald had been considered as an opponent of the Roman missionaries and practices, how could it have come to pass, that he has been held by Bede, and all the abettors of the Romans, as one of the greatest English saints; that so many miracles have been attributed to his reliques; (*L. 3. c. 9. seqq.*) and that his festival was, from a very ancient period, kept in England on the 5th of August? (See Bede, *L. 4. c. 14.* and Smith’s *note.*)

(114) Bede, *L. 3. c. 14.* and 17. He says of Aedan; “*de seculo ablatu, perpetua laborum suorum a Domino premia recepit.*” And in the Life of St. Cudbert (*cap. 4.*) he tells us that Cudbert, when young, saw Aedan’s soul wafted by Angels to heaven. How will the Doctor reconcile this opinion of the Romanists, as he is pleased to call them, concerning Aedan’s sanctity and eternal happiness with his Culdee vagaries? Does he think they would have placed in heaven a man, who was not in communion with Rome? Aedan’s name is in the Roman martyrology at 31 August.

(115) See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Aedan.* Bale, quoted by Harris, makes mention of Commentaries on the Scriptures, Homilies, &c. as written by Aedan. If there be no better authority for them than that of such a notorious liar, we may safely conclude that they have not existed. I do not know where Harris found, that Bede mentions some *Fragments of conferences* by Aedan.

(116) Bede says; (*L. 3. c. 17.*) “*Successit vero ei in episcopatum Finan, et ipse illo ab Hii Scottorum insula ac monasterio*

destinatus:" and (*cap. 25.*) " Interea Aidano episcopo de hac vita sublato, Finian pro illo gradum episcopatus, a Scottis ordinatus ac mi sus, acceperat."

(117) Ronan (says Bede, *L. 3. c. 25.*) " nequaquam Finanum emendare potuit; quin potius, quod esset homo ferocis animi, acerbiorum castigando et apertum veritatis adversarium reddidit." It is not easy to determine, whether by the *man of ferocious or rough mind* Bede meant Finan or Ronan. The context seems to favour an allusion to the former; but the phrase *castigando*, used by him to denote Ronan's mode of arguing, a mode very unbecoming towards a bishop, might incline one to think that he alluded to Ronan, who appears to have been a very noisy and sharp (*acerimus*) disputant. It is hard to believe that the Scoto-Irish prelates and clergy, who had sent Finan, would have fixed upon him were he a man of rough disposition, particularly after having experienced the advantage of choosing a person of a mild character. (See above *Not. 99.*) Colgan says, (*AA. SS. p. 45.*) that this Ronan was revered in Brittany. I am afraid that he has confounded him with St. Renan, of whom see *Chap. ix. §. 12.*

(118) Bede, *L. 3. c. 25.*

§. xv. Notwithstanding this diversity, which was justly considered, a great inconvenience, there was no breach of communion, nor did Finan disturb those, who preferred the Roman computation. This prelate had the happiness to baptize Peada, prince of the Middle Angles, and son of Penda the pagan king of the Mercians. Peada had come to the court of the Northumbrian king Oswin for the purpose of obtaining in marriage his daughter the princess Alchfleda. But, as his proposal would not be agreed to, unless he and his subjects should become Christians, he listened to the word of God, and was so convinced of the truth, that he declared himself willing to become one, even should the princess be not given to him. Accordingly Peada was, together with all his companions and suite, baptized by Finan in the year 653, and, having got from him four

learned and worthy priests for the instruction of his subjects, returned with joy to his own country. Those priests were Cedd, Add, Betti, and Diuma, the three former English, and the last an Irishman. (119) They preached with great success to the Middle-Angles, and the number of converts was so great among that people, that about two years after it was deemed expedient to give them a bishop. Diuma, just mentioned, was chosen for this purpose, and being consecrated by Finan, was placed over not only the province of the Middle-Angles, but likewise the kingdom of Mercia, which had lately fallen under the dominion of Oswin. During the short time that he lived Diuma acquired a great flock for the Lord, and was succeeded by Ceollach or Kel-lach, also a Scot or Irishman, who soon after returned to Hy (120) and had for his successor Trumheri an Englishman, who had been instructed and ordained bishop by the Irish. (121) Finan was also fortunate enough to baptize Sigberet, king of the East Saxons. This nation, having expelled the bishop Mellitus, had returned to idolatry; but their king Sigberet, being a friend of Oswin, and in the habit of visiting him, was induced by this zealous sovereign to embrace the Christian religion; and his example was followed by his friends and attendants, who were with him on one of those visits in Northumberland. They were all baptized by Finan in one of Oswin's residences, the same in which he had baptized Peada. Sigberet, returning to his kingdom, took along with him Cedd above mentioned and another priest, who, perambulating the whole territory of the East Saxons, converted a great number of persons. Some time after Cedd had occasion to return to his own country, and waited upon Finan of Lindisfarne, who, on being informed of the great progress of the Gospel among the East Saxons, appointed him bishop for that nation, and consecrated him with the assistance of two

bishops whom he had sent for. (122) Finan is called in the Irish annals and calendars son of Rimed and styled bishop in Saxony (England); and they assign his death to A. D. 659, *i. e.* 660. (123) According to another account it would seem, that he died in 661 (124) His memory was revered in England on the 17th of February, and in Ireland on the 9th of January, neither of which seems to have been the day of his death. (125) A treatise on the Paschal rite has been attributed to him, but on authority not worthy of credit. (126) Finan was succeeded at Lindisfarne by Colman, of whom and the further state of the Paschal question we shall see lower down.

(119) *Ib. cap. 21.* Mr. Lingard (*Anglo-Saxon, &c. ch. 1.*) calls them four Northumbrian priests, although Bede expressly states, that Diuma was not a Northumbrian or Englishman. Nor does he say a word about the part that Finan had in the conversion of Peada, or of his having supplied him with these priests; nor does he even vouchsafe to mention his name. This gentleman studiously avoids mentioning the Irish missionaries, who have been of such service to his country, and slurs over, in a desultory superficial manner, every thing that might indicate the great obligations, that England is under in this respect to Ireland. Diuma was, in all probability, one of those missionaries, who had gone over from Ireland to assist Aedan in his Northumbrian mission.

(120) Bede, *ib.* His saying that Ceollach returned to Hy shows, that he had come from that monastery. Elsewhere (*ib. cap. 24.*) he says that Ceollach *ad Scottiam rediit*, meaning Ireland, of which he considered Hy as an appendage, inasmuch as it was inhabited by Irish monks. It seems, however, that Bede's meaning in this passage was, that Ceollach, although he stopped for a while at Hy, returned to Ireland itself, whence he had originally come. By *Scottia* he certainly did not allude to the territory of the British Scots, which he never calls by that name, while he uses *Scottia*, indiscriminately with *Hibernia*, for Ireland.

See *ex. c. L. 2. c. 4. L. 3. c. 25. 26.* and *L. 4. c. 4-26.* Colgan treats of Ceollach, *AA. SS. ad 14 Febr.*

(121) Bede, *L. 3. c. 21.* and 24. (122) *Ib. cap. 22.*

(123) Acts of Finan at 9 *Januar.* Colgan there refers to the Annals of Clonmacnois, Roscrea, 4 Masters, &c. &c. Nothing further is wanting to show, that Finian was a native of Ireland; for, had he not been so, why should our annalists have troubled themselves about him? It may also be observed that this follows likewise from his having been one of the chief monks of Hy; for we may be sure, that otherwise he would not have been raised to the prelacy and see of Lindisfarne. (Compare with *Not. 101.*) Add that Finan was from the same country with his successor Colman, who, as will be seen, was undoubtedly an Irishman.

(124) Bede having given us to understand, that Aedan died in 651, says (*L. 3. c. 26.*) that Finan, his successor, held the see for ten years. This, if strictly understood, would bring us to 661. But, if these years be taken not as complete, and supposing that Finan died in a late part of the year, or that Bede reckoned under Finan's incumbency the whole time that elapsed until his successor Colman got possession of the see, Bede's notation, and the date of the Irish annalists will perhaps be found to be exactly the same.

(125) Colgan at *Finan's Acts.*

(126) It is that of the impostor Bale, who has been copied by others. Instead of *Bale*, we find *Bede* in the English translation of Ware's *Writers* (at *Finan*). This is a typographical error, and has been avoided by Harris.

CHAP XVI.

St. Gall erects the abbey of St. Gall in Switzerland—St. Columbanus used to offer the sacrifice of salvation in brazen vessels—Gallus apprized in a vision of the death of St. Columbanus, and celebrates mass in commemoration of him—Gallus recommended to be chosen bishop of Constance, but declines the honour and proposes his disciple John, who is thereupon chosen—Gallus invited to become abbot of Luxeu after the death of Eustatius, but declines the invitation—Death of Gallus or St. Gall—St. Deicolus or Dichuill brother of St. Gall and a disciple of St. Columbanus, erects two oratories at Luthra now Lure—Is visited by king Clotharius II. who bestows him land on which he builds a monastery—After some time retires from the monastery and dies—He is called by the people of that country St. Die, and is held in high estimation—Caidoc and Tricor, two Irish priests distinguished for their sanctity at Ponthieu in Picardy—Tricor changed his name to Adrian—Both became monks in the monastery of Centula, and there died and were buried—Account of Rantic, Quilian or Kilian, Chillen Fiacre and other Irish missionaries, who flourished and became famous in the Continent—Account of St. Fursa or Fursey—His labours in Ireland, England and France, in which latter country he died and was interred—Foillan and Ultan, brothers of Fursey, go to Brabant, together with some other Irishmen, upon the invitation of St. Gertrude abbess of Nivelles—They erect monasteries and die—The Martyr St. Livin a native of Ireland—Left Ireland, and with three companions went into Belgium—His labours in converting the Pagan inhabitants of Flanders and Brabant—Is murdered by a multitude of Pagans—The Holy

Virgin Dymrna flies to the Continent from her father, a Pagan, who wishes to marry her—Is murdered by him—St. Fridolin the traveller—Founds several churches and monasteries in the Continent—Several other Irish Saints who illustrated France and Belgium by their piety and zeal—St. Madelgar or Maldegar, surnamed Vincent, an Irishman—St. Florentinus an Irish Priest—Roding an Irishman, vulgarly called Rouin.

SECT. I.

WHILE the Irish missionaries were thus employed in England, other holy men, also natives of Ireland, were instructing and edifying by their example the inhabitants of various parts of the Continent. We have left Gallus at Bregentz in 612, (1) who not liking to remain there, returned, while still sick, to his friend the priest Willimar at Arbona, (2) who provided him with a habitation, and, entrusting him to the care of two of his clerks Magnoald and Theodore, supplied him with every thing necessary, so that in the course of some time he was perfectly restored to his health. (3) Wishing to retire to a solitary place, he applied to Heltibold, a deacon under Willimar, who was well acquainted with every part of that country, and with his assistance fixed upon a spot for that purpose near the little river Steinaha (Stinace) (4) where now stands the town and abbey of St. Gall. The saint consecrated his retreat by a fast of three days, and there led an almost solitary life. Some time after he erected an oratory with some small habitations annexed for twelve monks, whom he instructed with great care. (5) It is related that Gallus expelled an evil spirit from Fridiburga, the daughter of Gunzo duke of that country, who had been betrothed to Sigebert king of Austrasia. It is added that, being after her

recovery conducted by her father to Metz, where Sigebert resided, and having related how and by whom she had been cured, the king made a grant to the saint of the place where he lived, and sent him some presents. (6) Meanwhile Fridiburga, grateful to God for her recovery, and having been advised by St. Gallus, secretly took the veil at Metz at the very time that her marriage with Sigebert was expected every moment ; which, so far from being offended at, he highly approved of. (7) Sigebert had sent to Fridiburga, before she set out for Metz, some valuable presents, which her father made over to Gallus. The saint brought them to Arbona, and there began to distribute them among the poor. Among them was an elegant silver cup, which Magnoald above mentioned, and now a disciple of Gallus, wished to reserve for the use of the altar. But Gallus ordered it also to be given away, saying that he remembered the words of St. Peter ; *silver and gold I have none* ; and that his master Columbanus was wont to offer the sacrifice of salvation in brazen vessels, because our Saviour is said to have been affixed to the cross with nails of brass. (8)

(1) *Chap. XIII. §. 12.*(2) See *Chap. XIII. §. 10.*

(3) *Walafr. Strab. Vita S. G. L. 1. cap. 8.* In a Life of St. Magnoald, *alias Magnus*, published by Canisius, *Antiq. Lect. Tom. 5. al. 1.* and by Messingham in his *Florilegium*, and written by an impostor, (as Mabillon says, *Annal. Bened. ad. A. 646.*) who assumed the name of Theodore, Willimar's two clerks, Magnoald and Theodore, are represented as having been disciples of St. Columbanus, and left by him at Bregentz to take care of Gallus. But Walafrid positively states, that they belonged to Willimar's church. In that same silly Life Magnoald is said to have been a native of Ireland ; for which there is no more foundation than for Theodore also having been one, as stated in the office of St. Gallus in *Burke's Officia propria, &c.* They were neither Irishmen nor disciples of St. Columbanus ; but they became dis-

ciples of Gallus, particularly Magnoald, who is often mentioned by Walafrid.

(4) Walafr. Strab. *L. 1. cap. 10.*

(5) *Ib. cap. 25.* It is said in the Life of Magnoald or Magnus (*cap. xi.*) that Gallus and Magnus constructed a monastery of wonderful magnitude; and hence, I suppose, has been derived what we find in the Office of Gallus concerning his having presided over 400 monks. The author of that Life confounded the foundation of the saint's small establishment with that of the great monastery erected on the site of it about a hundred years later, viz. in 720, and of which Othmar was the first abbot. (See Fleury, *L. 42. §. 54.*) That he did so confound them appears from his placing there Othmar together with Gallus and Magnus.

(6) Walafrid gives a long account of this transaction. He calls Sigebert son of Theodoric, and represents the recovery of Fridiburga as having occurred not many days after Gallus had fixed upon his retreat, and before he erected his cell and oratory. But this narrative cannot apply to the Sigebert son of Theodoric, who was only a boy when he succeeded his father in 613, and was very soon after put to death by Clotharius II. Nor can it be referred to Sigebert III. whom his father Dagobert made king of Austrasia in 632, when scarcely two years old. For he was too young to be married during the life time of Gallus. Mabillon observes (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 613*) that the truth of the whole narrative is deservedly doubted, and that it is rejected as fabulous by Valerius; but adds, that it may perhaps have some reference to Sigebert, king of the East Angles, who had lived for some time in France during the early part of the 7th century. (See Bede, *L. 3. c. 18.*) This conjecture cannot suit any part of Walafrid's account, and it is plain that he, or whoever he got it from, alluded to Sigebert son of Theodoric. The time referred to is that of his short reign in 613, the very year in which Gallus retired to the spot near the river Strinaha. The mention of a grant of that place to the saint shows that the Sigebert meant was a king of Austrasia. There are other inconsistencies in Walafrid's narrative, which it would not be worth while to enlarge upon; and I cannot but suspect that it is a fabricated story. Yet, as it has been often repeated, I give it as I found it.

(7) Walafr. *L. 1. cap. 21.*

(8) *Ib. cap. 18.*

§. II. Gallus was apprized in a vision of the death of St. Columbanus, which was in 615, and immediately celebrated mass in commemoration of him. He then sent Magnoald, by this time a deacon, to Bobbio, to inquire about the circumstances connected with it, and gave him directions to mark the day and the hour, in which Columbanus expired, so that he might be able to verify the truth of his vision. Magnoald, on his arrival there, found that every thing had occurred in the manner revealed to Gallus, and returning brought a letter to him from the brethren of Bobbio and a staff bequeathed to him by Columbanus. (9) The see of Constance happening to be vacant, some prelates and the clergy of the diocese had assembled to elect a bishop. The duke Gunzo invited Gallus to attend the meeting, who accordingly went to Constance, accompanied by the two deacons John and Magnoald. John had studied to great advantage for three years under Gallus. The duke having addressed the bishops and the clergy, and exhorted them to choose a proper pastor according to the canons, all the clergy fixed their eyes on Gallus, and unanimously agreed that, considering his superior knowledge of the holy scriptures, his wisdom, humility, charity towards the poor, and singular sanctity, he was the person fittest to be chosen bishop. The duke then said to Gallus; “Do you hear what they are saying?” He replied; “I wish what they say were true; but they do not know that the canons do not easily (without some very urgent cause) allow strangers to be ordained bishops of districts, which they are not natives of. I have a deacon, named John, a native of this neighbourhood, to whom every thing, that has been stated of me, may be justly applied; and, as I think him elected by the divine judgment, I propose him to you as your bishop.” John was then called, and, being asked would he be able to undergo the burden of the episcopacy, took an opportunity of withdrawing from

the assembly, and concealed himself in a church of St. Stephen without the town. Thither he was pursued by the clergy and people, and, as Gallus had vouched for his capability, was brought by force into the presence of the bishops, and being elected by acclamation, was immediately consecrated. He then was asked to celebrate mass, and after the reading of the Gospel Gallus was requested to preach. He did so, and delivered a most excellent discourse, which is still extant. (10) Gallus remained seven days with John directing him in the mode of governing his diocese, and then returned to his cell, not ceasing thenceforth to assist him with his counsels, and receiving from him every mark of attention. (11)

(9) *Ib. cap. 25.* Walafrid says that the staff was the token the absolution granted by St. Columbanus to Gallus. For, as we have seen, (*Not. 52. to Chap. XIII.*) he has a story about his having been suspended from officiating at the altar by Columbanus until after his death. But, had he been thus suspended, would he not have waited to celebrate mass in commemoration of Columbanus until after the return of Magnoald from Bobbio and the verification of the vision. The whole business comes to this, that St. Columbanus bequeathed to him, as a mark of affection and brotherhood, that staff, which, says Walafrid, was commonly called *Cambota*. We find this name often used for a bishop's pastoral staff. The abbatial power was sometimes conferred by means of it. (See Ducange at *Cambota*.) Perhaps Columbanus meant to communicate to Gallus the right of governing a community.

(10) It was first published by Canisius, *Tom. 5. Antiq. Lect.* and thence by Messingham. It is an abridged history of religion, very well written and intermixed with moral observations, from the creation down to the preaching of the apostles. It corresponds exactly to the summary given of Gallus' discourse at Constance by Walafrid, *L. 1. cap. 24.* I am surprized that Ware doubted (*Writers at Gallus*) of its having been different from a discourse on the form of Church government also by Gallus, which, according to Possevin, is in the library of the monastery

of St. Gall. Besides Possevin's stating that they are distinct works, the discourse published by Canisius cannot by any means be considered as a tract on Church government, as its object and tenor are of a very different nature.

(11) Walafrid relates all these proceedings at considerable length. They could not have occurred before 616; for John had been a disciple of Gallus during three years. (See *L. 1. cap. 22.*) Now he did not become so until some time after Gallus had withdrawn from Arbona to his retreat, (see *cap. 14 and 19.*) and consequently, at the earliest, until 613. Therefore Walafrid is evidently wrong in placing these transactions before the death of St. Columbanus in 615.

§. III. Eustasius abbot of Luxeu having died in 625, (12) the monks of that monastery determined on electing Gallus as his successor, and sent a deputation of six members of their community, all Irishmen, to request that he would undertake the government of Luxeu. Having read the letter of invitation he said that, having abandoned his relatives and acquaintance, chosen a solitude for his dwelling place, and refused a bishopric, he could not think of being raised to any rank, which might involve him in the cares of this world. He detained them for some days, treating them with great civility, but positively refused to quit his retreat. I find nothing further concerning the transactions of this holy man until a short time before his death, when in compliance with the pressing request of the priest Willimar he went to Arbona and preached there on a day of solemnity. He was soon after taken ill of a fever, under which he laboured fourteen days, and died, at the age of 95 years, on the 16th of October (13) about A. D. 645. (14) He was buried in the place of his retreat, and his memory was revered there in a church, which was constantly attended by some religious persons, who had a priest for their superior, and much frequented by pilgrims and people, who wished to obtain favours from God through the in-

tercession of the saint. This establishment was afterwards changed into a great monastery, of which a holy priest named Othmar was the first abbot. (15) Besides one or two sermons, (16) St. Gallus is said to have left some other tracts. (17) That he was an assiduous preacher of the Gospel is well known; and his exertions both in that line, and in forming disciples capable of instructing the people, were such that he has been called the apostle of the Alemanni or Suevi. (18)

(12) Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 625.* Fleury, *L. 37. §. 27.*

(13) Walafr. *L. 1. cap. 28.*

(14) This is the year marked in the Office of Gallus. Mabillon makes mention of his death under A. 646, although he was not certain that this was the precise year of it. Were we to believe the author of the Life of Magnoald, Gallus would have died in 625; for he places it in the tenth year after the return of Magnoald from Italy, and therefore about ten years after the death of St. Columbanus in 615. Even Walafrid comes near to the same point, where he states (*L. 1. cap. 28.*) that the last illness of Gallus seized him not long after the invitation (in 625) to Luxeu. But how, says Mabillon, can this be reconciled with his having lived to the age of 95 years? Is it to be supposed that, were he so old in 625, the monks of Luxeu would have looked to him in that year as their abbot? Omitting other considerations, I shall merely add that, if Gallus died in 625, he would have been 85 years old in 615, and consequently then older than his master Columbanus, who does not appear to have lived beyond the age of about 75. (See *Not. 69 to Chap. XIII.*) Now it is clear from Walafrid *passim* (*ex. c. cap. 1.*) that Gallus was several years younger than Columbanus. Either then Gallus did not live to the age of 95; or, if he did, he must have been alive long after 625. Usher, following the pretended Theodore, author of the Life of Magnoald, (not Gallus, as he says) assigns (*Ind. Chron.*) the death of Gallus to 625. Ware (*Writers at Gallus*) adds, that some place it in 635. For this I believe he had no better authority than a typographical error in *AA. SS. p. 126*, where 635 appears for the death of Gallus instead of 625, which

Colgan must have intended to mark, whereas he quotes for it the same Theodore.

(15) Walafr. *L. 2. c. 10.* (compare with *Not. 5.*) Mabillon observes, (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 646*) that even before Othmar's time the church, &c. of St. Gallus was sometimes called *monastery*.

(16) See *Not. 10.*

(17) Ware and Harris, *Writers at Gallus*. It is odd that Dupin makes no mention of this saint's writings. A short letter of one Gallus has been published by Canisius, *Antiq. Lect. Tom. 5*, or, in Basnage's edition, *Tom. 1. p. 650*. It is addressed to Desiderius, who was bishop of Cahors between 629 and 650. Usher republished it (*Sylog. Ep. Hib. No. 10.*) under the name of our Gallus. But Basnage (*Not. ib.*) justly observes, that it was written by a Gallus bishop of Clermont. The writer speaks of Marseilles, Cahors, and Rutenicum (the district of Rodez), places, which our Gallus had nothing to do with. There can be no doubt of its having been written by the Gallus, who became bishop of Clermont in the year 650 under the name of Gallus the second, and who is marked as the twenty-third bishop of that see. See Sammarthan, *Gallia Christiana, Tom. 2. p. 244.*

(18) In Notker's Martyrology at 18 October it is said that, passing over the multitude of miracles wrought through him before and after his death, it is sufficient to observe, that *Divina pietas beatum Gallum genti Alemanniae apostolum fecit, qui nationem, quam paganismo involutam reperit, fidei veritate imbutam, de tenebris ignorantiae ad solem justitiae, qui Christus est, ipse callis Dei solers viator reduxit, &c.*"

§. iv. St. Deicolus or Deicola, in Irish Dichuill, of whom some mention has been made already, (19) was maternal brother of St. Gallus, and, like him, a disciple and follower of St. Columbanus, (20) with whom he remained at Luxeu until his final expulsion from that place in the year 610. (21) Having left Luxeu together with his master, he found himself, after having walked two miles, unable to continue the journey, owing to the weakness of his feet, added to his being then far advanced in years. (22)

He therefore supplicated Columbanus for leave to remain behind, which being granted, he did not run the risk of returning to Luxeu, but went through lonesome places, as well as he was able, until he arrived at a spot, called Luthra in the midst of a forest, now Lure, in the district of Besançon. (23) There he stopped, and as he used to resort to a neighbouring church, was soon taken notice of by the people of that district, particularly by a pious lady named Bertildis, the relict of Weifhar, a lord the country. She made him a grant of some ground at Luthra, on which, religious men flocking to him from various quarters, he formed a community of monks, and erected two oratories, one dedicated to St. Peter and the other to St. Paul. Some time after the king Clotharius II. happening to be in those parts on a hunting excursion, and hearing of Deicolus called upon him. On inquiring whence he came, and how he and his brethren were able to subsist, he found that Deicolus had been a disciple of his friend St. Columbanus, and immediately requested of him to remain where he was, assuring him that his monastery should want for nothing necessary. Accordingly he made over some land to the establishment, so as to enable it to become a considerable monastery. (24) Deicolus, having governed Luthra for several years, and wishing to spend his last days in retirement, resigned the administration, and appointing Columbinus, one of his disciples, (25) abbot in his stead, withdrew to a solitary cell where he devoted his time to divine contemplation. He died on the 16th of January, (26) about the year 625. (27) His memory is still held in high estimation by the people of that country, who call him St. Dié; (28) and his name is marked in a considerable number of martyrologies. (29)

(19) *Not. 5. to Chap. XIII.* A Life of Deicolus has been

published by Bollandus at 18 *Januar.* and again by Colgan, who observes that there were extant four other Lives of this saint, but all less accurate than this one.

(20) The author of Deicolus' Life says (*cap.* 2.) that St. Columbanus had, besides his namesake Columbanus, (see *Not.* 5. to *Chap.* XIII.) as his chief and favourite disciples, "*praecipuos et prae caeteris sibi familiares—geminos uterinos fratres Gallum atque Deicolum.*" In the *Necrologium* of the monastery of St. Gall at 18 *Januar.* Deicolus is called brother of St. Gallus. This is remarked by Mabillon, (*Annal. Ben. ad A.* 625), who adds that this consanguinity is not noticed in the Acts of Deicolus. He must not have seen those published by Bollandus and Colgan.

(21) See *Chap.* XIII. §. 6.

(22) *Life, cap.* 3. Hence Colgan concludes that Deicolus was older than Gallus, who was at that time, and for many years after, vigorous and active.

(23) See Fleury, *L.* 37. §. 27.

(24) *Life, cap.* 5. The author, who lived at a period much later than the times of Deicolus, and when monasteries were richly endowed, represents the grants made to Luthra by Clotharius as much greater than we may be sure they really were. This monastery became gradually possessed of large estates, but not until long after the death of Deicolus. He then tells us, that the saint went to Rome, and, having made his monastery and lands tributary to the Holy see, obtained for it various privileges and exemptions from the interference of kings, &c. This would have been a very strange return for the kindness of Clotharius. These foolish stories are scarcely worth notice. Such deeds of vassalage, monastic privileges, &c. were not known in the days of Deicolus. The author imagined, that because they existed in the tenth century, in which he appears to have lived, the same practices had prevailed at all times.

(25) It is said in the *Life*, that Columbinus had been baptized by Deicolus. Colgan uses this as an argument to show, that he was a native of Ireland, in the supposition that he was baptized in his infancy. But might not Columbinus have been a Burgundian converted by Deicolus, who in baptizing him gave him that name, and then took him into his monastery? Bollandus also

brings Columbinus from Ireland. Yet the matter is still doubtful.

(26) Life, *cap.* 6.

(27) Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A.* 625.

(28) Fleury, *L.* 37. §. 27.

(29) See *AA. SS. p.* 127. He is particularly praised in Sausai's Gallican martyrology, where we read of him; "In veson-tionensi territorio, Lutra coenobio, depositio S. Deicolae, discipuli S. Columbani, et primi illius monasterii abbatis, viri caelesti speculatione, virtutum multiplici gloria, ac miraculorum insignium splendore praeclari."

§. v. In these times two Irish priests, Caidoc and Fricor, (30) were distinguished for their sanctity in the territory of Ponthieu in Picardy. They are said to have gone to France with St. Columbanus, but this can hardly be reconciled with its being stated that their arrival in Ponthieu was in the reign of king Dagobert, and accordingly not earlier than the year 622. (31) Being badly received and ill treated by the rustics of that country they were on the point of being forced to quit it, when a young nobleman, named Richarius, who lived at Centula, now Centule, in Ponthieu, took them under his protection, and bringing them to his house treated them with great respect and attention. He listened to their instructions, and regretting the follies of his past life made a confession of his sins, and became a real penitent. Henceforth they preached freely, and with great success, throughout various parts of Picardy. Fricor changed his name into *Adrian* as more pleasing to his auditors. Meanwhile Richarius was improving in sanctity, and at length, following the advice of his holy directors, determined on retiring from the world. Having distributed a great part of his large property among the poor he founded the celebrated monastery of Centula about, it seems, the year 625. (32) He is said to have visited Rome, accompanied by Caidoc. On their return to Centula Caidoc em-

braced the monastic life in that place, and continuing there until his death was buried within the precincts of the monastery. (33) Fricor also became a monk at Centula and was likewise buried there. (34) At what time either of them died is not known; but it must have been later than the year 630. (35) Two other Irish missionaries of these times Rantic, or Ranric, and Quilian, or Kilian, are said to have been disciples of St. Columbanus, but I believe without sufficient foundation. They assisted St. Vulganius in preaching to the Morini, the inhabitants of the tract, in which Boulogne is situated, (36) and to others in those parts. Vulganius was himself from Ireland, and is said to have first distinguished himself at Canterbury, and even to have been archbishop there. As to this story, which seems to be founded on Canterbury having been mistaken for some place in Ireland, (37) we may pass it by; but it is certain, that Vulganius, who is usually called a bishop, distinguished himself as a zealous missionary during part of the seventh century in Belgic Gaul, where his memory is still highly revered. He was alive after 650. (38) The year of his death is not known; but the day marked for it is the 2d of November. (39) His remains are preserved in the collegiate church of Lens in the diocese of Arras. (40) With regard to Rantic and Quilian I can find nothing further, except that the latter was buried at Montreuil in Picardy, where his relics are held in veneration. (41)

(30) Colgan treats of Caidoc at 24 *Jan.* and of him and Fricor, *alias*, Adrian together at 31 *Mart.*

(31) In the Life of St. Richarius of Centula, written by Alcuin, it is said, that during the reign of Dagobert many holy men appeared, among whom Richarius, and that in said times two holy priests, one of whom was Caidoc, came from Ireland to the territory of Ponthieu. Now the reign of Dagobert, even before he became king of all France, did not begin until 622, (see

Abregé, &c. at *Clotharius II.*) which was about 32 years after the arrival of St. Columbanus in France. Malbrancq (*De Morinis*, L. 2. c. 55.) brings Caidoc and Fricor to France with St. Columbanus in, he adds, the reign of Sigebert, king of Austrasia, meaning Sigebert the husband of Brunehild. Menard says nearly the same; (*Append. ad Martyrol. Benedict.*) but we have seen (*Not. 9. to Chap. XIII.*) that Jonas, whom they followed, was mistaken as to Sigebert. And as to their having accompanied St. Columbanus, if it be true, how is the time to be fixed, at which they stopped in Picardy? Malbrancq seems to say that they settled in that province about the time of St. Columbanus' arrival in France, or, at least, the year 591. This cannot agree with what he tells us himself, that, very soon after their arrival in Picardy, Richarius placed himself under their direction, and that in a short time he became eminent for sanctity. Now it is well known, that Richarius founded the monastery of Centula not very long after he had embraced a penitential life. But this monastery did not exist until about 625. How then can it be supposed, that Richarius was a disciple of Caidoc and Fricor as far back as 591? Perhaps it may be said that they did not go to Picardy until after the dispersion of the monks of Luxeu, and might have stopped there about 611 or 612, when Richarius was a young lad. Mabillon, who thought it probable that they had been disciples of St. Columbanus, as Hariulfas says in his Chronicle of Centula, seems to have had some opinion of this sort. (See *Annal. Ben. ad A. 615.*) Yet even that period appears too early; and still remains the difficulty founded on their arrival in Picardy being assigned, in the Life of Richarius, to the reign of Dagobert. On the whole it is much more probable, that they were not disciples of Columbanus, and that it was just after their landing in France, as Fleury says, (*L. 37. §. 28.*) that they fell in with Richarius. We may add that Caidoc and Fricor are spoken of, not as monks but as priests, at the time of their undertaking the direction of Richarius.

(32) Fleury, *ib.* Mabillon (at A. 627) says that it was founded not long before Dagobert acquired the kingdom of Neustria after the death of his father Clotharius II. in 628. He states, that Richarius founded it originally on account of Caidoc and Fricor,

and that being there trained by them in monastic discipline he afterwards governed it as abbot.

(33) *AA. SS.* p. 162 and 797. Caidoc's tomb was repaired by Angilbert, who was abbot of Centula in the reign of Charlemagne. He wrote and got inscribed on it, in golden letters, the following epitaph :

Mole sub hac tegitur Caidocus jure sacerdos,
 Scotia quem genuit, Gallica terra tegit.
 Hic, Domini Christi gaudens praecepta secutus,
 Contempsit Patrias mente beatus opes.
 Hinc sibi concrevit centeni copia fructus,
 Et meruit aetherei praemia larga soli.
 Hinc Angilbertus, fretus pietate magistri,
 Et tumulo carmen condidit, et tumulum.

(34) Mabillon at A. 627. See also *AA. SS.* p. 799.

(35) In the Anglican martyrology quoted by Colgan (*ib.*) it is said that they ended their days about 640.

(36) See *Chap.* III. §. 8.

(37) Malbrancq (*De Morinis L. 2. c. 50.*) speaks of Vulganius, as having been instructed by Quirian bishop of Canterbury. Who has ever heard of such a bishop having been there? The name is Irish, being the same as *Kieran*, as is also *Vulg nius*, which is but a Latin inflexion of our *Bolcan*. I suspect that Malbrancq, or rather the author, whom he followed, mistook Canterbury, *Cantuaria*, for Clonmacnois, which had been founded by Kieran, and that Vulganius was probably a member of that monastery, and thence called a disciple of Kieran, inasmuch as he belonged to his establishment and followed his rules. Malbrancq, being led astray by the name, *Cantuaria*, thence concluded that Vulganius was an Englishman. And then, strange to tell, he introduces him as preaching at Canterbury before 569, the year, in which he says, (*ib. cap. 54*) that he went to France; as if there were Englishmen or Angles bishops or priests at Canterbury at that period. Then come some stories of how St. Columbanus, who is confounded with Columbkil, being at Canterbury, made over to Vulganius two of his disciples Rantic and Quilian, and that they together with Vulganius left that city to preach elsewhere.

(38) Mabillon (*Annal. &c.* at 650) makes mention of him as a Scot (Irishman) who is reported to have resigned the see of Canterbury, and with whom Madelgisil is said to have lived at Monstrelet (a place in Ponthieu) after the death of his master St. Furseý, that is, after the year 650. How then could Vulganius have been a preacher before 569, as Malbrancq has laid down?

(39) *AA. SS. p. 377.* Colgan observes, that his death is placed by some writers as late as about 704, while others assign it to a much earlier period.

(40) Mabillon, *ib.* at A. 650. St. Vulganius is reckoned among the Irish spiritual benefactors of Belgium by Vernulaeus, *De propagatione fidei Christianae in Belgio per sanctos ex Hibernia viros.*

(41) Malbrancq, *L. 2. c. 58. AA. SS. p. 633.*

§. VI. The Quilian or Kilian, now spoken of, must not be confounded with Chillen, also Kilian, an Irish bishop of those times, who having been, as it is said, at Rome, stopped on his return at Meaux with the bishop St. Faro, by whom he was kindly received into his monastery, and directed to preach the Gospel in Artois some time after the year 628.

(42) He was in all probability the St. Chillen, whose remains are said to be at Albinicum (Aubigni) in the diocese of Arras, (43) where his memory is revered on the 13th of November. (44) The same St. Faro received also with great benignity the celebrated St. Fiacre, and his companions, but at what precise time is not recorded. (45) It must have been, however, after 628. (46) Fiacre was of an illustrious family in Ireland. (47) Wishing to lead a solitary life he withdrew to France with some followers, and applied to St. Faro, who was fond of the Irish, (48) for some lonesome spot, that might serve him as a retreat from the bustle of the world. The good bishop immediately supplied him with one out of his own patrimony at a place called *Brogillum* (Breuil), and surrounded with forests. Here Fiacre erected a monastery in honour of the Blessed Virgin,

where he used to receive strangers and guests, living himself in a cell apart. Like many other Irish saints, he made it a rule not to admit females into his monastery. His reputation became so great, that from all parts infirm persons used to be brought to him, whom he cured by merely laying hands on them. The precise time of this saint's death is not known; but there can be no doubt of his having lived many years after his retiring to the diocese of Meaux. (49) He is said to have died on an 18th of August; (50) but his festival is kept on the 30th of said month. His remains were deposited in the oratory of Brogillum, which place has constantly continued to be resorted to by pilgrims, even since they were removed to the cathedral of Meaux in 1568 for protection against the fury of the Calvinists. Innumerable miracles are said to have been performed there; and a great number of churches and oratories have been erected in commemoration of St. Fiacre in France where his festival is generally observed. Some writings have been attributed to this saint, but on authority not worth attending to. (51)

(42) St. Faro founded his monastery in a suburb of Meaux about 628, before which year he does not appear to have been a bishop. (Mabillon *ad an.*) He was son to Agneric or Chan-neric, the pious nobleman who had entertained St. Columbanus in that city, (see *Chap. XIII. §. 9.*) and brother of St. Fara, (*ib.*) as likewise of Chagnoald a disciple of that saint, (*ib. §. 12.*) who afterwards became bishop of Laon. (Mabillon, *ib.* and Fleury, *L. 37. §. 15.*) As Agneric was of the Burgundian nation, his son Faro is sometimes called *Burgundofaro*, in the same manner as we find his sister under the name of *Burgundofara*. Malbrancq says, (*L. 2. c. 58.*) that Chillen went to preach in Artois about 640. Mabillon, who mentions (at *A. 628*) the circumstance, does not mark the time of it.

(43) Malbrancq, *ib.*

(44) *AA. SS. p. 331.*

(45) Mabillon observes, (*Annal. &c. ad A. 628*) that the dates of Fiacre's transactions are uncertain.

(46) See *Not. 42*.

(47) Hector Boethius and some other Scotch writers have pretended, that he was a son of an Eugene king of the British Scots. This assertion is rejected by all the ecclesiastical historians; and in the very accurate Office of St. Fiacre in the Breviary of Meaux we read; "Fiacrius, qui et Fefrus, in Hibernia, quam veteres Scotiam appellabant, nobilibus parentibus ortu, &c." In Capgrave's Life of Fiacre he is introduced saying to Faro; "Most Rev. father, Ireland, the island of the Scots, has given origin to me and my ancestors." A hymn for his Office, as read in some churches of France, begins with these words, "Lucernae novae specula—Illustratur Hibernia;—Coruscat Meldis insula—Tantae lucis praesentia. Illa misit Fiacrium,—Haec missum habet radium;—Habent commune gaudium,—Haec patrem, illa filium."

(48) This is easily accounted for, considering the obligations that St. Faro's relatives were under to St. Columbanus. See *Not. 42*.

(49) According to Fleury (*L. 39. §. 30.*) he did not die until towards 670. In the Office drawn up by Burke at 30 August (*Officia propr. &c.*) his death is assigned to 630. This is contrary to all probability, and there is good reason to think, that he had scarcely arrived in France by that time. In Fiacre's Life by Capgrave a similar mistake occurs, where it states that he flourished about 622. But surely he did not flourish until after he left Ireland, and that was several years later. Usher is in the opposite extreme, saying that Fiacre flourished in France in 670. *Ind. Chron.*

(50) Life by Capgrave. In Burke's Office the day of his death is said to have been the 30th of August, for no other reason, as far as I know, than that this is the day marked for his festival.

(51) It is that of Dempster. See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Fiacre*.

§. VII. One of the most distinguished Irish saints, who in these times filled England and France with the fame of their virtues, was St. Furse, (in Irish *Fursa*) concerning whom a great deal has been writ-

ten, and indeed so much that it has served rather to darken than illustrate his history. (52) He was of high birth, (53) as his father was Fintan son of Finnloga king, or prince, of South Munster, (54) and his mother Gelges daughter of Aedhfinn (Hugh the white) prince of Hy-Briun in Connaught, at whose court Fintan is said to have married her unknown to her father. (55) It is related that Aedhfinn, on discovering her marriage, was so displeased with her, that she and her husband were obliged to quit his principality, and to take shelter with St. Brendan of Clonfert, who was then in an island called *Esbren*, (56) and by whom they were received with great kindness, and entertained in the hospice with much care, particularly as St. Brendan was paternal uncle to Fintan. (57) It is added, that Fursey was, very soon after, born in that island, (58) and baptized by St. Brendan. According to this account he must have been born before 577, the year in which St. Brendan died. Then we are told, that he was reared in the island, and when of a proper age, taken into the monastery by St. Brendan, with whom he remained until he established one for himself. (59) This part of the narrative is quite inconsistent with the history of St. Brendan, and is sufficient, independently of other considerations, to show that the whole of it deserves very little credit. (60) This much will be admitted that St. Fursey's parents were the persons above mentioned, and that he might have been born in some part of Connaught, (61) probably in Hy-briun among his mother's relatives. (62) Fintan seems to have returned soon after to Munster, where he took care to have Fursey well educated and instructed by some bishops in religious matters. Having made great progress in piety and learning, he left, when arrived at a certain age, his parents, and for the purpose of acquiring greater perfection repaired to a distant part of Ireland. (63) This was the small island of Inisquin, incorrectly

called *Esbren*, (64) where St. Meldan then governed a monastery, probably the same as that, which had been founded by St. Brendan. (65) Meldan was of the sept of Hua-Cuinn, which possessed the country about Lough Orbsen or Lough Corrib. (66) He was, either as founder, or successor of St. Brendan, abbot of Inisquin about the beginning of the seventh century, and was probably also a bishop. (67)*

(52) Furseŷ's Acts were first written by an anonymous writer, whom Bede refers to and follows, *L. 3. c. 19.* Surius thought these were the Acts which he has at 16 January, and which have been republished by Bollandus at same day. This edition is more correct than that of Surius. Yet Bollandus, who was of the same opinion with Surius, observes that they seem to be imperfect. He has added to them a second book on the Miracles of St. Furseŷ; but from the style and other circumstances it is evident, that this was written by a different author; and Bede speaks of only one book concerning Furseŷ. Mabillon was therefore right in doubting of its being a part of the original Acts, (*Preface* to his edition of them in *AA. SS. Ben. Tom. 2. p. 299.*) but agrees with Surius and Bollandus as to the first book being the very tract referred to by Bede. Other Acts of St. Furseŷ were afterwards compiled; among others those, which have been published by Colgan at 16 *Januar.* in two books, or rather three, as what Bede has concerning Furseŷ has been added by the author as a third one. These Acts have been also republished by Bollandus; and the author of them was Arnulfus abbot of Lagny, who lived in the eleventh century. (*Mabillon, ib.*) Then comes a very large Life written by James Desmay, Doctor of Sorbonne and Canon of St. Furseŷ's church of Peronne, in French, and translated into Latin by Eugene O'Gallagher an Irish Franciscan of Louvain. This also, though scarcely worth the trouble, has been published by Colgan at 9 *Febr.* In referring generally to this saint's Acts, the reader will please to recollect that I regularly mean those placed by Colgan under the 16th January.

(53) Bede says of him; (*L. 3. c. 19.*) "Erat autem vir ille de nobilissima genere Scotorum."

(54) Acts of St. Furseŷ, *L. 1. cap. 1. seqq.* In the MS. copy,

instead of *Fintan* and *Finnloga*, the reading is *Philtan* and *Fundloga*; and hence we find the names thus written by several foreign writers. But all the Irish writers, that treat of Fursey, have *Fintan* and *Finnloga*, which as, Colgan observes, were very usual names in Ireland, while *Philtan* and *Fundloga* were unknown in this country. In some Irish Calendars a St. Fursey of Conall Murthemhne (now county of Louth) is mentioned and called son of Finnloga. This led to a mistake of supposing that he was the great St. Fursey. But Colgan proves from the best authorities, that they were different persons, and joins Keating and the Book of Lecane in deriving our Fursey from the line of Loga Laga, a brother of Alill Olum, a celebrated king of Munster. In the *Menologium genealogicum* they are expressly distinguished; the Fursey of Louth is mentioned (*cap.* 25.) as son of Finnloga; the other (*cap.* 37.) as son of Fintan and grandson of Finnloga. The occurrence of the name, *Finnloga*, in both genealogies gave rise to the mistake. It ought to have been recollected, that this was a very common name in Ireland, and that in the case of Fursey of Louth the Finnloga spoken of appears as his father, while in the other Finnloga is named as a grandfather. Add that in Fursey's acts, and in the Life by Desmay, Finnloga, the father of Fintan and grandfather of St. Fursey, is distinctly represented as a king in Munster. The Fursey of Louth lived, according to Colgan's calculation, an hundred years, at least, before the great St. Fursey.

(55) Acts, L. 1. c. 4. We have often met with the Hy-briuns of Connaught. The one here meant was Hy-brium Breifne; and Colgan states, that Aedh finn was the ancestor of the O'Rourkes and O'Reillys.

(56) *Ib.* *cap.* 7. Desmay (*cap.* 3.) calls it *Elbree*, and, among other stuff, makes Brendan bishop of it. Colgan thought that the island *Esbren* might have been written in a mistake for *Ard-brennin*, or *Ardfert*, in Kerry. But he is more correct in supposing that by *Esbran* was meant *Esbren* or *Orbsen*, by which name Lough Corrib near Galway was anciently called. Instead of island *Esbren* we are to read an island in *Esbren* (*Orbsen*) *i. e.* Lough Corrib. And, in fact, *Esbren* is called a lake in said Acts, L. 1. *cap.* 11. There can be no doubt, that the island alluded to is Inisquin in Lough Corrib, where St. Brendan is said, having resigned the administration of Clonfert, to have spent the latter part of his life. (See *Chap.* x. §. 7.)

(57) So the Acts state, but, I am sure, without foundation. Even Colgan could not believe it. This story was seemingly taken from a confusion as to the name *Finnloga*; for St. Brendan was son of a man of that name. And as Fintan's father was also called *Finnloga*, hence the confusion; although Fintan should have been made not nephew but brother to St. Brendan. This, however, would have been too absurd and unchronological. But, without enlarging on this point, it is sufficient to remark with Colgan, that St. Brendan was of the family of Hua Alta, (see *Chap. x. §. 7.*) which was different from that, whence Fintan derived his origin. Yet, as Brendan was a native of Kerry, there might have been some relationship between them.

(58) Acts, *L. 1. cap. 8.* Colgan places Furse's birth at Clonfert, although in this very chapter, which he was commenting upon, it is laid down, that he was born in the place where his parents were entertained by St. Brendan. Now in the preceding chapter the context leads us to suppose, that this was the island. It is true, that Clonfert is there mentioned as a place, where Brendan had erected a monastery. But Brendan is not stated to have been there, when visited by Furse's parents. Desmay, who also mentions Clonfert, says however, (*cap. 3.*) that the island of Elbree, as he calls it, was the place, to which they went for the purpose of taking shelter with Brendan. Colgan himself says, (*AA. SS. p. 94*) that Furse was educated in the island called *Esbren*; if so, he was, following the Acts, born there; for they most clearly exhibit the place of his education as the same with that of his birth. Thus then, if what is related of Furse's parents having been under the protection of St. Brendan were true, the honour of his birth should be given not to Clonfert, but to Inisquin. (See *Not. 56.*)

(59) Acts, *L. 1. Cap. 8—11.*

(60) St. Brendan did not retire to Inisquin until the latter part of his life, and did not live there long enough to see Fintan grow up to manhood and superior of a monastery. For in that case he should have spent there about, at least, 24 years, a greater number than elapsed even from the foundation of his monastery of Clonfert to his death. (See *Not. 110 to Chap. x.*) Then, according to this story, we should suppose that Furse was born, at least, 24 years before the death of St. Brendan, that is, about 553. Now he

lived until, at least, 650. Yet it is not said that he lived to an extraordinary age. Add, that in this supposition Fursey should have been, at least, 80 years old when he went to England; for, as will be seen, he did not arrive there, at the earliest, until 633. It will not be believed, that a man would, at the age of eighty, have left his own country to instruct foreigners. The fact is, that Fursey was probably not born at the time of Brendan's death. Next come various other inconsistencies. Is it to be supposed, that a man and his wife would have been allowed in those days to reside in the precincts of a monastery as long as Fursey's parents are represented to have remained in the island, rearing Fursey, and, as Desmay says, (*cap.* 4.) there bringing into the world his brothers Foillan and Ultan? And what shall we say of what we read in the Acts of the various and delicious viands, with which Brendan treated his guests, and of his riches? The compiler of these stories thought that Brendan was like those abbots of their own time, who lived like princes, and wallowed in wealth.

(61) The strongest and, indeed, only proof, that St. Fursey was a native of Connaught, occurs in his Acts, *L.* 1. *c.* 21, where Beoan and Meldan, whom he is said to have seen in his vision, are stated to have been of the province, in which he was born. Now Meldan, whose history is sufficiently known, was, as will be soon seen, undoubtedly of the province of Connaught. The passage here referred to is taken, almost *verbatim*, from the *old* Acts, published by Surius, &c. Yet, as it appears in his edition, we should read, not that Fursey was *born* in said province, but that he was *known* there; for instead of *natus fuerat*, we find *notus fuerat*. In Bolland's edition it is indeed *natus*; but Mabillon has *notus*. Thus then the question as to the province of his birth is still doubtful; for the stuff about Esbren cannot be alleged in favour of Connaught.

(62) The account of Aedhfinn's wrath against his daughter is evidently of a poetical and theatrical kind. She was to be burned to death, escapes this punishment in a prodigious manner, flies with her husband to St. Brendan, and after some years is taken again into favour by her father. This story was made up to make it appear, that Fursey was baptized, educated, &c. by

Brendan, and that, because he studied in Inisquin, he had also been born there.

(63) This is the most correct account, of Fursey's younger days, that I have been able to collect from the old Acts, which make mention, only in general terms, of his parents, &c. Nothing is said of what part of Ireland they lived in; but the manner, in which his leaving them is spoken of, seems to indicate that it was at a considerable distance from the place, which he went to. After telling us, that he had got an excellent education, &c. in the country where his parents lived, they add; "Patriam parentesque relinquens sacrae scripturae studiis aliquot vacabat annis." It is not meant, that he left Ireland; for it is plain from the sequel, that he only removed to another part of it. Now this was Inisquin. If Fursey's parents had continued to reside in Connaught, he would have been still so near them as scarcely to justify the phrase, *leaving his country and parents*. And it is to be observed that, notwithstanding the supposed accident of his having been born in Connaught, Munster is constantly called his *patria* or country. (See Acts, *L. 1. c. 13-14.*) Desmay says, (*cap. 4.*) that Fintan returned with his family to Munster when Fursey was a boy. He adds, indeed, that he left Fursey behind him in the island with St. Brendan. This is a part of the story confuted above (*Not. 60*); and we know from the old Acts, that Fursey was a grown up young man when he left his father's house and repaired to Inisquin.

(64) See *Not. 56.*

(65) See *Not. 115 to Chap. x.* That this was the monastery, to which Fursey retired, is plain from all that we have seen about his having been in the island Esbren, *i. e.* Inisquin. Maguire, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 90.*) says that Meldan was the spiritual father of St. Fursey. He is called in Fursey's Acts (*L. 2. c. 16.*) a colleague of Fursey. The author, wishing to uphold the story of Fursey having been a disciple of St. Brendan, did not like to call Meldan his superior. Yet what he says helps to prove, that, at least, he lived in the same monastery with Meldan.

(66) That country is sometimes called Hih-sen, *i. e.* Hih-Orbsen, *sen.* contracted for *Orbsen.*

(67) In the old Acts of Fursey Meldan is called *Praesul*; and it is said that his memory was universally respected. See

also those in *AA. SS. L. 1. c. 21.* Colgan, who treats apart of Meldan at 7 *Feb.* observes, that two Meldans are called bishops by Aengus Kelideus, one of whom seems to have been the Meldan of Inisquin.

§. VIII. Fursey having remained for some years with Meldan erected a monastery for himself at, it is said, a place called Rathmat near Lough Orbsen, (68) which was soon supplied with a considerable number of religious persons. When it was properly established (69) Fursey wished to have some of his relatives instructed there, (70) and accordingly set out for Munster with the intention of inducing them to come to his monastery. (71) When arrived near his paternal residence he was suddenly taken ill, and conveyed to a neighbouring house, (72) where he remained for many hours in such a state as to be supposed at the point of death. During this time he had some extraordinary visions, a detail of which the reader will not expect in this place. (73) Either on this occasion, or not long after, in a subsequent vision, he saw the bishops Beoan and Meldan, whom, on their appearing to him, he thought to be dead. (74) From them Fursey received much instruction, for instance, concerning the dreadful effects of pride and of disobedience to superiors of every description, the duties of ecclesiastics and monks, but particularly as to the nature and heinousness of spiritual and inward sins. They told him, that some glory in what they have received from God, as if they had acquired it by their own labour; others afflict their bodies by abstinence and fasting, and are shocked at the slightest external transgressions, while they think nothing of pride, which drove angels from heaven, nor of avarice through which our first parents lost the bliss of the terrestrial paradise, nor of envy which induced Cain to kill his brother Abel, nor of false testimony, by which our Saviour was condemned; and thus they look upon the

sins, that are the most grievous in the sight of God, as the lightest, and *vice versa*; but those saints added, it is not enough to chastise the body, unless the soul be cured of malice and iniquity; and charity is the root and top of all good works. St. Fursey is said to have had these visions in the year 627, (75) which was probably about two or three years after he had founded the monastery of Rathmat. (76) Henceforth he seems to have resigned the administration of it; for it is said, that he went for a whole year all over Ireland announcing what he had seen and heard in his visions, (77) and that he continued for ten years to preach and exhort the people to repentance. (78) During this interval we find him in Munster; (79) yet it is probable that he preached occasionally in other parts of Ireland.

(68) Acts, *L. 1. c. 11.* Rathmat is there called an island although stated to be *near* the lake. The author was fond of converting places into islands. Thus he makes even Clonfert an island. Colgan thinks, and with great probability, that Rathmat was the place now called Kill-fursa near Lough Corrib and in the deanery of Annadown. In the Acts *ap. Sur.* Fursey's monastery is mentioned, but without any particular name.

(69) Harris (*Monast.*) is wrong in assigning the foundation of Rathmat to the sixth century. It is clear from the sequel of Fursey's history, that it was not founded until several years after the beginning of the seventh.

(70) In the old Acts after the words quoted above (*Not. 63.*) we read; "Instructusque monasterium in quodam construxit loco, ubi indique religiosis confluentibus ad eum viris aliquos etiam parentum suorum pia solitudine evocare curavit."

(71) It is thus the matter is stated in the old Acts. In the later ones his brothers Foillan and Ultan are spoken of as already along with him at Rathmat, and the object of Fursey's journey to Munster is represented as that of seeing his other relatives, and of giving them spiritual instruction. But their authority is not of equal weight with that of the old Acts, according to which none of his relatives appear to have been at Rathmat, before he set

out for Munster. Their statement seems to have been derived from a mis-interpretation of the text of the old Acts. It is true, however, that Fursey, in going to Munster, intended to promote the spiritual welfare of *all* his relatives.

(72) Old Acts. In the other Acts (*cap.* 14.) the illness is said to have fallen upon him just as he was setting out for Munster, and it is added that he was brought back to the monastery. But, as already remarked, the former Acts are far more worthy of credit. Capgrave's *Life of St. Fursey* agrees with them on this point, and so does Fleury, who says, (*L.* 38. §. 28.) that the saint was taken ill after he had returned to his own country for the purpose of converting his relatives, that is, of inducing them to lead a penitential life. Bede, indeed, (*L.* 3. c. 19.) speaks of the illness as having seized him, *in* the monastery, which does not agree with either account. But, as Bede was hastening to relate the visions, he overlooked the detail relative to Fursey's journey.

(73) These and other visions, which Fursey is said to have had afterwards, are related at great length in his Acts. In some other of his lives they are given in a more or less abridged form. Bede (*loc. cit.*) has only a small part of them. He tells us that an old monk, who lived in the same monastery with himself, used to assert, that a very veracious and religious man had informed him that he had seen St. Fursey in the province of the East Angles, and that he heard him relating his visions. I suspect that, taking them as they appear in the Acts, (*ap* Colgan) they have been much amplified.

(74) Acts, *L.* 1. c. 21. Its being said, that Fursey *thought* they were dead, seems to indicate, that they were still alive. Bede, however, speaks of them, without giving their names, as being dead at that time, and so they are represented in the lives by Capgrave and Desmay, with whom Colgan agrees. Of Meldan we have seen above. Beoan also is called *praesul* in the old and new Acts, and in Capgrave, a *bishop*. He was of some part of Connaught; (see *Not.* 61) but the particular place is not known. His reputation was equally great with that of Meldan.

(75) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* from the Annals of Ulster.

(76) Fursey was, as has been seen, anxious to place some of his relatives in the monastery, and for that purpose went to Mun-

ster. We may be sure that, to fulfil this intention, he did not wait long after he had fixed his establishment on a firm footing. For this two or three years were fully sufficient; and accordingly, if he had the visions in 627, the foundation of said monastery may be justly assigned to about 624. (Compare with *Not.* 69 and 71.)

(77) Acts, *L. 1. c.* 30. This is mentioned also in the Acts *ap. Sur.*

(78) In the old Acts the number of years is ten. In the other (*L. 1. c.* 31.) and in Capgrave they are twelve, including it seems, the year, in which the saint travelled throughout Ireland. The matter is of little consequence, except as far as it is connected with the question of the time of his going to England.

(79) This appears from the Lives of St. Barr, *c.* 24. Molagga, *c.* 19. and Cronan *c.* 16. See *AA. SS. p.* 94.

§. IX. Such were the multitudes of people flocking to the saint, that, being no longer able to bear their importunities, he withdrew to a small island in the ocean, (80) and thence repaired soon after to England, accompanied by some religious men, among whom were two brothers of his, Foillan and Ultan. (81) Arriving in the province of the East Angles he was honourably received by the pious king Sigberet, and employed himself, as usual, in preaching the Gospel. His exertions and example were attended with the conversion of many infidels, and with great benefit to others who were already Christians. (82) His arrival in that country is usually assigned to about 637. (83) While engaged in this manner, he was taken ill and had another vision, in which he was encouraged to persevere in his labours and religious practices. Immediately after his recovery he erected a monastery on a spot granted to him by Sigberet at a place called *Cnobheresburg* (now Burghcastle in Suffolk) in a woody district and contiguous to the sea; which monastery was afterwards enlarged and endowed by king Anna, and the nobles of that coun-

try. (84) Some time after, Fursey wishing to lead a still more retired life gave up the care of the monastery to his brother Foillan and two priests Gobban and Dichull. (85) His other brother Ultan had already withdrawn from the monastery, and was living as a hermit in another part of the province. To him Fursey repaired, and spent a whole year with him practising great austerities and subsisting on the daily labour of his hands. But, as the country was disturbed by the inroads of pagans, and foreseeing that the monasteries were in imminent danger, he went over to France. (86) It is said, that, having landed in that country, he was proceeding with some of his disciples through Ponthieu, when at a place, called *Macerias* (Mazeroeles), belonging to a duke Haymon, he heard great lamentations, which, on his going to the duke's residence, he found to be on account of the death of his only son; and that, having prayed over the deceased, he brought him again to life. Haymon endeavoured to induce Fursey to remain in that district, but could not prevail on him to stay there. (87) Be this as it may, the saint was well received by Clovis II. king of Neustria and Burgundy, or rather by Erchinoald, who as mayor of the palace ruled under him, Clovis being at that time only ten years old. Erchinoald gave him some land at Latiniacum (Lagny) near the river Marne, six leagues from Paris, on which he erected a monastery in or about the year 644. (88)

(80) Acts, L. 1. c. 32.

(81) The translator of Ware's *Writers* has very awkwardly (at *Fursey*) called them *friers*, not knowing that there were no friars in those days. The *fratres* in Ware's original means *brothers*.

(82) Bede, L. 3. c. 19.

(83) Usher, reckoning ten years from the date of the visions, places it (*Ind. Chron.*) in 637. Colgan says, 637 or 638. Mabillon makes mention of it, (*Annal. Ben.*) at A. 639, as having

occurred before it, but in what year is uncertain. Smith (*Notes on Bede*) differing from these and other writers, assigns it to 633. His argument is founded on the supposition, that Sigberet was killed in 635, and that his reign had begun in 630. Accordingly he concluded that Furseſy's arrival might be placed in 633 as being about the middle of Sigberet's reign. This reasoning would be unanswerable, were Smith right as to the time of said reign. But the commencement of it is placed by others in 636; and, unless we are to set aside the date 627 assigned for Furseſy's visions (see *Not. 75.*) or the number of ten years, that elapsed between them and his arrival in England, (*Not. 78.*), the system of these authors is preferable to that of Smith.

(84) Bede *L. 3. c. 19.*

(85) *Ib.* Gibbon and Dichull were undoubtedly, as appears from their names, natives of Ireland. They were most probably among those, who had gone over with Furseſy.

(86) Bede, *ib.* He says that Furseſy "*dimissis ordinate omnibus, navigavit Galliam.*" It is not easy to understand what he meant by *dimissis*, &c. The more probable explanation seems to be, that he discharged the monks from the monastery until the times should become more peaceable. The mention of the danger impending over monasteries favours this explanation, as if alluding to some step taken by Furseſy for the protection of his monks; and indeed it is hard to think, that he did not look to their safety.

(87) Acts *L. 2. c. 1.* The reason here assigned for Furseſy's refusing to stop with Hayman is, that he was then going to Rome; and, in fact, they give us a pompous account of his journey to that city, his arrival there, &c. &c. all which are still more pompously described by Desmay, and briefly in Burke's Office of St. Furseſy. This narrative is intermingled with such inconsistencies and anachronisms, that the mere reading of it is sufficient to make us reject it. For instance, it states, that Furseſy was at Rome in the time of Martin I. who did not become pope until 649, and that it was not until after his return from Rome that he went to Lagny in France. Now it is well known, that he was settled in that place prior to 649. There is nothing of this Roman expedition in Bede, Capgrave, &c. and from what they have it is plain, that Furseſy after his landing in France remained there until

his death. What gave rise to the story of Fursej having been at Rome was, I believe, its being said in the old Acts that he went from England to France for the purpose of proceeding to Rome, *causa visendi Romam*. But they do not state, that he actually went thither; and it is plain from the sequel that, on his arrival in France, he was detained there particularly by Erchinoald, and not a word occurs to show, that he ever after travelled to Rome.

(88) Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A.* 644. Fleury, *L.* 38. §. 28. Smith *Not. to Bede, L.* 3. c. 19. Usher was mistaken in assigning (*Ind. Chron.*) Fursej's arrival in France to A. D. 640. Erchinoald was not as yet mayor of the palace in that year.

§. x. When it became known in Ireland that Fursej was settled at Lagny, Emilian, *al.* Emmian, who is said to have been instructed by him before he went abroad, left Ireland with some other religious persons to join him at that place; and, when arrived there, they were most kindly welcomed by him and received into the monastery. (89) Having governed for some years this establishment, which his reputation had rendered very numerous, the saint wished to visit his brothers Foillan and Ultan, who were still in England. (90) Entrusting Emilian with the care of it he set out for that purpose, and on his way stopped a while at Macerias with the duke Haymon. Here he fell sick, and, having received the holy viaticum, was removed to a better world about the year 650. (91) The day of his death is variously assigned; but the most probable opinion is that it was the 16th of January. (92) Erchinoald, on hearing of the saint's death, hastened to Macerias and got his body removed to Peronne, where it was laid down in the porch of a church, which Erchinoald had just built there. It remained unburied for several days, (93) until the dedication of the church should take place, which was to be within a month. This ceremony being performed, it was deposited near the altar. Four years after it was removed to a chapel built for this purpose in the

same church to the East of the altar, the ceremony of the translation being performed with great solemnity by St. Eligius (Eloi) bishop of Noyan and Autbertus, bishop of Cambrai. (94) The day of this translation was the 9th of February. (95) Some writers hold, that St. Fursey was a bishop; and their opinion is not quite unfounded; but the matter is still uncertain. (96) As to his having been author of certain tracts, (97) there is no sufficient authority for it. Besides Emilian, several other followers or disciples of St. Fursey, who also are said to have been natives of Ireland, are mentioned as having been with him at Lagny, for instance, Eloquius, Mombulus, Adalgisus, Etto, Bertuin, Fredegand, Lactan, Malguil, &c. (98)

(89) Fursey's Acts, *L. 1. c. 38.* Colgan treats of Emilian at 10 *Mart.* the day on which his memory was revered at Lagny. He is spoken of by Menard and others as having been a disciple of Fursey, before the latter left Ireland.

(90) Ultan was probably still in his hermitage; whether Foillan was then governing the monastery of Burghcastle, or living in retirement, I cannot discover. Not long after they both went to the continent.

(91) Mabillon assigns St. Fursey's death to 650. Other writers, quoted in *AA. SS. p. 97.* mark other years; but their dates are not worth attending to. The Annals of Roscrea and of Boyle, referred to (*ib.*) place it in 652. As to the Annals of Boyle, Ware quotes them (*Writers at Fursey*) as having not 652 but 653. This date may be reconciled with the other, if we suppose that the Annals of Roscrea anticipated the Christian era by one year, according to what we find in several other Irish annals. Either 652 or 653 may be as probable a date as Mabillon's; and his 650 ought perhaps to be understood *about* 650.

(92) According to the Acts (*L. 2. c. 17.*) and Desmay, followed by Colgan, he died on the 9th of February. Others have the 4th of March. But some Irish calendars mentioned in *AA. SS. p. 97.* and Mabillon (at *A. 650*) assign his death to the 16th of January. I do not know where Burke found what he has in the Office of St.

Fursej, viz. that he died on the 26th of December. Colgan, who reckons seven different days, on which the saint's memory was revered, as anniversaries of his death, burial, translation of reliques, &c. has it not among them.

(93) Bede says 27. But it is probable, that they were not more than 23, viz. the intervening days between the 16th of January and the 9th of February, on which there is every reason to think that St. Fursey's remains were buried, and which is the day marked for it by Mabillon.

(94) Acts, *L. 1. c. 40. seqq.* See also Bede, *L. 3. c. 19.* It is observed that the body, when removed, was quite sound.

(95) Acts, *L. 2. c. 17.* The author makes said day the anniversary of St. Fursey's death; and hence the opinion of his having died on a 9th of February. But from Bede's statement it appears to have been that of his burial. Thus he must have died several days prior to the 9th of February, and, we may safely admit, on the 16th of January, the day on which his festival has been constantly celebrated.

(96) He is called a bishop in the life of St. Cronan (see *AA. SS. p. 96.*) and in the Annals of Ulster *ap. Usher, Ind Chron. A. 627.* Neither Bede nor the Acts give him this title. Desmay indeed does; but his account of Fursey's consecration is so fabulous, that his authority is good for nothing. He says, (*cap. 14.*) that Fursey and his brother Foillan were both ordained bishops at Rome by Pope Martin I. Now it has been seen, (*Not. 87.*) that Fursey never was at Rome; and as to Foillan, he did not visit the continent until after Fursey's death. Even Colgan rejects this story, and joins Ferrarius, who says that St. Fursey was a bishop, but consecrated in Ireland. Mabillon observes. (*at A. 650*) that a writer of his Life, prior to Arnulph, makes him a bishop, and that his figure was represented, more than 500 years before his (Mabillon's) time, in pontifical robes, on the great door of St. Fursey's church at Peronne. Yet at *A. 645* he says, that he was not a bishop, although improperly called so, like Richarius of Centula and some others, on account of his having been a great preacher of the Gospel. This was also the opinion of Molanus, who mentions, (*at 16 Januar.*) that St. Fursey is revered as a bishop in the diocese of Cambray; perhaps he was a *chorepiscopus*,

or one of those bishops without regular sees, of whom there were, in those days, many in Ireland.

(97) See Ware and Harris, *Writers*.

(98) *AA. SS. p. 96*. Some Belgian writers say, that Eloquius was the immediate successor of Fursey at Lagny. This does not agree with what I have seen concerning Emilian having been charged with the care of it. According to Desmay (*cap 18*) the monks, on being informed of St. Fursey's death, elected Eloquius as abbot. If so, Emilian must have resigned the administration. Colgan calls Eloquius the third abbot. The same writers make Mombulus succeed Eloquius, and exhibit Adalgisus and Etto as brothers of the priest Gobban, who had been with St. Fursey in England, and founders of monasteries in Belgium. It is added that Etto was a bishop, and instructed the people of Avernus. (*AA. SS. p. 51.*) Molanus mentions (*Natales sanctorum Belgii* at 10 July) Etto being called *Hiberniensis episcopus*, and speaks of a church under his name at a place called *Baym* near Arras. Bertuin also is said to have been a bishop and to have established a monastery at Maconia in the new territory of Liege. (See more *AA. SS. ib. and p. 96.*)

§. XI. Not long after St. Fursey's death his brothers Foillan and Ultan left England and went over to Brabant, having been invited, together with some other learned Irishmen, by St. Gertrude, abbess of Nivelles, (99) for the purpose of instructing her community in sacred psalmody and religious matters. Aided by the munificence of St. Gertrude they erected a monastery for the accommodation of their countrymen at Fossás (Fosse) not far distant from Nivelles. (100) Ultan remained there in care of the establishment, Foillan having returned to Nivelles where he superintended both the spiritual and temporal affairs of the nunnery. Some time after Foillan being on his way to see his brother at Fosse, met in the forest of Sinesia (101) with robbers, by whom he and three of his disciples, who accompanied him, were plundered and killed. (102) This happened in or about the year 655 (103) on the

31st of October. As the bodies had been thrown into a thick part of the forest, they were not discovered until the 78th day following, that is, the 16th of January, on which the *Invention* of St. Foillan has been commemorated. (104) His remains were buried at Fosse, and he is called a martyr. (105) He is also called a bishop, and it is probable that he really was so; (106) although not consecrated, as some have said, by Pope Martin I. at Rome, where he does not appear to have been at any time. (107) As to Ultan, we find him, some time, probably short, after the death of Foillan, superior of the monastery of Peronne, which, as well as that of Fosse, was considered as an Irish monastery. (108) I do not find the precise time of its foundation; but it must have been after the death of St. Fursey, in honour of whom it was established. (109) It is said that Ultan still continued to superintend, also, the monastery of Fosse, at least for some time, and that he was also the first superior of the monastery of St. Quintin near Peronne. (110) He is said to have lived until about 676; and his memory is revered at Peronne and elsewhere on the second of May. (111)

(99) St. Gertrude was daughter of Pepin of Landen, who had been mayor of the palace under the kings Clotharius II. Dagobert I. and Sigebert III. Nivelles is in Brabant between Mons and Brussels. See Fleury, *L.* 38. §. 58.

(100) Fosse is near the river Sambre not far to the West of Namur, and in the diocese of Liege. The monastery was called the *monastery of the Irish*; it has since been changed into a collegiate chapter-house and church. (*AA. SS.* p. 103.)

(101) Soigne or Soignies in Hainaut. (102) *AA. SS.* p. 99.

(103) Colgan states from various authors, (*ib.* p. 300.) that Foillan was not killed before 655. Smith (*Not.* to Bede *L.* 3. c. 19.) says about 656. Mabillon (*Annal.* &c. at 652) treats occasionally of Foillan's death, but does not state the precise time of it. Usher assigns it to A. 654. *Ind. Chron.* This date seems too early.

(104) Colgan has the Acts of this Invention at 16 January.

(105) See the Acts just mentioned. It was usual in those times to give the title of *martyr* to holy men unjustly killed, although not on account of the Christian faith. In these Acts the murderers of Foillan are represented merely as robbers, who killed him and his companions for the sake of plunder, seemingly of some property and articles intended for the relief and use of the monastery of Fosse.

(106) In the same Acts he is often styled *praesul*. Molanus and others give him the title of bishop. See Usher, *p.* 967.

(107) If Foillan ever was at Rome, it must have been after Fursey's death, as Colgan admits, *AA. SS. p.* 300. Now from that epoch, and from the time of Foillan's arrival in the continent until his death, we find him constantly employed in Brabant and the neighbouring districts. At what time then could he have gone to Rome? (Compare with *Not.* 96.) Even Usher was mistaken on this point saying (*Ind. Chron. ad. A.* 648.) that Foillan had in said year returned from Rome, having been there consecrated by Martin I. and after the death of Fursey. Now Martin I. was not Pope until 649; nor was Fursey dead in 648. Usher was led astray by Sigebert's Chronicle.

(108) Mabillon says (at *A.* 650) that it was called *Scotorum monasterium*. Its first abbot was Ultan.

(109) Mabillon does not mark the year of its foundation, but Desmay speaks of it (*cap.* 17.) as founded before the death of St. Fursey, and at the same time makes Ultan its first abbot. Now there was only a church, and that not yet dedicated, at Peronne when Fursey died. And how could Ultan, who was still in England, have been abbot there before Fursey's death?

(110) Mabillon at *A.* 650. Desmay, *cap.* 17. This administration of more monasteries than one was somewhat like the superintendence of an abbot over not only the one in which he resided, but likewise over its cells or dependencies, in which, however, there used to be deputy superiors. As the establishments now mentioned were formed chiefly for the Irish, Ultan was looked upon as, after the death of his brothers, the person fittest to preside over them.

(111) Mabillon at *A.* 674. speaks of Ultan as still alive in said year, yet as if he died not long after. His name is marked in the

Benedictine and other martyrologies at 1. May. But Desmay says that his festival was kept at Peronne on the 2d.; transferred, I suppose, on account of the 1st being a holiday.

§. XII. The martyr St. Livin was contemporary with St. Fursey. That he was a native of Ireland is universally admitted; (112) and, if we are to believe some writers, he was of royal extraction. (113) He was born during the reign of Colman Rimhe, who was king of Ireland in the beginning of the seventh century. (114) There is a story of his having been baptized by Augustin the apostle of England, as if he should have been carried to England for that purpose, or Augustin had come over to Ireland, where he never was. (115) Livin is said to have had for master Benignus a priest, and, after his death, to have retired to a desert with three companions, Foillan, Elias, and Kilian, where, among other occupations, he employed himself in transcribing books. (116) Next we are told that he passed over to Britain, and, placing himself under the direction of Augustin, remained with him five years, at the expiration of which Augustin ordained him priest. Passing by this story, which directly contradicts the above mentioned, (117) we may safely assert that Livin became a bishop, having been consecrated in Ireland; (118) but in what part of it, or where he officiated, is not known. As to the fable of his having been archbishop of Dublin, it is scarcely worth mentioning; (119) for in those times there was neither an archbishop nor bishop of Dublin. Actuated by zeal for the conversion of pagan nations he left Ireland, together with his three above-mentioned companions, and continued his course, (120) until he arrived in Belgium, having entrusted his church in Ireland to the archdeacon Silvanus. (121) He was received with great kindness by Florbert (122) abbot of two monasteries at Ghent, one of which has been called that of St. Bavo, who was

buried there (123) Having remained at Ghent for 30 days, on every one of which he celebrated mass at St. Bavo's tomb, (124) he set out on his mission through Flanders and Brabant. He was received with great attention by two pious sisters, Berna and Craphaildis, and restored to Ingelbert, a son of the latter, his sight, which had been lost for 13 years. (125) But from the bulk of the people he met with great opposition, insults, and vexation, of which he complains in his epistle to Florbert, declaring at the same time his fore-knowledge and hope that he was to suffer martyrdom. (126) He then consoles himself with the consideration of the friendship of Florbert, (127) who used to provide for his wants while preaching through the country parts, (128) and hints that, although poor in Belgium, he had been great as to this world in his own country. (129) He mentions this on occasion of Florbert having called him not only *pontifex* but also *dominus*, (130) as he wished not to be distinguished by titles. Levin was at this time at Holtam or Holten, (131) now Hauthem or Hauthen in the district of Alost, and on this occasion sent Florbert the epitaph on St. Bavo, which that abbot had requested him to compose, apologizing, however, for its not being as elegant as he would have wished, owing to the agitation of his mind and the constant terror he was kept in. (132) Yet both it and the epistle are very neat compositions, and do great honour to the classical taste of the Irish schools of that period, while barbarism prevailed in the greatest part of Western Europe. It was, in all probability, very soon after his having sent these pieces to Florbet, that Livin was attacked at a village called *Escha* near Hauthem, by a multitude of pagans, among whom one Walbert was chiefly distinguished. After cruelly beating and torturing him, they cut off his head on the 12th of November, A. D. 656. (133) They murdered also his hostess Craphaildis and a young son of hers, named Brixius,

whom the saint had baptized only a few days before. The remains of St. Livin and Brixius were buried in one grave by his disciples at Hauthem, and near them were placed those of Craphaildis. His memory has been, and is still, greatly revered in Belgium.

(112) Molanus, Mabillon, Fleury, &c. all agree in this point. It is needless to refer to particular passages.

(113) It is said that his father was Theagamis or Theagnis, a man of high rank, and his mother Angelmia or Agalmia the daughter of an Irish king. See Harris (*Bishops at Dublin*) and the office of St. Livinus in Burke's *Officia propria*, &c. The Office from the Breviary of Tournay, which is read in Ireland, and which is more correct, merely states that he was of a noble family. And that he was of high lineage will be seen lower down.

(114) Mabillon (*Annal. &c. ad A. 650.*) following a Life of St. Livinus written by one Boniface, says that he was born in Ireland during the reign of king Colomagn, the writer having frenchified our Irish name *Colman* into *Colomagn*. This king Colomagn or Colman was evidently Colman Rimhe, who, jointly with Aidus Slani, ascended the Irish throne in 599, and reigned six years. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 1.*) This period answers for the birth of St. Livin, who, as will be seen, suffered martyrdom in 656. Boniface, author of that Life, has been usually supposed the same as St. Boniface the apostle of Germany, and archbishop of Mentz, who lived in the eighth century. This is a quite unfounded opinion. Mabillon, who has published this Life, (*AA. SS. Ben. Tom. 2.*) thought, that the author was more ancient than Boniface of Mentz, because he says that he got his materials for it from Foillan, Elias, and Kilian, disciples of Livin. This cannot be true, unless it be supposed, that there are interpolations in this tract; for those disciples could not have told him the stories, which it has about Augustin of Canterbury having baptized, &c. Livin, of which lower down. The fact is that Mabillon was mistaken as to the time, in which said Life was composed; for, as the Benedictine authors of the *Histoire Letteraire* state, (*Tom. vi. p. 644.*) it was written in the latter end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century.

(115) This fable is mentioned from Boniface by Mabillon, (at A. 650.) but he did not think it worth animadversion.

(116) Life by Bo and Office from the Breviary of Tournay. Of Benignus and the companions of St. Livin I can find no further account. Several persons of the names *Foillan* and *Kilian* flourished at that period in Ireland.

(117) Augustin did not arrive in England until 597, and died in 605 (Smith *Not.* to Bede, *L. 2. c. 3.*) or, at the latest, in 607. How then, if he had baptized Livin, could he have ordained him priest? Unless it be supposed that Livin was not baptized until he was a grown up man; but for this supposition there is not the least foundation, and it is quite repugnant to what is stated concerning his early education under Benignus, &c. Augustin had no Irish disciples. Had he any, Laurence of Canterbury and his brother missionaries would not have been as unacquainted with the state of the Irish church, as they were until they met with Dagan. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 16.*) Mabillon rejects all that is said of Augustin with regard to Livin.

(118) Office in the Tournay, &c. That Livin was a bishop we have not only from every writer, who has treated of him, but likewise from himself in his poetical epistle to the abbot Florbert in Usher's *Ep. Hib. Syll. No. 8.* where he says;

*Sufficeret fratrem fratrum dixisse Livinum ;
Pontificis nomen pergravat et Domini.*

(119) This fable originated in mistakes of some foreign writers. Not content with what was true, viz. that Livin was a bishop, they made him archbishop of Ireland. Thus not only Boniface makes him an archbishop, but Massacus, quoted by Usher, (*Ep. Hib. Recens.*) says of him that he was *archiepiscopus Hiberniae*. Then was added by others, in consequence of their being ignorant of Irish history and topography, the stuff of his having been archbishop of Dublin; for they had heard, that Dublin was the metropolis of Ireland. Harris, to pay a compliment to Dublin, has foisted Livin and other pretended bishops, prior to the times of the Danes, into Ware's account of the prelates of Dublin. He says, (*p. 303.*) that Colgan makes Livin bishop there. Now this is unfair; for Colgan merely refers to Ware (*Bishops of Dublin*) without adding any assertion of his own. Yet he had no right to

make that reference; for Ware, who indeed names Livinus in his treatise *De Praesulibus Lagemae*, published in 1628, that to which Colgan refers, does not make him bishop of Dublin, but, on the contrary, having observed that some historians had so called Livinus, Wiro, and others, does not follow them, beginning his list of the Dublin prelates with Donat or Donagh in the eleventh century. Ware thought so little of Livin's claim, that in his general treatise on the Irish bishops (A. 1665) he has left him out entirely, while he speaks, as before, of Wiro, Rumolo, &c. On this point Burke went still further in his Office for St. Livinus. He says that Livin was not only bishop of Dublin, but likewise that he succeeded, in this see, his uncle Melanchus. Mabillon (*ad A. 650*) makes mention, from the Life written by Boniface (who has nothing about Dublin) of an Irish archbishop called Melanchius and paternal uncle of St. Livin, who is said to have succeeded him; but he does not place either of them in Dublin. Neither Colgan, Ware, nor Harris knew any thing about him, and the whole is undoubtedly a fable, which it would be a waste of time seriously to refute. I suspect that the author of it alluded to one of the Dubhtachs, archbishops of Armagh, probably the second, of whom he might have heard something; and that he hellenized *Dubhtach* into *Melanchus*, *Μελανς χους*, blackmound, from the Irish *dubh*, black, and *tuaim*, mound. Wishing to raise the character of Livinus, he might have thought it allowable to make him a nephew of this Dubhtach, although it is not easy to believe that he could have been so, as Dubhtach II. died in 548.

(120) Malbrancq says, (*De Morin. L. 3. c. 18.*) that Livin preached for some time among the Morini in Picardy.

(121) By *Silvanus*, an universal name in Ireland, was meant, I suppose, one Sillan, or Sillen.

(122) In the Dublin edition of the Tournay Office of St. Livin *Florentius* appears, through mistake, instead of *Florbertus*.

(123) These monasteries were founded by St. Amandus, who was, about these times, bishop of Moastricht. St. Bavo, a native of Brabant and disciple of Amandus, died towards 653. See Mabillon, *ad A. 650*, and Fleury, *L. 38. §. 57.*

(124) Livin had a great veneration for this saint. He wrote

an epitaph for him, which he concludes with praying to him to protect his church at Ghent,

“ Quam tu fundasti, *quae te tenet*, inclyte Bavo
Ecclesiam *meritis protege*, sancte, *tuis.*”

(125) Mabillon from *Life by Boniface.*

(126) “ Hos postquam populos consperi luce serena,
Sol mihi non luxit, nox fuit una mihi.
Impia Barbarico gens exagitata tumultu
Hic *Braebanta* furit, meque cruenta petit.
Quid tibi peccavi, qui pacis nuntia porto?
Pax est quod porto; cur mihi bella moves?
Sed qua tu spiras feritas sors laeta triumpho,
Atque dabit palmam gloria martyrii.
Cui credam novi, nec spe frustrabor inani:
Qui spondet Deus est; quis dubitare potest?”

(127) “ Attamen est aliquid moestae solatia menti
Quod dat, nec penitus me atra premit dies.
Ganda parat gremium, quo me fovet ubere laeto;
Invitat, mulcet, nutrit, amat, refovet.
Hic est Floribertus, quem virtus flore perornat, &c.”

(128) “ Haec quoque dum scribo, properans agitator aselli
Munere nos solito, pondere lassus, adit.
Ruris delicias affert, cum laete butyrum,
Ovaeque caseoli plena canistra premunt, &c.”

(129) “ Egressus patriam, *pompae mortalis honorem*
Sprevi, devovi; spes Deus una mihi.”

(130) See above *Not.* 118.

(131) “ *Holtam* villa gravis, quae nescis reddere fructum,”
&c.”

(132) “ Et pius ille pater cum donis mollia verba
Mittit, et *ad studium sollicitat precibus*;
Ac titulo magnum jubet insignire Bavonem,
Atque leves elegos esse decus tumulo.
Nec reputat, fisso cum stridet fistula ligno,
Quod soleat raucum reddere quassa sonum.
Exigui rivi pauper quam vena ministrat,
Lasso vix tenues (tenuem) unda ministrat opem.
Sic ego, qui quondam *studio florente videbar*
Esse poeta, modo curro pedester equo.

Et qui Castalio dicebar fonte madentem
 Dictaeo versu posse movere lyram,
 Carmina nunc lacero dictant mihi verba Camoenae ;
Mensque dolens, laetis apta nec est modulis.
 Non sum qui fueram festivo carmine laetus :
 Qualiter esse queam, *tela cruenta videns, ? &c.*"

(133) This is the year, at which Mabillon treats of his martyrdom. Fleury (*L.* 38. §. 57.) says *about* 656. Massacus and some others have assigned it to 633, and thus led astray several writers, even Usher, who following them, marks (*Ep. H. Syll.*) said year as the date of the Epistle to Florbert. It is easy to refute this position ; for it is allowed that St. Livin did not arrive at Ghent until after the death of St. Bavo, which occurred about 653 (See above *Not.* 123.) The same Massacus, who is quoted also by Ware (*Writers at Livin*) says that he was put to death in the very year of his arrival in that country. But from what is said of his having converted a *great* number of pagans it would appear, that he must have spent there, at least, somewhat more than a year. On the other hand it is stated, (see *Office*) that Bavo was dead three years before his arrival in Ghent. Now supposing that Bavo died in the latter end of 652, and admitting that St. Livin was killed in 656, there will remain only about one year for his mission in Flanders and Brabant. It might, however, be argued on some collateral grounds, that St. Bavo's death was not, so long as three years, prior to St. Livin's arrival ; but, in the want of authentic documents, it is better to dismiss the subject.

§. XIII. The holy virgin Dympna is usually supposed to have suffered martyrdom about these times. But, if she was, as constantly said to be, a native of Ireland, it is, consistently with her history, more probable, that she lived at either an earlier or a later period than the seventh century. It is related that she was the daughter of an Irish pagan king, who, having lost his wife, conceived an unnatural affection for her and wished to marry her, on account of her extraordinary beauty and the great likeness she bore to her mother. Dympna

was secretly a Christian, and had been baptized and instructed by a worthy priest named Gerebern, by whom her mother also, and others, used to be privately attended. To avoid being forced to submit to her father's horrid proposal, she contrived to make her escape from Ireland, accompanied by Gerebern and some other persons, and safely arrived at Antwerp, whence she went to Gela or Gheel, then a small place, but now a populous town in Brabant. Here she found a church dedicated to St. Martin, not far from which she procured a habitation for herself and her companions, where they led a most religious life, Gerebern celebrating mass for them in the church. The king, on being apprized of her escape, sailed in quest of her, attended by many followers, and having arrived also at Antwerp sent persons here and there through the country to make enquiries about her. Some of them happened to stop for a night at Westerloo, and on the next morning, when paying their host, for the entertainment they had received, in Irish money, were told by him, that he had some pieces very like it, of which he did not know the precise value. On being asked how he had come by them he said, that a young and very beautiful lady, who had come over from Ireland and lived in a retired place not far distant, together with a venerable old priest, used to send some of them to him for such articles as she was in need of. Having got themselves directed to that place, they saw Dymphna at a distance, and, on their recognizing her, immediately returned to Antwerp and informed the king of what had occurred. He went with his attendants to the spot, and having there found her and Gerebern, endeavoured to persuade her to agree to his infamous wish. Gerebern beginning to remonstrate against his conduct was instantly ordered to be put to death; and after this was executed the king used every exertion to bring her over to his purpose.

Dympna was inflexible, and reproaching him with the wickedness of his proceeding declared, that she detested his gods and goddesses, and that nothing should induce her to offend her true lover Jesus Christ. On this the king became outrageous, and gave orders that she should be beheaded. As all his attendants declined to obey this command, he became the executioner himself and murdered his own daughter. Her remains and those of Gerebern were left exposed on the ground, but after some days were deposited in a cavern by some of the neighbouring inhabitants. They were in process of time removed elsewhere, those of Gerebern to a place now called Southbeck in the duchy of Cleves, and Dympna's to Gheel, where they are preserved in a precious urn, and with great care, in a collegiate church called by her name. The day of her martyrdom is said to have been a 30th of May, the 15th of said month, on which her festival is kept, being the anniversary of a translation of her reliques. The year is unknown, and even the century is uncertain, it being scarcely credible that it was the seventh. (134).

(134) In the Acts of St. Dympna *ap.* Messingham (*Florileg.*) and the Bollandists at 15 May (written by Peter, a Canon Regular of St. Autbert of Cambrai in the 13th century,) whence I have taken this narrative, and which have been closely followed by Burke (*Offic. propr.*) it is said that she suffered about A. D. 600. The Bollandists (*Comment. pr. ad S. Dympna & S. Gerebern.*) speak of their martyrdom as having occurred, scemingly, in the 7th century. Thence they throw out a conjecture, that these saints were perhaps Anglo-Saxons, many of that nation being at that period still pagans; whereas the Irish were then universally Christians, and, they add, had already begun to instruct and enlighten the people of various other countries. They observe that in one passage of Dympna's Acts, where her father is said to have been a king, a MS. of Utrecht has *Britannia*. But in every other MS. and document relative to her we find *Hibernia*; and in her

Acts we meet with it not once but several times. They say that *Gerebern* has rather an Anglo-Saxon than Irish sound; as if the termination *ern* were unusual in Irish names. Now it is well known, that it was not so; and in our ancient history we meet with *Fortchern*, *Libern*, &c. Several Irish names at this very day terminate, at least, as they are pronounced, in the same manner. Their other conjecture is much more plausible; viz. that *Dympna* was the daughter of a Danish king of some part of Ireland during the time that the Danes and Norwegians, who had established themselves in this country, continued pagans. Those nations had very loose ideas of matrimonial rules and impediments. According to this hypothesis, *Dympna's* times could not have been earlier than the 9th century. It is certainly preferable to the opinion of her having lived in the seventh, or even in the latter part of the sixth, at which period all the Irish princes appear in our history as Christians; and consequently it cannot be supposed, that any one of them would have proposed such an incestuous marriage. But, besides the whole of the fifth century, we find likewise in the early part of the sixth some pagan kings or chieftains in Ireland, and it appears probable that *St. Dympna's* martyrdom occurred either before 500, or not long after it. A celebrated holy virgin named *Dymna al. Damnad*, of the great house of *Orgiel*, was highly revered in that country (*Louth*, *Monaghan*, &c.) and was distinguished by the surname *Schene*, that is, the fugitive. She is said by our genealogists to have been the daughter, or as *Colgan* explains it, the paternal grand daughter of *Daimhein*, or *Damen* a king of *Orgiel*, and who was also the grandfather of *St. Enda of Arran*. *Dymna* was not, however, sister to *St. Enda*, as her name does not appear among those of his sisters, who are often mentioned. Following the genealogists, she must have been either a first cousin or aunt of his. In either case, considering the times in which *Enda* lived, *Dymna* must have been born prior to 500. (See *Chap. VIII. §. 7.*) That *Damen* was a Christian we have no reason to believe; and, at least, one of the princes his sons might have been a pagan. On the whole then *Colgan's* conjecture (*AA. SS. p. 713.*) that this *Dymna*, the fugitive, was the same as *St. Dympna* the martyr, is not probable; and thus the guilty father was either *Damen* or a son of his; and her martyrdom ought not to be assigned to a later

period than about A. D. 500. It may be thought strange, that even a pagan, any how civilized, could have resolved on marrying his own daughter; but incestuous marriages of this and even of a worse kind were not unusual among some nations, otherwise far removed from the savage state, such as the Persians in the proudest times of their empire. It is certain that the pagan Irish had several customs and practices, both religious and political, similar to those of the Persians and some other Orientals. The mode of contracting marriages is said to have been nearly the same in Ireland as in Persia (See Vallancey, *Vindication*, &c. p. 351.). In the pagan times of Ireland some instances occur even of that worst of Persian practices, the marriage of a son with his mother. (O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. 282 and 287.) To the hypothesis of St. Dymphna having suffered about 500 it may be objected that the Andoverpes or people about Antwerp were pagans until the seventh century, (see Fleury, *L.* 38. §. 29) and many of them still later. But in the saint's Acts they are not represented as Christians in her time, although it is said there was a church at Gheel. Besides our not being bound to believe this part of the narrative, it may be observed, that a church or chapel might have been erected there by some former missionaries, which, however, was neglected by the inhabitants. It may also be said, that in the latter end of said 7th century Antwerp was but a small place, a *castrum*, as appears from the Life of St. Villebrod. This difficulty is easily removed; whereas in the Acts it is called only a *castrum*, and there is no allusion to its having been in St. Dymphna's days a place of consequence.

§. XIV. Another Irish saint, well known in the continent, concerning whose times there are various opinions, although his transactions are tolerably well recorded, is St. Fridolin (135) surnamed the traveller. That he was a native of Ireland is now universally admitted; but of what part of it is difficult to decide. (136) His birth was illustrious, and he is usually said to have been the son of a king. (137) Having embraced the ecclesiastical state, he was raised to the priesthood and preached with great zeal for some time in various parts of Ireland. Wish-

ing to visit foreign countries he passed over to France, and after preaching here and there for some time became a member of St. Hilary's monastery at Poitiers, where he remained for a considerable time, and was so much esteemed by the community and the bishop and clergy, that he was elected abbot. He then completed an object, which he had greatly at heart; the rebuilding of St. Hilary's church, in which he was assisted by the king Clovis, and by the bishop and inhabitants, and placed in it the remains of that saint, reserving a part of them for himself. During this time he was visited by two priests relatives of his, who had come from Northumberland to see him. (138) Leaving them at Poitiers, and taking with him the portion he had reserved of the reliques of St. Hilary, Fridolin went to the Eastern parts of France, and stopped near the Moselle, on the bank of which he erected a monastery in honour of the same saint, which has been thence called *Helera*. (139) Having remained there only as long as was necessary to complete that foundation, he built a church amidst the Vosges likewise in honour of St. Hilary, perhaps that which was named *Hilariacum*, and in course of time *the monastery of St. Nabor*. (140) Thence he proceeded to Strasburgh, where also he erected a church under the same denomination. Next we find him at Coire in the Grison country, and here likewise founding a church of St. Hilary. While there, he inquired of the inhabitants if there were any island in the Rhine as yet uninhabited, and was informed there was one, of which, however, they could not give him a precise account. He went in search of it, and at length found the island of Seckingen, a well known place several miles up the Rhine above Basle, and where now is one of the Forest towns. When examining it for the purpose of discovering whether it were fit for the erection of a church, he was ill treated and flogged by the inhabitants of the

neighbouring district as if he were a robber. But having soon after got a grant of the island from the king, (141) he founded a church and a religious house for females, towards the endowment of which he got some lands from Urso a nobleman of Glaris in Switzerland. (142) Thenceforth he seems to have spent the remainder of his life in Seckingen together with some disciples of his, of whom he had formed a community, prior, it is said, to his having established the nunnery. (143) He died there on a sixth of March, (144) but in what year is not known. There are great doubts even as to the century, in which he flourished; but, although I have on account of these doubts treated of him in this place, I think the most probable opinion is that, which assigns him to the latter part of the seventh and the early part of the eighth. (145) Some writings have been attributed to this saint, but upon no sufficient authority. (146)

(135) Colgan has at 6 March, various Acts and accounts of St. Fridolin. The most ancient is a Life by Baltherus, who studied in the monastery of St. Gall, and afterwards was a clergyman of Seckingen. He dedicated this tract to a Notker of St. Gall, who, according to Colgan and the Bollandists was the celebrated Notker Balbulus, who died in 912. Hence, it was concluded, that Baltherus wrote said Life some time after the middle of the ninth century. But, as Mabillon observes, (*Annal. &c.* at *A.* 590.) it must have been written much later; for Baltherus, both in his preface and at the end of the second book, speaks of an incursion of pagans at Seckingen as having occurred long before, *jam olim*. This was by the Hungarians in 938. Besides Notker Balbulus there were five other Notkers at St. Gall, two in the tenth century, one in the 11th, another in the 12th, and one still later. The Notker, addressed by Baltherus, must have been one of the last. Yet the lateness of the period, at which he wrote, does not weaken the authority of his work; as he declares, that he took it from what he had read in an old book, which he had met with in France. In

Colgan's edition of it many errors occur, which the Bollandists in theirs have endeavoured to correct.

(136) In the Life by Baltherus we read; (*L. 1. c. 1.*) " Beatus Fridolinus ab extremis partibus *inferioris* Scotiae oriundus esse non ambigitur, quae videlicet apud ipsos Scótigenas *Hibernia* nuncupata, &c." Colgan thought that by *inferioris* or the lower part of Ireland the author meant the North. This does not agree with what Baltherus has (*ib. c. 6.*) concerning a sort of sea, which separates lower Scotia or Ireland from the upper part. The only great water boundary in Ireland is the Shannon, and accordingly the division alluded to seems to refer not to North and South, but to East and West. The part, pointed at by Baltherus, of that water boundary was where shipping could be taken for a foreign country; and it is stated that Fridolin had a long journey from his own country before he reached it. Considering this data, it may be supposed to have been towards the mouth of the Shannon, and it will appear probable that the country, whence Fridolin went thither, was some inferior and far distant part of Connaught. I say *Connaught* preferably to an Eastern part of Ireland; for Fridolin's country is said to have been at the extremity of lower Ireland. If by this was meant the East, said extremity would, calculating from where Baltherus lived, probably have been placed by him towards the West, and thus would have touched the Shannon instead of being far distant from it. Yet these are mere conjectures; nor can any certain conclusion be drawn from such loose geographical indications. It may even be suspected, that by *lower and upper Scotia* Baltherus meant not two divisions of Ireland, but the old Scotia (all Ireland) and the new Scotia, or modern Scotland; and that the sea he mentions was that, which separates the two countries. At the time he lived, which was undoubtedly not before the 11th or 12th century, N. Britain had begun to be known by the name of *Scotia*. But in this hypothesis how are we to explain what he says of Fridolin having been born in the extremity of lower Scotia, (Ireland) and his proceeding thence by a long journey to that sea for the purpose of sailing for France? Could he have meant by said *extremity* the Southern part of Ireland as being the most remote from Scotland? Yet in this case, how account for his going to the North to procure a passage for France? The whole matter is so obscure, that I shall say no more

about it. Other writers, who treat of Fridolin, such as Gapar, Bruschius, Canisius, Guilliman, &c. quoted in *AA. SS.* (p. 492) make mention of him in general terms as an Irishman, or as Mabillon calls him, *Scotto-Hibernus*. The Bollandists reject the pretensions of certain Scotch writers, who claimed him their countryman.

(137) Some writers merely say that he was of royal blood. Bartherus, without touching on royalty, represents him as a person of highly distinguished family.

(138) *Life*, *L. 1. c. 16.* It is said that these two priests were nephews of his, and they are spoken of as having remained at Poitiers and died there. (*AA. SS. p. 490.*) Their having come from Northumberland shows, that they had been missionaries in that country.

(139) *Life L. 1. c. 19. and Preface.* Several writers make Helera the same as Hilariacum a monastery in Lorraine and diocese of Metz, which, according to Claudius Roberti, (*Gallia Christiana*, p. 628.) was founded by St. Fridolin, endowed by Sigebold bishop of Metz, and dedicated in the year 714. The Sammarthani have, in their *Gallia Christiana*, followed Roberti. Colgan, who thought that Fridolin lived in the time of Clovis I. endeavours to evade this date by saying, (*AA. SS. p. 480.*) that, although said monastery was founded by Fridolin, the endowment and dedication did not take place until 200 years after his death. But who will believe that the monastery or its church remained undedicated during so very long a period? The Bollandists, who were of Colgan's opinion as to Fridolin having been in France under Clovis I. pronounce that the Sammarthani made a mistake of 200 years, or that the dedication, &c. in Sigebold's time must be understood as a new dedication, &c. They add a much more plausible explanation, *viz.* that Hilariacum was perhaps different from Helera, and quote Meurissius, (*on the bishops of Metz*) who states, that Hilariacum was founded in honour of St. Paul and endowed, &c. in 734. If founded in honour of St. Paul, it must have been different from Helera. Mabillon, although differing from Colgan and the Bollandists as to the times of Fridolin, asserts, (*Annal. Ben. ad. A. 590*) that Helera and Hilariacum were different places. Besides observing that the latter was dedicated not to St. Hilary but to St. Paul, he adduces an argument much less easy

to answer, which is that Hilariacum was situated not on the Moselle but not far from the Saar, at a considerable distance from the former river. It still existed in his own times, whereas Helera, he says, had been long extinct. As to the argument taken from Hilariacum having been dedicated to St. Paul, this assertion may be safely denied. That monastery was known by the name of St. Hilary before it got that of St. Nabor, in consequence of the body of this saint having been placed there by Chrodegang bishop of Metz about A. D. 763. (See Fleury *L.* 43. §. 37.) The very name *Hilariacum* shows, that the patron saint was at first Hilary. But how can we answer the argument of Hilariacum not being on the Moselle? I think it must be allowed that Helera, which was certainly on it, was a different place. Might not, however, Hilariacum also have been one of Fridolin's foundations? In his *Life*, immediately after the account of his having erected Helera, we read that having left that place, and before his arrival at Strasburgh, he erected a church amidst or near the Vosges (of Lorraine) likewise in honour of St. Hilary. I suspect that this is the church that gave rise to Hilariacum, or, as afterwards called, the monastery of St. Nabor, *al.* St. Avol. This place is nearer to the Saar than to the Moselle, and being in the Eastern or mountainous part of Lorraine answers to the description of the tract, in which Baltherus says that Fridolin founded a church after he had left the banks of the Moselle. Thus then it remains that Hilariacum, although different from Helera, was a foundation also of Fridolin; and the argument against the statement of Roberti, &c. falls to the ground.

(140) See *Not. prec.*

(141) This was one of the French kings, to whom that country then belonged. Which of them he was will be inquired into lower down.

(142) *Life*, *L.* 2. c. 6. Guilliman, *De Rebus Helvetiorum*, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 493.) says that Fridolin had founded a monastery at Glaris.

(143) *AA. SS.* p. 480.

(144) *Life*, *L.* 2. c. 5.

(145) A crowd of writers, quoted by Colgan, (*AA. SS.* p. 491.) place the arrival of Fridolin in France in the reign of Clovis the first. With them the Bollandists agree, who, however, reject the opinion of those, who pretend that he was in that country as

early as the year 495. It is plain that he was not long there, before he entered the monastery of St. Hilary at Poitiers. Now this could not have been prior to 507, the year in which Clovis defeated Alaric king of the Visigoths in the battle of Vouillé and got possession of that city. This circumstance was not attended to by those writers. They looked only to the time, about which Clovis became a Christian. Yet, notwithstanding the agreement of so many authors of more or less repute, the fact is, that the Clovis, during whose reign Fridolin arrived in France, was not Clovis the first. Baltherus, indeed, repeatedly calls the king, with whom Fridolin was contemporary, Clovis, or Clodoveus; but he does not state which Clovis he was. He might have meant Clovis the second, who reigned between 638 and 656, were it not that this Clovis was king of Neustria and Burgundy, whereas Baltherus represents (*L. 1. c. 10.*) his Clovis as reigning far and wide. There was a third Clovis, who reigned in the latter end of the seventh century, and whose empire was very extensive. It is true that he was one of the kings called *faineans*, the real power being in the hands of the mayor of the palace Pepin of Heristal. Yet he retained the name of king, and was most probably the Clovis meant by Baltherus. That Fridolin did not arrive in France as early as the times of Clovis I. is evident from various circumstances touched upon by Baltherus, whose authority is the best we have. According to him Christianity appears to have been completely established in Ireland at the time of Fridolin's departure from France; there was a great body of clergy, &c. This representation does not suit the religious state of Ireland at the period, in which Clovis I. reigned. And why should Fridolin in his zeal for propagating the Gospel have left his own country at a time when there was ample scope for his exertions at home? These holy expeditions of our missionaries to the continent had not begun as early as the commencement of the sixth century. Next comes the very remarkable circumstance of the priests, Fridolin's nephews, who had come to him from Northumberland. (*Above Not. 138.*) There were no Irish priests in Northumberland until the year 635. (*See Chap. xv. §. 12.*)

Mabillon (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 590.*) thinking that he had discovered the real period, at which Fridolin flourished, rejects the opinion of its having been during the reign of Clovis I. He re-

jects also that of Roberti, &c. which brings him down as late as the eighth century, arguing from the circumstance of Hilariacum having been different from Helera. But we have seen (*Not.* 139.) that this argument is not of such weight as he imagined. He maintains, that the time, at which Fridolin founded Helera, was about 590. His proof is founded on a letter written by one Gogus, who had been a powerful man at the court of Sigebert I. king of Austrasia, to Peter bishop of Metz, in which he salutes an abbot who was wont to visit the thresholds of saints, and had just erected a church on the banks of the Moselle; *cujus gressibus indesinenter sanctorum limina visitantur—nunc super Mosellae litoribus praeclsa templi cernitur construxisse jam culmina.* The name of this abbot is not mentioned; but from these circumstances Mabillon concludes, that he was undoubtedly Fridolin. This opinion is quite contrary to the statement of Baltherus as to king Clovis; for at the period assigned by Mabillon there was no king of that name, and hence he asserts that Baltherus was wrong in attributing to Clovis (the first, as Mabillon understood him) transactions relative to Fridolin, which occurred under some of his successors. There is, however, another point not adverted to by Mabillon, that of Fridolin's nephews having arrived at Poitiers from Northumberland. In his hypothesis this must have been not later than about 590; now there were no Irish priests in Northumberland at that time, nor for many years after. Mabillon's main argument is that the abbot there spoken of by Gogus built a church on the Moselle. I do not see how this proves, that said abbot was Fridolin. There might have been others, who erected churches on the banks of that river.

Calmet, although he had Mabillon's Annals before his eyes, does not follow his system as to Fridolin. He says, (*Hist. de Lorraine, L. VII. §. 18.*) that Fridolin arrived in France early in the sixth century. Enough has been said to show, that, unless we are to reject the authority of Baltherus, this cannot be true. Calmet attributes the foundation of Hilariacum to Fridolin, and observes that the monastery of St. Maximin at Treves had been at first called the *cell of St. Hilary*. He thinks that it got this name from Fridolin; and in this case it may be supposed to have been the Helera of Baltherus, whereas Treves lies on the Moselle, and accordingly not extinct as Mabillon has said. Yet it

must seem odd that Baltherus does not mention Treves, when marking the situation of Helera. But even admitting that the St. Hilary's cell at Treves was founded by Fridolin, the question remains at what time it began to be called the monastery of St. Maximin. Calmet refers to a diploma attributed to Dagobert I. and said to have been written in 634, in favour of St. Peter's church at Treves, in which the monastery of St. Maximin is mentioned as having been formerly called the *cell of St. Hilary*. If this document were genuine, it should be admitted that said cell was very ancient; but, as far as I can judge, it is a spurious composition; and although there was a *church* of St. Maximin at Treves in the sixth century, there seems not to have been a *monastery* there of that name until a much later period. Whether or not the St. Hilary's cell of Treves was founded by Fridolin, nothing decisive can be deduced towards fixing the time of its origin from the confused accounts, that are given relatively to the *monastery* of St. Maximin.

On the whole I do not find any authority or argument sufficient to overthrow the position of Claudius Roberti and the Sammarthani as to the times in which Fridolin flourished. It has been objected, that Hilariacum, of which, according to them, he was the founder, was in reality founded by the bishop Sigebold. Some writers have indeed said so, such as Paulus diaconus, (*Gesta episcoporum Metensium*, ap. Calmet *Append. to Hist. de Lorraine*, Tom. 1.); but this can be easily explained, inasmuch as although founded by Fridolin, it was endowed by Sigebold, as Roberti, and the Sammarthani state. In this manner the various authorities are easily reconciled, and the very assertion of Paulus affords a strong criterion for discovering the time of Fridolin. He does not say, that Sigebold repaired said monastery, as the Bollandists thought might have been the case, but that he founded it; and accordingly points out its origin. On the other hand every circumstance tends to show, that the prime mover on this occasion was Fridolin. From all that we have now seen I think it may safely be concluded, that Fridolin arrived in France after the middle of the seventh century; that, having spent many years in the monastery of St. Hilary of Poitiers, he became abbot of it during the reign of Clovis III. by whom he was much patronized; and that after some time, resigning the abbacy, he removed to the eastern parts

of France. In what year he founded Helera, we cannot form a conjecture; and even as to Hilariacum, although said to have been dedicated in 714, it cannot be decided whether that was the precise year of its foundation, as it might have taken place a few years sooner. The dates of his subsequent transactions are equally uncertain.

There still remains one point to be inquired into. Baltherus, who mentions Clovis as king when Fridolin was abbot at Poitiers, speaks of the same king as still patronizing him after he had passed over to the banks of the Moselle, and even as far as Seckingen. Now this cannot be easily reconciled with the date 714 marked for the dedication of Hilariacum. Clovis the third was dead since 695. If Hilariacum was founded during his reign, it is hard to think that it would have remained undedicated until 714. And considering the shortness of that king's reign, which lasted only five years, it can scarcely be admitted, that Fridolin's transactions, including his being appointed abbot of Poitiers, down to the foundation of Seckingen, could have been comprized within it. It cannot be said that we should therefore suppose the Clovis of Baltherus to have been Clovis the second, whose reign lasted 18 years; for, omitting other difficulties, this Clovis had no power in Austrasia, the scene of Fridolin's latter proceedings. I think the whole matter may be easily explained by supposing that the real patron of Fridolin, in whatever part of France he happened to be, was Pepin of Heristal, who was mayor of the palace under Clovis III. at the time that Fridolin was at Poitiers, and afterwards under his successors Childebert III. and Dagobert III. Baltherus, having met with the name of Clovis on the occasion of Fridolin being at Poitiers, might have imagined that he was still king when Fridolin was moving along the Moselle and the Rhine. On these occasions he does not mention the name of Clovis; but speaks of the *aforsaid* king. Now the real king was in those days Pipin, and Baltherus was probably unacquainted with the names of some of the nominal ones. Pepin was a great encourager of missionaries. (See Fleury, *L.* 40. §. 47.)

I should not have troubled the reader with this long note, were it not for the confusion, in which the history of St. Fridolin has been thrown by various hypotheses as to the times in which he lived, and which might almost excite doubts concerning his ex-

istence. Such doubts would, however, be ridiculous ; for, besides the constant tradition of the establishments which he founded or governed, particularly Seckingen, there is scarcely a saint, whose memory has been more celebrated for centuries in Lorraine, Alsace, Germany, and Switzerland. The account given of him by Baltherus bears, generally speaking, great marks of authenticity ; nor would any confusion have arisen, had his Clovis not been mistaken for Clovis the first. Among the very many authors who treat of Fridolin, Canisius and Murer have each written his Life in German.

(146) The chief authority is that of Dempster, who, as Colgan and the Bollandists observe on this occasion, attributes to holy men what they might have done, without caring whether they did it or not. The pretended works of Fridolin are mentioned by Harris, *Writers*.

§. xv. Several other distinguished persons from Ireland are spoken of as having illustrated France and Belgium by their piety and zeal in the seventh century. A St. Tressan or Tresan is said to have been a companion of Foillan, Ultan, Eloquius, &c.

(147) But other accounts state, that St. Tressan was living in France as early as the beginning of the sixth century. (148) According to his Acts he was an illiterate man, but a very religious good Christian. Wishing to lead the life a pilgrim, he went to France taking along with him six brothers, Gibrian, Helan, German, Veran, Abran, Petran, and three sisters, Fracla, Promptia, and Posemna, all very devout persons. (149) He stopped in the territory of Rheims near the Marne in the time of the bishop St. Remigius, by whom Clovis I. was baptized. After some years, having acquired sufficient learning, he was ordained priest by St. Remigius on the recommendation of Genebaldus bishop of Laon. (150) Tressan spent the remainder of his life in the diocese of Rheims near the Marne, and having distinguished himself by his great piety and some miracles, died on a 7th of February, and was buried at Avenay in

Champagne. (151) With this account of the times of St. Tressan agrees that given of those of his brother Gibrian, who is said to have arrived in France in the time of Clovis I. and St. Remigius, (152) and, having led a very holy life in the district of Chalons sur Marne, to have died there, whence his remains were long after, viz. in the latter end of the 9th century, removed to Rheims, (153) where his memory is revered on the 8th of May. A similar agreement occurs likewise in what is said of Helan, who is revered also at Rheims and elsewhere on the 7th of October. (154) As to the other brothers and the sisters, scarcely any thing particular is recorded; but it seems rash to deny, that this whole groupe belonged to the times of St. Remigius. Yet the matter is not quite certain; (155) and accordingly, as I have found some of them mentioned as having flourished in the seventh century, I deferred treating of them until this period.

(147) See above §. 10. 11. Molanus, following a Life of Eloquius, joins with them Tressan and others. (See *AA. SS. p. 273.*)

(148) According to Sigebert's chronicle Tressan was in France in 509. Colgan and the Bollandists have published at 7 February the Acts of Tressan from a MS. of the monastery of St. Remigius of Rheims. Flodoard, who lived in the tenth century, and who treats of him and his brothers, &c. in his history of Rheims, seems to have read these Acts.

(149) Acts, *cap. 1.* Elsewhere the names of the sisters are spelt in a different manner. But this is a matter of no consequence. These brothers and sisters are mentioned also by Flodoard.

(150) Genebaldus was appointed to that see about A. D. 500. He was its first bishop. (See Fleury, *L. 30. §. 46.*)

(151) Colgan was, as the Bollandists justly observe, wrong in saying, that the body of St. Tressan rests at Rheims. The Acts place it at Avenay; and there is no account of its having been removed. An abness of Avenay procured the printing of an

Office of this saint at Rheims in the year 1600, which was taken from these Acts, such as I have now given the substance of.

(152) The Bollandists have the Acts of Gibrian at 8 May. The seven brothers and three sisters are mentioned in them as in the Acts of Tressan. A breviary of Rheims, referred to by the Bollandists, assigns Gibrian's arrival in France to the reign of Clovis I.

(153) According to Gibrian's Acts this removal took place when Tulco was archbishop of Rheims, and therefore some time between 882 and 900.

(154) Colgan quotes the following passage from a Life of St. Helan, published at Rheims in 1612. "Clodoveo rege Francorum recenter ad fidem Christianam conversa et baptizato, cum res Ecclesie Gallicanæ imprimis regerentur a S. Remigio archiepiscopo Remensi, ex Hibernia insula, quam Scotorum gens incolebat, in Christiani vigoris dignitate florens, omnibusque vicinis gentibus fide præpollens—peregrinationis ob amorem Christi gratia septem fratres eximia pietatis ac virtutum exemplaria cum tribus sororibus suis divina inspiratione incitati venerunt in Franciam; nimirum Gibrianus, Helanus, Tressanus," &c. as above. (See more *AA. SS.* p. 274.)

(155) In a Life of Eloquius, Helan, Tressan, German, and Veran, are named as companions of his. If this be true, they must have lived in the seventh century, and so also Gibrian and the other persons of that family. The Bollandists (*Comment. pr. ad Vit. S. Tressani*) are angry with the author, or perhaps interpolator, of said Life for having made Helan, &c. contemporary with Eloquius, and think it strange that Molanus has followed it. But is it certain that no mistake was committed in drawing up the Acts of Tressan, &c. upon which mainly depends the opinion of these persons having flourished in the times of Clovis I. and St. Remigius? Might not some old document have assigned their times to the reign of a Clovis, without adding who that Clovis was? The period mentioned in the Life of Eloquius corresponds to the reign of Clovis the second. The compilers of the Acts of Tressan, &c. might have mistaken this Clovis for Clovis the first. It is true that the specific mention, in Tressan's Acts, of Remigius, and, what is more remarkable, of Genebaldus, affords a strong argument against this supposition. Yet it may be still

suspected, that these compilers, knowing that these bishops lived in the reign of Clovis I. introduced their names without sufficient authority. The Bollandists urge, that in the said Life of Eloquentius is mentioned also a Columbanus as one of his companions. Thinking that the author meant the great St. Columbanus of Luxeu, they hence conclude that the passage relative to these companions is not worthy of credit. They should, however, have reflected, that the Columbanus there mentioned is not marked by any epithet of distinction; and that there might have been a person of that name, which was very common in Ireland, among the companions of Eloquentius, different both as to time and place from the great one. Colgan reckons (*AA. SS. p. 96.*) Tressan and his three above mentioned brothers among those companions as disciples of St. Fursey, and yet elsewhere, (*ib. p. 274*) contradicting himself, maintains that they lived in the times of Clovis I.

§. XVI. St. Madelgar, or Maldegar, surnamed Vincent, who certainly lived in the seventh century, is said to have been a native of Ireland. (156) He was a military man, and had so distinguished himself by his exploits in the service of the French kings, that he was raised to the rank of Count. (157) He resided in Hainaut, and married Waldetrudis a relative of the royal family, (158) by whom he had some children, all of whom are said to have become distinguished by their sanctity. (159) Having lived together for some years they separated for the purpose of leading a religious life. Madelgar retired to the monastery of Mons-altus (Hautmont) in Hainaut, of which he was the founder, and there embraced the monastic state according to the rule of St. Benedict. Some time after Waldetrudis founded a nunnery at Castri-locus, which has given rise to the present city of Mons, and there spent the remainder of her days. I find the foundation of Hautmont assigned to about the year 650. (160) It is said that Madelgar was, before he became a monk, sent on some occasion to Ireland, and that on his return to France he brought with him some

learned and holy men. (161) This much seems certain, that he protected and patronized the Irish monks and missionaries, who happened to be in Hainaut and the neighbouring districts. Among them is particularly mentioned St. Wasnulf a bishop, who spent the latter years of his life in the monastery of Condatum (Condé), where he was buried and his memory is revered on the 1st of October, as the anniversary of his death, and on the 10th of January as that of a translation of his remains. (162) St. Madelgar it said to have erected another monastery at Soignes. (163) He died on the 14th of July about 677. (164) Some other Irish saints are mentioned as having been in France or Belgium in those times, such as Boetius, Corbican, &c. (165) But so little is known about them, that any inquiry into their history would be useless. Nor shall I trouble the reader with researches into the time, at which lived St. Florentinus an Irish priest of great reputation, whose memory is revered at Amboise in France. Let it suffice to observe, that he seems to have belonged to an earlier period than that we are now treating of, and to have been contemporary with St. German of Paris, who died in 576. (166) Roding, an Irishman and abbot of Bellilocus (Beaulieu) in the forest of Argonne, about seven leagues from Verdun and within three of Sainte Menchould, had gone over to France before the year 642, and spent some time there in the monastery of Tabullium (Tholey) in the Vosges. Afterwards he retired to that forest, and set about erecting a monastery, but was soon expelled together with his disciples, by Austresius a powerful and wealthy proprietor of that district, who did not like to allow foreigners to settle there. Roding then went to Rome, but after some time returned to his favourite spot, and having cured Austresius of a complaint, with which God had punished him, got from him a wood in which he founded the monastery of

Bellilocus in or about 642. Numbers of persons chiefly Irish, flocked to place themselves under his care. Having governed this establishment for many years, he appointed, some time before his death, one Stephen abbot of it, and retired with only one companion into a more solitary part of the forest, half a mile distant from the monastery, there preparing himself for eternity. But he used to return to the monastery on every Sunday and great festival to celebrate mass and attend at the offices of the day. He lived until about 680, and died on a 17th of September. His reputation was very great in that country, where he is vulgarly called *St. Rouin*. In the title of a little tract on his life he is called bishop and abbot; but in the tract itself there is nothing to show that he was a bishop. (167)

(156) Colgan promised (*AA. SS. p. 412*) to prove this point at his Acts 14 July, but did not live long enough to publish them. Bollandus speaks of him as an Irishman, at the Acts of St. Erard, 8 January. Mabillon treating of him (*Acta Bened. Tom. 2. p. 672. seqq.*) says it is a mistake to make him an Irishman, and states that he was born at Sterpea (Strepy) in Hainault. But he gives us no proof of this assertion, except that Madelgar possessed great estates in that country. Might he not have acquired estates there without having been a native of it? Fleury, who mentions him, *Hist. Eccl. L. 39 §. 30.* has nothing as to the land of his birth. Some say that he accompanied St. Fursey from Ireland to England and afterwards to France. This does not agree with his having been a military man and married in France, and must be understood of another St. Madelgar, a member of St. Fursey's monastery of Latiniacum or Lagny, and who, as Mabillon observes, (*ib. p. 300.*) was known there by the name of *St. Mauger*. That this Madelgar was an Irishman will not be denied; and he was undoubtedly the one, whom Molanus, Miraeus, and others reckon among the followers and disciples of St. Fursey. (See *AA. SS. p. 96.*) The name *Madelgar* or *Maldegar* seems to indicate, that the surnamed Vincent was a relative of the other; and it may be supposed that, in consequence of said relationship, he went to

France to try his fortune in that country. *Madelgar*, or, probably more correct, *Maldegar* was a well known name in Ireland. There was a Maldogar bishop of Ferns, who died in 676. (*Tr. Th. p. 564.*) That *Vincent* was only his surname is admitted by Mabillon (*ib. p. 672.*) and Fleury (*loc. cit.*), and is clear from the Life of St. Gislenuis, in which we read *ap. Mabillon (ib. p. 793)* “*Madelgarius, qui Vincentius post dictus est in palatio supradicti regis (Dagoberti I.)*”

(157) Colgan, following several writers, calls him Count of Hannonia (Hainaut); for it is said that he was governor of that province. The Bollandists (*Comment. pr. ad Vit. S. Waldetrudis, 9 Apr.*) say that he was a Count not of Hainaut but *in* Hainaut.

(158) She was a daughter of Walbert and Bertilia, and was born during the reign of Dagobert I. and consequently between 622 and 638. (See her Life *ap. Bolland. 9 April.*) Bollandus observes (at *St. Erard 8 January*) that intermarriages were frequent in those times between the French and the Irish, and instances the case of Waldetrudis and Madelgar.

(159) They were two sons, Landric and Dentelin, and two daughters, Aldetrudis and Madelberta. (See *AA. SS. p. 412.*) Mabillon says, (*Acta Ben. Tom. 2. p. 673*) that Dentelin died when only seven years old.

(160) Mabillon, *loc. cit.*

(161) Desmay has (*Life of St. Fursey, cap. 13.*) a ridiculous story of his having been sent as a governor to Ireland by Dagobert I. No part of Ireland was ever subject to the French kings. Others say that he conducted Dagobert the second, who after the death of his father Sigebert II. or III. king of Austrasia in 654 was shaved as a monk and sent to Ireland by Grimoald, who had succeeded his father Pepin of Landen as mayor of the palace. It is hard to think, that Madelgar would have been concerned in this iniquitous transaction; and there is every reason to think, that he had retired from the world before it occurred. Vernulaeus (*De propagatione fidei, &c.*) touching on this subject says that the more probable opinion is that he was an Irishman, and that it is universally allowed that he brought apostolic men from Ireland.

(162) See *AA. SS.* at 10 January. Molanus, Ferrarius, and Vernulacus call him a bishop, and from Ireland.

(163) Baldericus, quoted by Mabillon, says in his chronicle,

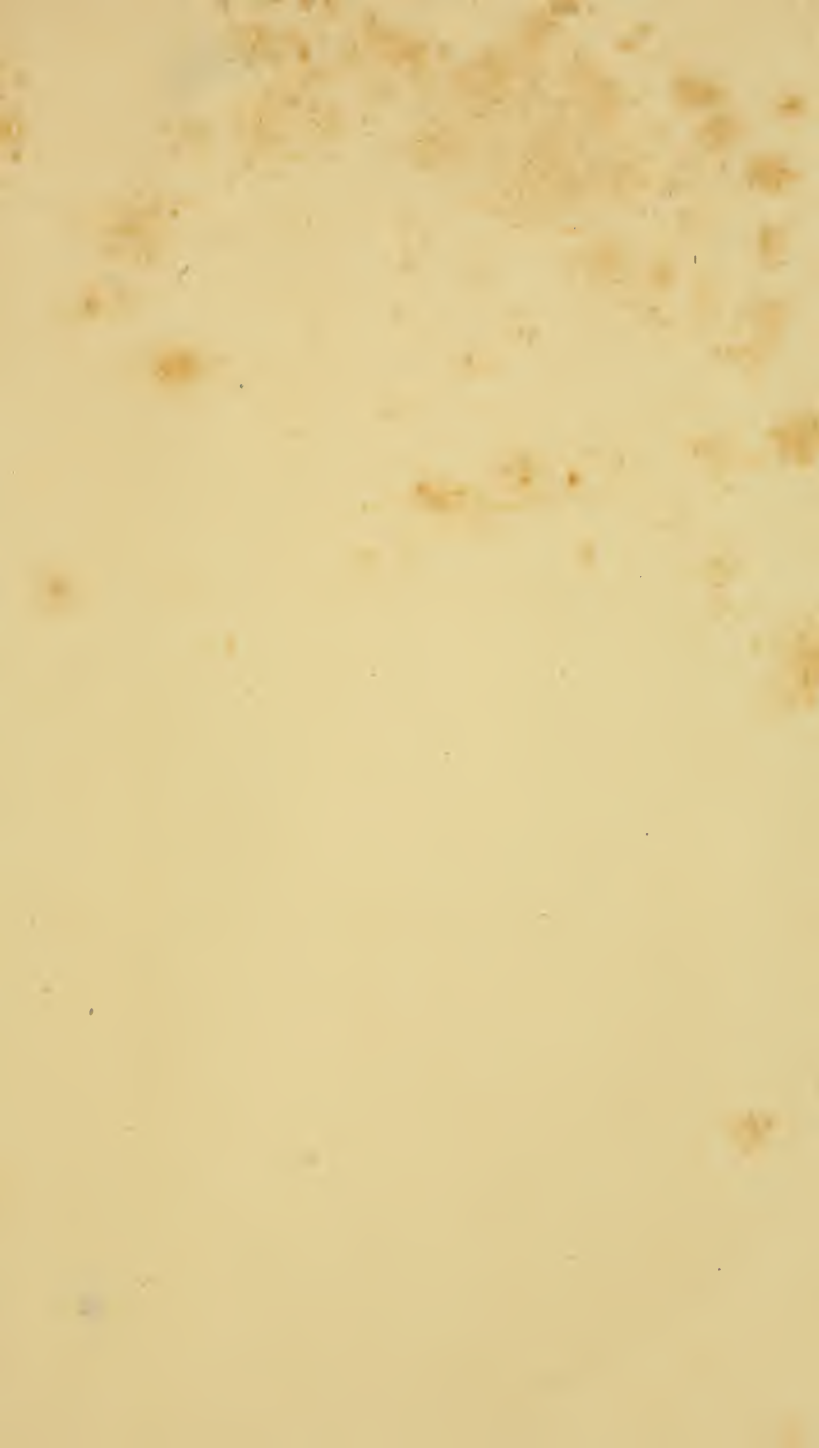
that Madelgar, thinking Hautmont not sufficiently retired, removed to Sonegias (Soignies) a place not far distant, and there erected a monastery. He adds that he was buried there. Other accounts state, that he spent the whole of his monastic life at Hautmont.

(164) Mabillon, *Acta*, &c. *Tom. 2. p. 674.*

(165) Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 96.*

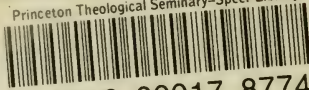
(166) According to Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) Florentinus was distinguished in 560. Compare with *Primordia*, p. 760. *seqq.*

(167) For this saint see Mabillon, *Annal. Ben.* at A. 642 and 680. and *Acta Ben. Appendix to Sec. iv. Part 2.* where he has published the Life of St. Roding written by an abbot Richard in the eleventh century. That Life is rather incorrect in one or two points, as, *ex. c.* when it states that Roding left Ireland at the same time with Columbanus and Gallus. He could not have left it so early.

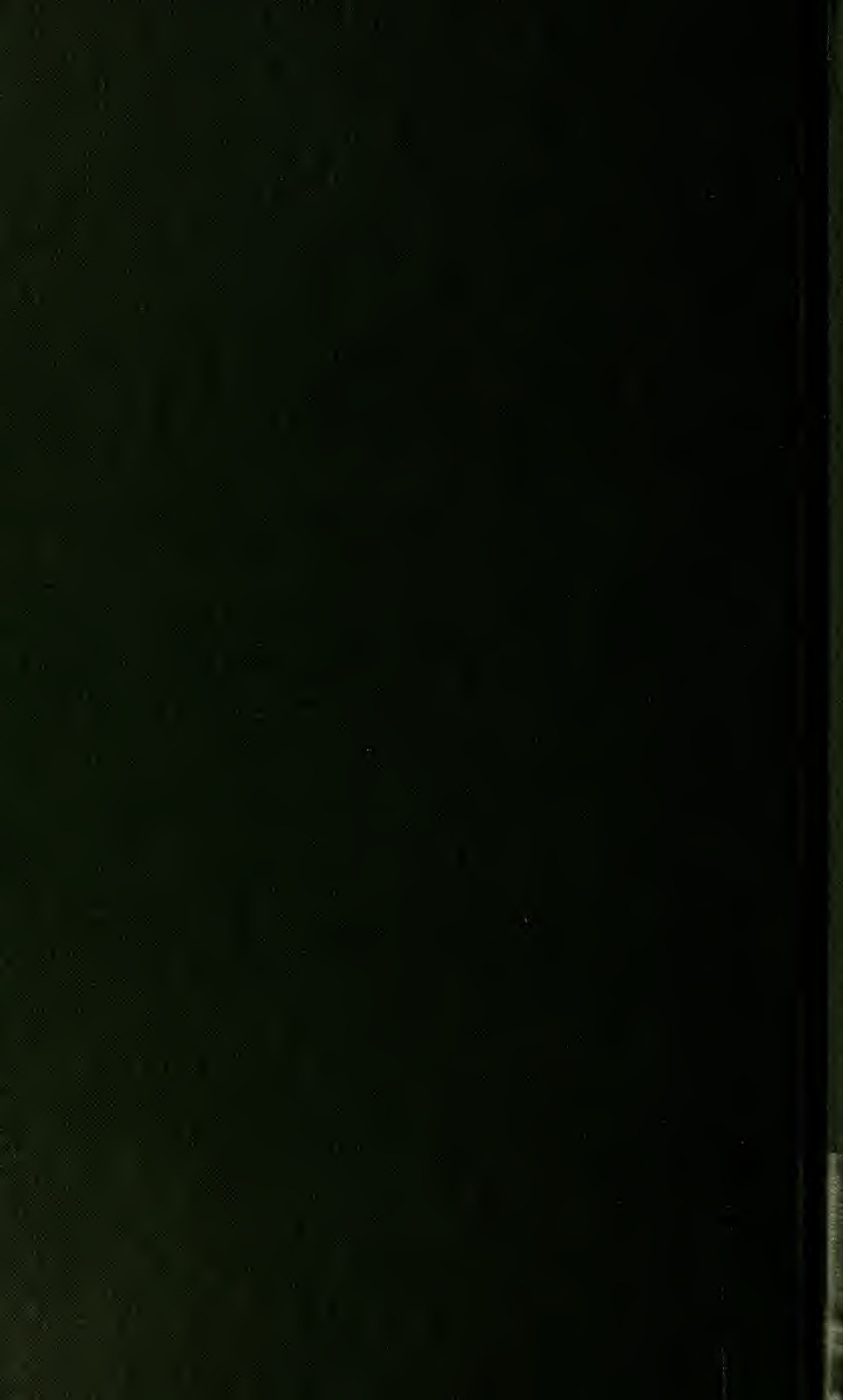


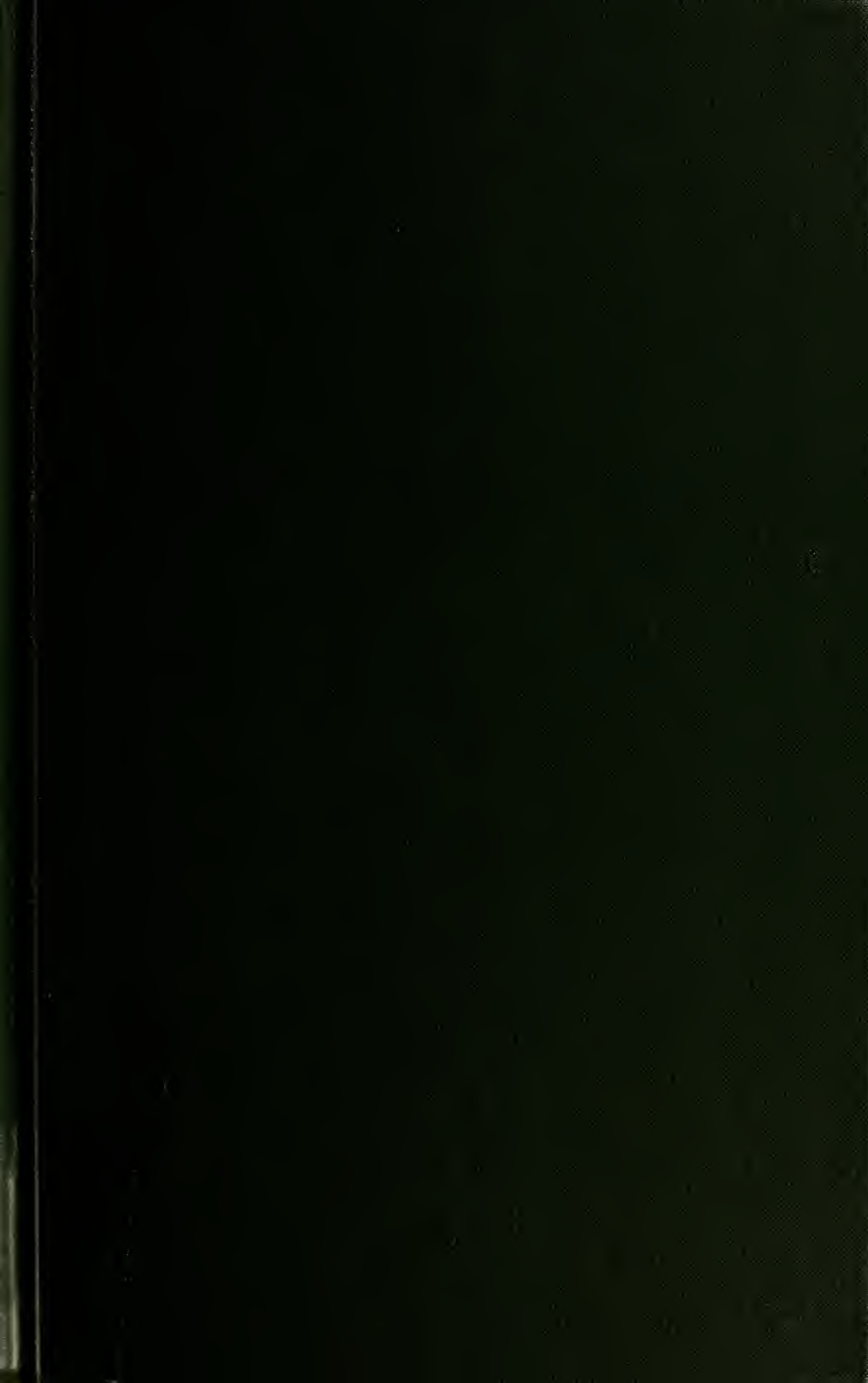
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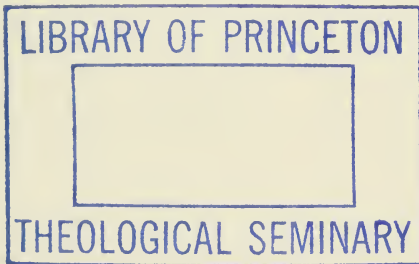
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IRELAND,
FROM THE
FIRST INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY
AMONG THE IRISH,
TO
THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

COMPILED

FROM THE WORKS OF THE MOST ESTEEMED AUTHORS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC,
WHO HAVE WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED ON MATTERS CONNECTED WITH

THE IRISH CHURCH;

AND FROM IRISH ANNALS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS,

STILL EXISTING IN MANUSCRIPT.

By THE REV. JOHN LANIGAN, D. D.,
FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, THE SACRED SCRIPTURES, AND
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PAVIA.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

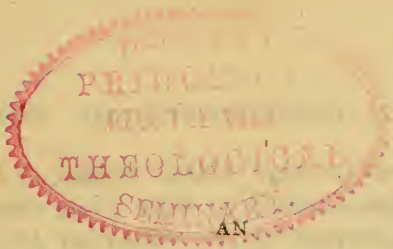
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

IRELAND, &c.

CHAPTER XVII.

Death of Colman Stellain—St. Colman Hua Fiachra—The priest Failan or Foilan—Priest Ernan—Cronan of Roscrea—Erection of the monastery of Roscrea—Priest Commian—Camin of Iniskeltra—St. Abban—Supposed to be two Saints of that name, one living in the fifth and the other in the sixth and seventh centuries—Monastery of Ros-mic-treoin founded by St. Abban—St. Gobnata—St. Pulcherius or Mochemoc—founds the monastery of Liathmore—several miracles ascribed to him—Death of St. Pulcherius—St. Mochelloc—St. Manchan of Menodrochit—supposed to be the same as Munchin of Limerick—St. Aidus bishop of Kildare—Dachua or Mochua Luachra—Conang O' Daithil, bishop of Emly—Baithan abbot of Clonmacnois, said to have been a bishop—Segenius abbot of Hy succeeded by Suibhne—Suibhne succeeded by Cumineus Albus or Cummin the White—St. Mura or Murus governed the monastery of Fathen-Mura—Bachull-Mura preserved as a relique—St. Monenna founds the nunnery of Fochard—Brighde—appoints Orbila or Servila abbess at Fochard,

and retires to near Slieve Gullin, where she erects a church—said to have gone into North Britain and erected seven Churches there—said to have gone into England where she was known by the name of Movenna or Modwenna—St. Conchessa—St. Athracta—St. Fechin—erects the monastery of Fore in the Co. Westmeath—St. Aileran the Wise—he is sometimes called Helerzn, Aimeran, or Ereran—Ultan abbot of Clonard, and Colman Coss and Cumin, both abbots, of Clonmacnois, carried off by the plague that raged in the year 665—Colman successor of Finan in Lindisfarne—Dispute relative to the observance of Easter renewed—a synod held for the purpose of deciding this controversy—In this synod Colman supports the Irish mode of observing the Easter festival, and Agilbert and Wilfrid the Roman practice—The decision of the synod in favour of the Roman observance—The dispute about the tonsure also decided in the synod in favour of the Roman fashion.

SECT. I.

RETURNING now to Ireland, and endeavouring to follow the order of time as well as I am able, I have first to observe that Colman Stellain, abbot of Tirdaglas, and seemingly the immediate successor of Mocumin, (1) died in 624 or 625. (2) Whether or not he was the Colman mentioned among the priests of the third class of saints, (3) it is impossible to determine, as several other Colmans were distinguished at that period by their sanctity, (4) and particularly St. Colman Hua-Fiachra, a descendant of prince Fiachra the brother of Neill Neigillíach. (5) He was contemporary with St. Maidoc of Ferns, (6) and seems to have been abbot, and perhaps founder, of the monastery of Seanbotha in the territory of Hy-kin-

selagh, situated at the foot of the mountain, called in Irish *Suighe Lagen*, that is, I believe, Mount Leinster at the borders of the now counties of Carlow and Wexford. (7) Of his further transactions or the year of his death we have no account. His memory was revered at Seanbotha on the 27th of October, the anniversary of his death. (8) An uncertainty, similar to that relative to the Colman of the third class, occurs also with regard to the priest Failan or Foilan, who also is reckoned among them. He was neither Foillan the brother of St. Fursey, nor the Foillan, who is said to have accompanied St. Livin to Brabant; whereas none of the Irish saints, who removed to the continent, are named in that catalogue. (9) Besides many other saints of this name, (10) there was Failan or Foilan son of Aidus a Munster prince, (11) perhaps the Aidus, who was a young man in the time of St. Senan, (12) and whose posterity ruled in Iveagh a part of the now county of Cork. (13) If so, this Failan might have belonged to the period of the third class, and have been the Failan, who is called the son of an Irish dynast, and said to have been baptized and educated by St. Coemgen or Kevin. (14) But, in the want of distinctive circumstances, no decisive opinion can be formed. In the same third class we meet with a priest Ernan. I think there can be no doubt, that he was the same as Ernene son of Crescen, who, as Adamnan says, (15) was famous and greatly known throughout all the churches of Ireland. Ernan was a servant boy in the monastery of Clonmacnois, when Columkill visited it about the year 590. He was endeavouring to touch the hem of his cloak, when the saint, perceiving what he was about, took hold of him and placed him before his face. On the bystanders observing that he ought not to take notice of such a troublesome boy, he desired them to have patience, and giving him his blessing said to them; "this boy, whom ye now despise, will henceforth be

very agreeable to you, and will improve from day to day in good conduct and virtue ; and will be gifted by God with wisdom, learning, and eloquence." (16) It is a misfortune, that very little is known concerning this eminent man. He was, in all probability, a native of the vicinity of Clonmacnois. It was there he went through his studies and with great proficiency. (17) He is called in some Irish calendars Ernene of Rathnui in Hi-Garchon, (Rathnew in the county of Wicklow) whence it seems that he governed some establishment in that place. His memory was revered there on the 18th of August ; (18) and his death is assigned to the same year as that of Fintan Munnu, viz. A. D. 634 (635). (19)

(1) See Chap. x. §. 13. Not. 239.

(2) The Annals of Innisfallen have A. 624. The 4 Masters A. 625. (*ap. AA. SS. p. 247.*) Usher says, (*p. 968 and Ind. Chron.*) A. 634. I suspect that 634 has been substituted by mistake for the 624 of the Innisfallen Annals, which are usually very correct.

(3) See *Chap. xiv. §. 8.*

(4) Colgan, omitting other Colmans, mentions (*AA. SS. p. 247*) Colman son of Comgell, who died in 620 ; (but he was probably a bishop, see *Not. 22. to Chap. xiv.*) Colman Huabardan, abbot of Clonmacnois, died in 623 ; Colman, abbot of Glendaloch, died in 659, &c. There was a Colman Cass, abbot of Clonmacnois, who died in 664 (665). See *AA. SS. p. 90.* These and other Colmans belonged to the period of the third class. Harris has (*Monasteries*) a St. Colman, who, he says, founded the monastery of Disert-Mocholmoc in the county of E. Meath, and in the sixth century. Of this Colman I can find no further account. Archdall places it in Westmeath, four miles S. W. of Mullingar, and calls it *Dysart*. He adds, that a house for Conventual Franciscans was *afterwards* founded there. Mr. Carlisle (*Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, ad loc.*) makes Archdall say, that this Franciscan establishment was founded by St. Colman. Archdall was not so ignorant as to commit such an unchronological blunder. Surely Mr. Carlisle ought to know, that there were no Franciscans for hundreds of years after the times,

in which Archdall supposed Disert-Mocholmoc to have been founded by Colman.

(5) Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 141.

(6) We read in the Life of St. Maidoc; (*cap.* 58) “*Alio die cum S. Moedoc iter ageret, occurrit ei in via S. Colmanus filius Fiacrii*” (*i. e.* de stirpe Fiacrii).

(7) In the same Life it is stated (*cap.* 26.) that St. Maidoc was on some occasion at the monastery of Seanbotha. It is not said that the abbot was Colman; nor is any abbot's name mentioned. But, as in our Calendars he is constantly called Colman of Seanbotha in Hykinselagh, it may be fairly concluded that he was abbot there; and, on comparing the circumstance here mentioned with the passage just quoted, it is plain that he was there in St. Maidoc's time, and that Seanbotha was not far distant from Ferns. Archdall (*ad loc.*) says that it is now unknown. This much, however, is, I think, certain that it was near Mount Leinster, and, in all probability, at the county of Wexford side. In the chapter (26) above referred to it is placed “*juxta radices montis, qui dicitur Scotice Suighe Lagen, id est Sessio Laginensium.*” That this was the mountain now called *Mount Leinster*, appears not only from its very name, which corresponds to the Irish *Suighe Lagen*, but likewise from its proximity to Ferns.

(8) *AA. SS.* p. 141.

(9) *Ex. c.* not even Columbanus of Luxeu, Fiacre, or Fursej, notwithstanding their great celebrity. Usher says, (*p.* 967) that he would have supposed Foillan, brother of Fursej, to have been the one of the third order, were he not called a bishop. (See *Chap.* xvi. §. ii.) But, even were it certain, that he was only a priest, he would not have been named in the catalogue, and for the reason above assigned.

(10) See *AA. SS.* p. 104.

(11) Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 799.) surnames this Aidus, or Hugh, *Daman*, al. *Bennan*. He does not represent him as king of all Munster. Keating says, (*Book* 2. p. 35. *ed.* A. 1723.) that Aodh or Hugh Bennain, *king of Munster*, died during the reign of the monarch Suibhne (Sweeny) Meann. If so, he must have died between 615 and 628. (See *Chap.* xiv. §. 1.) But the king of *all* Munster, who died between these years, was Fingen, the successor of Aodh Caomh. Fingen died in 619. (*Not.* 39 to

Chap. xiv.) It may be, however, that Aodh Caomh lived until the reign of Suibhne Meann. If Aodh Bennain was king of all Munster he must, as far as I can find, have been the same as Aodh Caomh, a son of whom might without any anachronism be placed among the saints of the third class. Yet the surname *Bennain*, as also that of *Daman*, seems to indicate that they were different persons; and Aodh Bennain was probably only a petty king or dynast. Instead of calling him with Keating, or his translator, *king of Munster*, he ought, perhaps, rather be called a *Munster prince*.

(12) See Life of St. Senan at 8 March, *cap* 22.

(13) Iveagh or Ivagh was a part of Carbery. Smith's *History of Cork*, Vol. 1. p. 31.

(14) See Usher, p. 1068.

(15) *Vit. S. C. L.* 1. c. 3. *al.* 2.

(16) Adamnan, *ib.*

(17) Columbill is introduced, (*ib.*) as saying of him; "In *hac vestra* congregatione grandis est futurus profectus."

(18) The Martyrologium Tamlact, has at 18 Aug. "Erneus filius Gresseni de Rath-nui in regione de Hi-Garchon." The Calendar of Cashel at the same day adds, that his festival was kept also at Kill-Droigneach in Idrone. (*Tr. Th.* p. 373.)

(19) Annals of Roscrea. See *Tr. Th. ib. ad AA. SS.* p. 8, and compare with *Not.* 83. to *Chap.* xv. Usher also has affixed his death to 635. (*Ind. Chron.* from the Annals of Ulster.) He was mistaken, as already remarked, (*Not.* 91 to *Chap.* xv) in confounding him with other Ernans.

§. II. After Ernan is mentioned Cronan, who, I should be greatly inclined to suppose, was Cronan of Roscrea, were there not some reason to think, that the latter was a bishop. (20) Be this as it may, Cronan, called of Roscrea, was a native of Ele (Ely O'Carrol) in Munster. (21) His father was Odran of the sept of said territory, and his mother Coemri of that of Corcobaschin, a district in the West of the now county of Clare. Cronan, when arrived at a proper age for embracing the religious state, taking along with him his maternal cousin Mobai, (22)

went to visit some holy men in Connaught, and stopped at a place called *Puayd*, (23) where he was soon joined by several pious persons, with whom he led a monastic life. After some time he left that place, and went together with *Mobai* to *Clonmacnois*, where he did not remain long. Next we find him erecting several religious houses, in one of which at *Lusmag* (24) he spent a considerable time. Having given up this establishment to some monks, *Cronan* returned to his own country and erected a cell near the lake or marsh called *Cree*, which cell was called *Sean-ross* or *Seanruis*. (25) He was in this place about the time of the death of *St. Molua* of *Clonfert-molua*; for it is related that this saint in his latter days visited *Cronan* at *Seanruis*, and demanded of him the sacrifice, or holy Eucharist, which he might take with him. *Cronan* gave it to him, and *Molua* recommended his monastery to his protection. (26) The monastery of *Roscrea* was not as yet established; and accordingly its foundation cannot be assigned to an earlier date than about 606. (27) How long *Cronan* remained at *Sean-ross* is not recorded. The cause of his leaving it was this. Some strangers, who had come to pay him a visit, were not able to find it out, and in their wanderings remained a whole night without food or roof to shelter them. This so displeased *Cronan*, that he determined on quitting that lonesome and too much retired spot, and removed to the high road, where he erected a large monastery, which in course of time gave rise to the town of *Roscrea*. (28) Here he spent the remainder of his life, employed in good works and most highly esteemed. On one occasion he protected by his prayers the people of *Ele* against the fury of the *Ossorians*. On another he appeased *Fingen*, king of *Munster*, who was bent on punishing most severely the people of *Meath* on account of some horses, that had been stolen from him, and had already marched with an army for that purpose from

Cashel as far as Ele. (29) This king had a great veneration for the saint, whom we find, when very old and blind, on a visit with him at Cashel. When returning to Roscrea, Cronan was accompanied by the king in person and the chief nobility, &c. of the whole country. Not long after, having blessed his people of Ele, and received the divine sacrifice, he died on a 28th of April (30) in, according to every appearance, some year of the reign of said king Fingen, and consequently not later than A. D. 619, or, at the lowest, 626. (31)

(20) Ware, touching on the Life of Cronan, (*Writers L. 1. c. 13. al. 15.*) calls him *bishop*, otherwise *abbot of Roscrea*. Yet Colgan states, (*AA. SS. p. 303.*) that we do not read of his having been a bishop. I suspect that Ware's motive for giving him that title was, that Roscrea was formerly an episcopal see, and his thence supposing that it was such as early as Cronan's time. Of this, however, I believe he could not have adduced any proof. The Bollandists, who have published his Life at 28 April, observe that in a MS. *Florarium* they found him called *bishop*. They were inclined to think, that he really was one, and that he was the bishop Cronan mentioned by Adamnan. (See *Not. 182 to Chap. XI.*) I grant them, in opposition to Colgan, that Cronan was old enough to be a bishop before the death of Columbkille. But there are circumstances, to be mentioned lower down, which prove, that, if he ever was a bishop, he was not so until after it. The Bollandists feeling the weakness of that conjecture, lay down as almost certain, that he was the priest Cronan of the third order; and in fact it is difficult to suppose, that so celebrated a saint would have been omitted in that catalogue, as would be the case, unless he was the Cronan reckoned among the priests. In his Life, which is a respectable and very circumstantial document, he is called only *abbot*, without the least allusion to his ever having exercised episcopal functions. On the whole it appears exceedingly probable, that his being called *bishop* in after times was a mistake founded, as above observed, with regard to Ware, on the circumstance of Roscrea having become an episcopal see.

(21) That district, or at least a part of it, is, as often observed, now comprized in the King's county.

(22) We read in the Life of Cronan; "Mater S. Cronani, et S. Mobai mater, et mater S. Mochonnae tres germanae sorores fuerunt." Of Mobai little else is known. As to Mochonna, he might have been the abbot of that name, who seems to have governed a monastery somewhere in Leinster and was living in the time of St. Coemgen. (See *AA. SS. p. 565.*) But, as there were other St. Mochonnas about that period, this point must remain undecided.

(23) *Prope gurgitem Puayd.* Whether the author meant by *gurgitem* a pool or a gulf, I cannot determine; nor can I find any place in Connaught called *Puayd*.

(24) In the barony of Garrycastle, King's county.

(25) "Cellam itaque prope stagnum Cree—aedificavit, quae cella Seanross nominatur." (Life of St. Cronan. See also Usher, *p. 969.*) I have observed elsewhere, (*Not. 73 to Chap. XII.*) that th's *stagnum*, or marsh, *Cree* was probably what is now called the bog of Monela. Archdall (at *Roscree*) says that Cronan built that cell in an island of Loughkee. But Loughkee or Loughkay is in the county of Leitrim far from Cronan's country. I suppose that, being puzzled by the name *Loughcree*, he guessed at that of *Loughkee*.

(26) In the Life of St. Molua, *al. Lugidus* or *Lugidius*, is the following passage; "Venit (Molua) ad S. Cronanum de Ruis-cree, *sedentem tunc in cella Senruis*, et postulavit ab eo sacrificium, quod secum portaret; et dedit ei Cronanus. Cui Lugidus ait: Tecum relinquo locum meum, ut eum a persecutoribus defendas." In said Life Cronan is called only a *priest*; and hence it appears that, if Cronan ever became a bishop, it must have been after the death of Molua, and consequently several years after that of Columbkil. Thus we see that he was not the bishop Cronan mentioned by Adamnan. (Compare with *Not. 20.*) Molua's applying to Cronan for the blessed Eucharist, and taking it with him, was in conformity with the ancient practice of holy persons sending it to each other in token of communion and brotherly love. Thus as far back as the times of St. Irenaeus, and earlier, the Popes used to send it to bishops even of far distant churches.

(See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl. L. 5. c. 24.* and Bingham, *Origines, &c. Book xv. ch. 4. sect. 8.*)

(27) This is the earliest date (see *Not. 100 to Chap. XII.*) marked for Molua's death, before which, we may be sure, Roscrea was not founded. Therefore Harris was wrong in assigning said foundation to the sixth century.

(28) In his Life it is said, that "magnum monasterium aedificavit; et ibi crevit clara civitas, quae vocatur *Ross-cree.*"

(29) The ancient Meath was contiguous to Ele.

(30) Where did Archdall find, that Cronan died on the 10th of May? The Life has 28 April.

(31) Cronan's death is mentioned just after the account of his return from Cashel. Fingen is said to have died in 519. (See *Not. 39 to Chap. XIV.*) Yet, on comparing what is there observed concerning the beginning of the reign of his successor Failbhe Fland, it may be conjectured that he did not die until about 626. Colgan says, (*AA. SS. p. 303.*) that Cronan was alive in 625. The Bollandists go still further, pretending that he might have lived until after 640. For this statement they had no authority whatever, except a very unfounded conjecture of their own, that, in case of his having been a bishop, he might have been the bishop Cronan mentioned with Thomian and others in the letter of the Roman clergy written in 640. We have already seen (*Not. 91 to Chap. XV.*) who this Cronan was; nor could Cronan of Roscrea, even if then alive, and whether bishop or priest, have been among those to whom said letter was directed; whereas they were all northerns, and he a southern. Had the Bollandists known the time of Fingen's reign, they would not have imagined that Cronan could be alive in 640. Archdall had no right to refer to Usher as if assigning Cronan's death to the beginning of the seventh century. All that Usher says is, that he survived Lugidus *al. Molua.*

§. III. The priest Cronan of the third class, if different from the saint now treated of, might have been Cronan of Maghbile, or the Cronan son of Silni, of whom as much as is known has been already touched upon. (32) That Commian, another priest of said class, was the learned Cummian author of

the Paschal epistle (33) is exceedingly probable, and, I should think, certain, were there not reason to believe, that this Cumnian was the same as Cumin Fada, who is said by some to have become a bishop, although on very doubtful authority. (34) But there were, in those times, other distinguished persons of that name, one or other of whom might have been meant by the author of that catalogue. (35) Who Coman was, whose name appears just before that of Commian, I cannot well discover. He could not have been the Coman of Ferns, who lived until 678, but was perhaps the Comman called by Adamnan a *respectable priest*. (36) I am greatly inclined to think that, notwithstanding an apparent difference in the names, Coman of the third class was the celebrated Camin of Iniskeltra or Iniskeltair. (37) Nothing can agree better than the times; for Camin flourished in the first half of the seventh century. He was of the princely house of Hy-kinselagh by his father Dima, and half brother of Guair king of Connaught by his mother Cumania. Little else is recorded of him, (38) until he retired to the island of Iniskeltair in Loughderg, a lake formed by the Shannon. Here he led a solitary and very austere life, but after some time was obliged to erect a monastery, on account of the numbers of persons, that resorted to him for instruction. Although of a very sickly constitution he seems to have closely applied to ecclesiastical studies and wrote a commentary on the Psalms collated with the Hebrew text. (39) This saint died in 653, (40) on the 25th, or, as some say, the 24th of March. His memory was so much respected, that the monastery of Iniskeltair became very celebrated, and was considered as one of the principal asylums in Ireland. His immediate successor, as abbot, was, I believe, Stellan. (41) Of the priests of the third class there now remain only two to be treated of, Fechin and Airendanus; but chronological order requires our deferring their history for a while.

(32) *Not.* 91 to *Chap.* xv.

(33) See *Chap.* xv. §. 7-8.

(34) See *ib.* *Not.* 54.

(35) *Ib.* *Not.* 53.

(36) Usher searching for Coman of the third class says, (p. 968) that Coman of Ferns was perhaps the Comman called by Adamnan (*L. 3. c. 19.*) *honorabilis presbyter*, whom Usher seems to have supposed the same as Coman of the class. But, as Coman of Ferns did not die until 678, how could he have belonged to said class, which lasted until only 665? (See *Chap.* xiv. §. 8.) Supposing the Comman of Adamnan to have been different from Coman of Ferns, which is very probable, he might have been the priest Coman of the list. It is true that Adamnan speaks of him as having conversed with him. This conversation might have occurred, when Adamnan was young and some years before 665. Adamnan was born about the year 625, and must have been younger than Comman, who, as he tells us, was maternal nephew of Virgnous, who, after governing Hy for 25 years, died in 623. Colgan treats (at 18 *Mart.*) of a Comman, who is called *bishop* in Irish calendars without any mention of his see, and strives to show that he was the same as the priest *ap.* Adamnan. If so, he must have become a bishop after Adamnan had written his work, and lived until after the death of Columbkil. Colgan has nothing but vague conjectures on this point, and mixed with such inconsistencies, that it is not worth while to make any further remark on what he says, except that this bishop Comman, whose see he was not able to discover, is said to have died in 676 (677). Usher, although he had spoken of Coman of Ferns as a priest, and having always remained so, as appears from his having thought he might have been the Comman of Adamnan, yet in his *Ind. Chron.* (A. 678) calls him the bishop of Ferns. Ware also reckons him among the bishops of Ferns, but places his death in 675, merely, I believe, on conjecture, and because he knew that in the year 678 the see of Ferns was occupied by Dirath, who succeeded Maldogar in 677. It is more than probable that they were mistaken in making him a bishop, owing to their having met with a bishop of that name (the one of Colgan) and thence confounding him with Coman of Ferns. In a list of the bishops of that see in the 7th century (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 564.*) no Coman appears, nor according to the succession there marked would there have been room for him.

(37) An interchange of vowels frequently occurs in the spelling of Irish names. Thus we find *Commian* for *Cummian*, *Cummin* or *Cumin* for the same, *Aedh* for *Aodh*, &c. *A* is often used for *O*, and vice versa. *Fraech*, for *Froech*, *Faïllan* for *Foïllan*, &c. Thus *Camin* might have been written for *Comin*, or *Cumin*. It is probable that this diversity of spelling arose from a provincial variety of pronunciation, and was adhered to in writing for the purpose of distinguishing persons, whose names were the same, particularly if such names were very common. Yet I acknowledge that there is a difficulty with regard to applying these observations to the particular case of *Camin* of *Iniskeltra*; for the *Calendar of Cashel* states, that he was otherwise called *Canin*, a name truly different from *Coman*. Yet as his original name seems to have been *Camin*, and *Canin* only a surname, this objection is not sufficient to overthrow the proposed conjecture. In a copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen* in the library of the *Dublin Society* his name is written *Cumine*.

(38) *Colgan* has endeavoured (at 25 *Mart.*) to give some account of *Camin*. He observes that there are some Irish poems in praise of him, but so intermixed with fables, that he could not make any use of them towards clearing up his history.

(39) *Usher* says (*p.* 972) that he saw a part of this work, which was very carefully distinguished by various marks. At the top of each page was the collation with the Hebrew text, and at the outward margin were added short scholia or notes. It was, according to general tradition, in *Camin's* own handwriting. *Colgan* also saw a part of it, the same, I suppose, as that mentioned by *Ware*, *Writers at Camin*.

(40) *Annals of Innisfallen* as referred to by *Usher*, *Ware*, and *Colgan*. In the copy above mentioned (*Not.* 37) the year marked is 651.

(41) *Colgan* observes, (*AA. SS. p.* 17.) that *Stellan*, abbot of *Iniskeltra*, flourished about 650. *Archdall* (at *Iniskeltair*) by changing *flourished* into *died*, makes *Stellan* die three years before *St. Camin*. This is not the only occasion, in which he has substituted *dying* for *flourishing*.

§. iv. One of the most famous Irish saints is *Abban*; but scarcely any thing can be more con-

fused or unchronological than the accounts, that are given of him. Were we to believe what we read in his so called *Life*, (42) it should be admitted that he was born in the fifth century and lived until about the middle of the seventh. It might be suspected, that there were two St. Abbans, one who lived in the fifth and sixth centuries, and another belonging to the sixth and seventh; and that their transactions have been confounded together. But on considering the circumstances related concerning him in the Irish calendars and other documents, and comparing them with said *Life*, it is evident that our old writers knew only of one saint Abban (43) although the compiler or compilers of his Acts did not scruple to make him much more ancient than he really was. Passing by what is said of his relationship to St. Ibar, and some other similar stories, this much is clear that Abban was born some time in the sixth century. His father was Lagnen of the house of Hua Cormac or Dal Cormac in Leinster, derived from Cucorb, (44) who had been king of that province. His mother's name was Mella, who is said to have been a sister of St. Coemgen. (45) The earliest account I meet with of Abban's transactions, that appears tolerably authentic, is his having founded the monastery of Ros-mic-treoin, or Old Ross, some time in the sixth century. (46) A heap of other monasteries is attributed to him, particularly in the now counties of Wexford and Cork. (47) The greatest part of them is unknown, and I have not the least doubt, that several of them were not founded by him. (48) Two nunneries have been also ascribed to him, Kill-aibhe in East Meath, where he is said to have placed as abbess St. Segnic or Sincha (49); and Borneach, now Ballyvourney, six miles W. of Macroomp (co. Cork). This nunnery belonged to St. Gobnata, whose memory is to this day greatly venerated in that country. (50) But Abban's chief establishment was at Magharnoidhe,

somewhere, it seems, in the now county of Wexford; (51) and in this place he spent the latter years of his life. He is said to have been, when a young man, in Great Britain. (52) This is, I dare say, as ill founded as the story of his having been three times at Rome, and, on the third, ordained priest there by Gregory the great. (53) Abban is said to have preached in Ely O'Carrol, and to have there obtained a grant of some land, which he retained for religious purposes. (54) Many other circumstances are related concerning him; but they are so intermixed with fables, that it would be a useless task to endeavour to unravel them. He died at Magharnoidhe on, as some say, a 16th of March, or, according to others, a 27th of October. (55) As to the year of his death, it is impossible to discover it; nor can even the period of it be precisely ascertained, although it is probable that it was the early part of the seventh century. (56)

(42) Colgan has published this farrago at 16 Mart. It is very long. The apparent author of it speaks (*cap.* 24.) of himself as being the grandson of a man, whom St. Abban had baptized. Hence Colgan concludes, that the author lived in the latter end of the seventh century, or beginning of the eighth. But, unless we must suppose that he told a falshood, (for no author of that early period could have put together such a mass of inconsistencies) that passage belonged to some ancient Life of Abban, whence it was copied by the compiler of the one now extant, which appears to be a sort of patchwork collected from various sources. Part of it, at least the two first chapters, seems to have been composed somewhere out of Ireland. The Bollandists have omitted the Life of Abban at 16 March, promising to give at 27 October a dissertation, in which they would inquire, whether there was only one St. Abban or two, viz. a priest Abban and an abbot Abban who lived at different periods. (See *Tom.* 2. for March, *p.* 418.) Their reason for putting off that dissertation to the 27th of October was that, while some Calendars mark the festival of St. Abban at 16 March, others assign it to 27 Octo-

ber; and in fact this is the day, on which it is said in his Life that he died.

(43) The Bollandists imagined that there might have been two Abbans, and thus, I suppose, (for I do not know whether their promised dissertation has been published) thought they might explain what is said of St. Finnian of Clonard having been baptized by Abban, that is, a priest Abban, (see *Chap.* ix. §. 8. and *Not.* 120.) who might have been different from the abbot Abban of later times. But from the manner, in which this pretended baptism is mentioned in the Life of Abban (*cap.* 29.) and its being added that, many years after, Abban visited Finnian when the latter was an abbot; together with the title of *venerable* given to Abban in the part of Finnian's Acts where said baptism is mentioned; it is plain that the Abban meant in that account was no other than the famous abbot Abban. They might also have thought, that said priest Abban was really nephew to St. Ibar, the disciple of St. Patrick, by his sister Mella, as stated in the Life. But the fact is, that said Mella, as we have it on better authority, was sister to St. Coemgen, who flourished in the sixth century. But how could they have reconciled what is said of Abban having been son of Cormac, king of Leinster, (*Life, cap.* 3.) with his having baptized Finnian? For this Cormac died in 535 (536). Now, if Abban baptized Finnian, he must have been born, at the latest, in 450, as he is said to have been a priest at the time, and Finnian is represented as having been baptized very soon after his birth, which, at the most moderate computation, cannot be placed later than 480. Abban, being then a priest, must have been at least 30 years old. Are we to believe, that Cormac, who reigned only 9 years, had Abban born to him 85 or rather 86 years before his death? I do not make these remarks as if I believed that even the real Abban was son of that king Cormac, but to show what contradictions are contained in said Life, and that they cannot be explained by the supposition of two Abbans. I am surprized that Usher, who met with these contradictory statements, could have swallowed the stories about Abban having been nephew to Ibar, &c. particularly considering his hypothesis as to Finnian having been born about 460. (See *Not.* 124 to *Chap.* ix.) For in this hypothesis Abban should have been born not later than 430. Usher

knew only of one Abban, and exerted his ingenuity to reconcile those stories with some sort of chronological truth. For this purpose he assigned (*Ind. Chron.*) to A. 490 what is said of Abban having been sent, when twelve years old, to the school of his uncle Ibar. But he overlooked the circumstance of Finnian's baptism by Abban, and indeed so much so that he affixed to the same year 490 Finnian's departure for G. Britain. Accordingly he must have considered what is said of that baptism as a fable; and he had an equal right to reject other parts of that spurious history. The fact is that in putting it together the author or authors wished to make it appear, that Abban was connected with many of the most eminent persons of the Irish church; and and thus they brought him in contact with Ibar and even with St. Patrick, with Finnian, Columbkil, and so on until they make him associate with St. Molingus, who lived in the 7th century and died in 697. Then, to account for these transactions of his, we are told that he lived more than 300 years!!! In short that *Life* is a shameful composition, similar to the sort of *Life* drawn up for Kieran of Saigir. There is not a word about Abban in any document worthy of credit relative to the times of St. Patrick, Ibar, or St. Brigid.

(44) *AA. SS. p. 625, seqq.* See also O'Flaherty, (*Ogyg. p. 293*) who makes Cormac son of Cucorb. According to a genealogy *ap. Colgan (ib.)* he was his grandson. Cucorb lived in the second century. In Abban's *Life* it is said that he was son of Cormac king of Leinster, that is, the Cormac who was king in the sixth century. (See *Not. prec.*) But Colgan shows that this is a mistatement. Abban was not the son of either a king or a Cormac. He was of the race of Hua Cormac, that is, a descendant of the above mention Cormac. The compiler of the *Life* changed *Hua-Cormac* into *king Cormac*.

(45) Maguir *ap. AA. SS. p. 626.* Colgan, who would fain keep up the fable of Abban having been nephew to St. Ibar, strives to show that Maguir was mistaken. But still he was not able to prove, that Mella was sister to Ibar, as said in the *Life*. In other documents Abban's mother is called *Cooinech Abbadh*. What was her name is of very little consequence; and it is sufficient to know,

that there is no authority worth attending to for the story of her having been a sister of Ibar.

(46) We read in the Life of St. Molua of Clonfert-molua, " S. Molua visitavit S. Evinum abbatem in regione Kinnselach non longe a flumine Berbha in monasterio. Rosmactreoin, quod *sanc-tissimus senex Abbanus fundavit*, habitantem." (See also Abban's Life, *cap.* 26.) As St. Evin died about 600, (See *Chap. xiv.* §. 3.) that monastery must have been established prior to said year. In this passage Abban is called an old man, and might have been really so at the time of the foundation of that monastery, if it took place not long before 600. But it is probable, that *senex* was merely an epithet, by which he used to be distinguished, as he seems to have lived to a great age, and that it is not there used as indicating that he was actually old, when he founded said monastery. I do not find it mentioned by Archdall, although he has so many others, that never existed; nor do I think it certain, that Abban was the founder of it. (See *Not.* 46. to *Chap. xiv.*)

(47) Besides Rosmactreoin, are mentioned Druim-chain-cel-iaigh, Camross, Maghar-Noidhe, Fion-magh, and Disert-Cheanan in Hy-Kinselagh, that is, in or near the county of Wexford; Kill-Abban in E. Meath; another Kill-Abban in Hua Muiredhuig, *al.* Hua Midhe in a northern part of Leinster, I suppose the present county of Louth, in which was a district called Hy-Meith; (see Harris, *Antiq. ch.* 7.) Kill-achaid-conchinn in Corcaiduibhne in the West of Munster; (probably in Kerry rather than in the county of Cork, where it is placed by Harris, *Monast.*) Kill-cruimthir in Hy Liathain; (now comprizing the barony of Barrymore, Cork, and some other tracts.) Kill-na-marbhan near the town called *Briggobhain*, now *Brigoon* within a mile of Mitchelstown; (see Smith's Cork, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 353.) (Cluain-ard-Mobecoc and Cluain-Findglas in Muskerry, county of Cork; Cluain-conbruin in the plain of Femin between Cashel and Clonmel; and three more in one plain in Connaught called *Magh-ce*, or *Trindi*, *al.* *Magh-elle*, which Colgan (*AA. SS.* *p.* 622.) places in the county of Galway.

(48) Except some of the monasteries said to have been founded by St. Abban in Hy-kinselagh, (his own country) and the two Kill-abbans, I do not find sufficient authority for attributing to him any one of the others above mentioned. Kill-achaid-conchinn,

is said in *Abban's Life*, (*cap.* 20.) to have been after its foundation denominated from an abbot Finan. Perhaps it was called Killfinan. There is a place in Kerry called Killfin. As that monastery was very probably in Kerry, it might have been in this place. Who the Finan here mentioned was, we are not informed. Colgan conjectures that he was St. Finan called of Kinnitch. (Kinnitty in the King's county) where he was abbot about the latter end of the sixth century, but not in the year 557, as Archdall states. This conjecture is not improbable, whereas this Finan was a native of Corcaduibhne, (Ware, *Writers L.* 1. c. 13. al. 15.) the territory, in which the monastery of Kill-achaid-conchinn was situated. Might the barony of Corkaguinny in Kerry be the same as the ancient Corcaduibhne, or, at least, a part of it? (Beauford was greatly mistaken (*Anc. Topogr. of Ireland*) in making Corcaduibhne the same as Hy-Liathain, which was in the East.) Finian had been a disciple of St. Brendan of Clonfert, (*Tr. Th.* p. 380) and, it seems, of St. Senan of Inniscatthy, to whom he is said to have been related. (*AA. SS.* p. 529.) In fact a Finan is particularly mentioned among the disciples of Senan. (*ib.* p. 525.) I suspect that he, not Abban, was the founder of Kill-achaid-conchinn. Why should it have, as stated in *Abban's Life*, borne the name of Finan, not of Abban, had it been founded by the latter? Finan was a native of the country, in which it was situated, a country, which I doubt whether Abban ever visited. As to the name *Kill-achaid-conchinn*, that is, *the cell of the field Conchinn*, it was relative to the spot on which the monastery stood; but how this spot came to be called *Conchinn*, would scarcely be worth inquiring into, did not Colgan say (*AA. SS.* p. 622) that it got this name from a holy virgin Conchenna, whose memory was revered there on the 28th April. But it was, at least, originally, a monastery for men; and I suspect that Colgan had no other authority for his statement than his having found a St. Conchenna marked in the Calendars at said day, different from two other Conchennas, one of whom was called the *daughter of Kellaigh*. I suppose that the having met with the name *Kellaigh* was Archdall's motive for changing *Kill-achad-conchinn* into *Killeigh*, and hence placing this establishment not far from Youghall in East Munster, instead of the West, where it really was. Then he adds, what is not to

be found either in Abban's Life or any where else, that Abban placed Conchenna there as abbess.

Next comes Kill-cruimthir, which seems not to have been merely a cell or church belonging to a priest, the name signifying *Priest's cell or church*. Colgan's opinion was (*AA. SS. p. 622*) that it got its name from a priest Fraech, whose memory was revered in that neighbourhood, particularly at Kill-chile, (Kilcully, I suppose, in the North Liberty of Cork) near which Kill-cruimthir was situated. Why then attribute it to Abban? or why make him the founder of Kill-na-marbhan, the *cell or church of the dead*, near Brigoon? The tradition of that district is that the church of Brigoon was erected by a saint Finachan, (*Smith's Cork, vol. 1. p. 354*) whose staff, as supposed to be, was kept there. This seems to indicate that this saint was a bishop, and Smith says that, according to Colgan, Brigoon was once an episcopal see. I cannot discover where Colgan has said so. He makes mention (*AA. SS. p. 584.*) of a St. Finnichan or Finchan, who was in the sixth century bishop at a place called Druimenaich, but does not tell us where it was. Perhaps it was in the now county of Cork, where we find several places with names almost exactly the same, *ex. c.* Dromanagh or Drumanagh in the barony of Duhallow. Archdall (at *Brigowne*) makes Abban the founder even of Brigoon itself. But Brigoon was neither a church nor a monastery. It was a town at the time that Abban is supposed to have erected Kill-na-marbhan. He misunderstood the following words in Abban's Life (*cap. 20.*) "*Juxta civitatem Briggobhainn cellam, quae dicitur scotice Ceall-na-marbhan, id est, Cella mortuorum, aedificavit.*"

In the case of Cluain-aird-Mobecoc, or, as Archdall calls it, Kilbeacan, we find a palpable fraud. The very name *Mobecoc*, that is, *my dear Becoc* or *Becan*, (like *Moedoc, my Edoc* or *Edan*) shows that its founder was the celebrated St. Becan of the royal blood of Munster, of the Eugenic line, and brother to St. Corbmac, (see *Not. 111* to *Chap. XII.*) St. Evin of Old Ross, and other holy men. We read in the Life of Corbmac; (at *26 Mart. cap. 2*) *Sanctus Becanus, in Munonia remanens, monasterium de Killbecain, alias Cluain-aird-Mobecoc erexit, et sanctissime rexit.*" The compilers of Abban's Life seem to have been well aware of what is asserted in this passage; for, to patch up the

matter, they allow (*cap.* 20.) that St. Becan resided there until his death, and pay him the highest encomiums for the extraordinary austerity of his life, and the miracles, which he wrought. They tell us that he used to sing the whole Psalter every day, whether dry or wet, warm or cold, by the side of a stone cross in the open air outside the monastery. St. Becan lived in the sixth century, as appears from his having been a brother of St. Evin. Keating (*B. 2. p.* 22.) makes him contemporary with Columbkil and the king Diarmid son of Cervail. His memory was revered on the 26th of May. (*AA. SS. p.* 755.) As to Cluain-Findglas, Cluain-Conbruin, and the three monasteries in Magh-Cé or Magh-elle, concerning which nothing is known, it would be a waste of time to make any inquiry about them.

(49) See *Not.* 94 to *Chap.* xiv. If this nunnery was founded by Abban, why call it *Kill-Ailbhe*? The very name shows, that not he but one Ailbhe was the founder of it.

(50) Smith, *Hist. of Cork, Vol.* 1. *p.* 193. Colgan treats of St. Gobnata at 11 February, the day on which her name appears in the Calendars, although Smith says that her patron day is the 14th of said month. She is said to have been a descendant of Conar the great, a famous king of Ireland, some of whose posterity lived in Muskerry, (Cork) where St. Gobnata was born. What Smith has about her having been said to be a daughter of O'Connor Sligo is contrary to every statement I have met with; for she was certainly a native of the South. At what time she lived I do not find; nor can its being said that she got Borneach from St. Abban afford any help towards discovering it. What right had Abban to a place in Muskerry, the residence, and, at least in great part, the property of Gobnata's own family? In the various calendars, in which she is mentioned, and very circumstantially, there is not a word about Abban, and the story of his having founded Borneach is on a par with others already animadverted on.

(51) Magharnoidhe, as it is called in Abban's Life (*cap.* 32.) is otherwise named *Maghirnenina* (*ib. cap.* 26.) Archdall says (*ad loc.*) I know not on what authority, that it was near the river Barrow, and probably in the parish of Whitechurch. Elsewhere (*Addenda, p.* 820) he makes it the same as Maudlinton near Wex-

ford. It is odd that a place, which is said to have been once a considerable town, should be so little known at present.

(52) There is a story in the *Life* (*cap. 12. seqq.*) about Abban having gone to the South of Britain with St. Ibar and others, and of their having stopped for some time at a city called *Abbain-dun*, or *Dun-Abbain*, meaning, it seems, Abingdon. Then we are told, that they there converted the king, queen, and all the inhabitants, who until then had been pagans. This is too silly a fable to merit a serious refutation. For, supposing for a while that Abban lived in Ibar's, time, this conversion should have taken place before the year 500, in which Ibar died. The kings of that period in South Britain were Anglo-Saxons. Now who has ever heard that any Anglo-Saxon king became a Christian before 500, or for very many years after? This intention of the author of this fable seems to have been to insinuate, that Abingdon got its name from St. Abban; and Colgan strives to show, that such was really the case. Camden mentions (*Vol. 1. Col. 160.*) a tradition, accordingly to which Abingdon was denominated from an Irish hermit, named Abben, that lived there. Usher quotes (*p. 1007.*) from Simon's history of the abbots of Abingdon (published in the *Monasticon Anglicanum, Tom. 1.*) an account of the origin of its name, in which it is attributed to an Aben, of a consular family, who, having escaped from the fury of Hengist, led there the life of a hermit, and afterwards retired to Ireland, where he died. (See also *Ind. Chron. ad A. 461.*)

(53) The first of these pretended expeditions to Rome was in company with St. Ibar, and therefore prior to A. D. 500. As the third was in St. Gregory's time, *ergo* about 600. This is chronology with a vengeance! And Abban was ordained by Gregory at a time when, following these notable stories, he should have been, at least, 120 years old. And then he returned to Ireland, and set about founding monasteries. Usher, having swallowed these fables, endeavoured to give them some air of probability by affixing (*Ind. Chron.*) Abban's death to 599 during the pontificate of Gregory. But this will not do; for according to the *Life*, Abban must have lived for many years after Gregory's death.

(54) The place said to have been granted to Abban is called *Rath-Becain*. (*Life, cap. 21.*) I cannot find it under this name. Colgan thrusts in a monastery there, although not mentioned in

the Life. This pretended monastery is, I suppose, that which is placed under the name of Kill-Abbain, by Harris in the King's county, of which Ely O'Carrol now forms a part. He seems to have thought that Hua Muiredhuig, in which was a Kill-Abban, might have been in that country; but as being in North Leinster, it must be placed more to the North, perhaps in the now county of Louth. (See above *Not.* 47.) Harris's Kill-Abban of the King's county is called by Archdall *Kilbian*. That the Kill-Abban of Hua-Muiredhuig was really founded by St. Abban appears not only from its name, but likewise from its being expressly mentioned in the Calendars, (*AA. SS. p.* 624.) together with Magharnoidhe, as a monastery, in which his memery was particularly revered.

(55) The latter date is that given in his Life and in some Calendars. It seems to be founded on better authority than the other, which was probably the anniversary of some translation of his reliques.

(56) Allowing that Abban lived to a great age, (see *Not.* 46) not the monstrous one mentioned in his Life, this period answers for what is said of his having been nephew to St. Coemgen, acquainted with Columbkil, Brendan of Clonfert, and other saints of the sixth century, as also with Fintan Munnu, who lived in 635. As to his connections with St. Moling of Ferns, who died in 697, I believe they are as fabulous *a posteriori*, as those with St. Ibar are *a priori*.

§. v. St. Pulcherius or Mochoemoc flourished in the sixth and seventh centuries. (57) He was nephew to St. Ita by his mother Nessa of the Nandesi sept, and son of Beoan a native of Connaicne in Connaught, (58) who having left his own country was settled in Hy-Conall-Gaura, (in the West of the county of Limerick (59) where Pulcherius was born. What was the year of his birth is not known; but it could not have been later than 550; for it is related that he remained for 20 years under the care of St. Ita, who died in 570. Being well prepared for the ecclesiastical and monastic state he went, with her consent and approbation, (60) to place himself under

the direction of St. Comgall at Bangor. Here he distinguished himself so much, that Comgall, considering him fully qualified to preside over others, advised him to form a religious establishment for himself, wherever the Lord might direct him. Pulcherius then returned to Munster, and, being introduced to the chieftain of Ele, (Ely O'Carrol) was offered by him his own residence for the purpose of changing it into a monastery. This offer was declined by the saint; but he accepted the grant of a lonesome spot in a thick forest, to which he gave the name of *Liathmore*, (61) The time of this foundation is not mentioned; but it was probably about or not long after the year 580. (62) Some time after, that chieftain having died, Ronan his successor intended to expel Pulcherius from his territory, and went with a party of soldiers for that purpose towards the monastery at a time that the saint was offering the holy sacrifice; but, when arrived there or near it, he was struck by the hand of God so that he was unable to stir from the spot where he was. He then became sorry for his intention, and sent word to Pulcherius, requesting that he would come and relieve him from his situation. This message was not delivered to Pulcherius until he had finished not only Mass but likewise Tierce. He said that he would not go out of the monastery until after the celebration of None. When this was over, he visited Ronan, and giving him his blessing freed him from the awkward state he was in. Thenceforth a great friendship existed between them, and, after Ronan's death, the saint was very fervent in his prayers for the repose of his soul. (63) At a later period Failbhe Fland, king of all Munster, being displeased with Pulcherius for not allowing some horses of his to graze in the field belonging to the monastery, ordered the chieftain of Ele to drive him out of that country. Pulcherius went to Cashel to expostulate with him on this subject. The king received him in a very insulting

manner, and was instantly seized with violent pains in one of his eyes and deprived of the use of it. The courtiers having supplicated Pulcherius to procure him some relief, he blessed some water, on which being applied to the eye the pains ceased while the blindness still continued. On the following night the king had a vision during his sleep, in which he thought he saw from his castle on the Rock of Cashel the plains both to the North and South of the city covered with all the saints of Ireland, and was told by a venerable looking old person that they had assembled in defence of Pulcherius, and that he and his posterity would be destroyed in case of his not complying with the saint's request. Accordingly the king on the next day sent for him and granted him what he demanded. (64) Pulcherius was henceforth held by him in great veneration; and we have seen (65) how he induced him to submit in the case of St. Colman of Doiremore. Several miracles are attributed to Pulcherius, among others his having cured of blindness a holy virgin named Cainer. (66) The celebrated Dagan was in his younger days a disciple of Pulcherius; (67) as was also one Cuanchean, whose history is very little known. (68) Besides St. Caineach and St. Colman of Doiremore, Pulcherius was intimate with St. Molua of Clonfert-molua, St. Lachtean of Achad-ur, a St. Finnbar, and St. Luchern, who had been his fellow students at Bangor, (69) as likewise with St. Mofecta, *al.* Fechean (70) and the holy bishop Fursaeus. (71) St. Pulcherius must have lived to a very great age, if it be true that he did not die until 656. (72) This much is certain that his death occurred on a 13th of March. (73)

(57) Colgan and, after him, the Bollandists have published the Life of St. Pulcherius at 13 *Mart.* It is acknowledged to be very ancient by the Bollandists, who thought it might have been written by one of his disciples. The original name of this saint

was *Coemh-ghin*, that is, *handsome born*; but St. Ita changed it into *Mochoemoc*, my Choem or Coemh, which has been latinized into *Pulcherius*.

(58) *Conmaicne* was the name of various districts in Connaught, chiefly in the county of Galway.

(59) See *Not. 6. to Chap. xi.*

(60) Life of Pulcherius, *cap. 9.* It is probable that St. Ita did not long survive the departure of Pulcherius. She is not mentioned in the sequel as alive.

(61) It was, as we read in the Life, (*cap. 16.*) exactly four miles distant from bishop Colman's monastery of Doiremore. (See *Not. 41 to Chap. xiv.*) These places are now in the King's county.

(62) That it was founded in the sixth century is evident from its having existed in the time of St. Cainech of Aghaboe, who visited Pulcherius when settled there. Cainech died in 599. It existed also in the time of St. Fachnan, as appears from the Life of Pulcherius, *cap. 30.* Passing over other arguments, such as its having been founded about the same time with Clonfert-Molua, (*ib. cap. 11.*) we find Pulcherius governing it as abbot 14 years before the death of Colman, son of Feraidhe, prince of Ossory. (*ib. cap. 30.*) Now this Colman died in 602. (See *Not. 49 to Chap. xii.*) Therefore Harris was wrong in assigning its foundation to the seventh century.

(63) Life, *capp. 17-18.* (64) *Ib. capp. 20-21.*

(65) *Chap. xiv. §. 3.*

(66) Life, *cap. 36.* Colgan thought she might have been the St. Cannera, daughter of Fintan, who is mentioned in the Life of St. Molua of Clonfert-molua as a relative of his. She must not be confounded with the St. Cannera of St. Senan's time. (See *Not. 19 to Chap. x.*)

(67) See *Chap. xiv. §. 16.*

(68) See *Not. 215 to Chap. xiv.*

(69) Life, *cap. 11.* St. Lachtan, *al. Lacten* or Lactan, is treated of by Colgan at 19 *Mart.* He was of the illustrious house of Corpre Musc, of Muskerry, Cork, one of the sons of Conar the second formerly king of Ireland. He is called by some the son of Torben, and, by others, of Corpre the son of Nuachar. He founded a great monastery at Achad-ur, *i. e. Green field* (not

Green-ford, as Archdall says) near or at the place where Treshford now stands in the county of Kilkenny. It is related in the Life of St. Carthag of Lismore, that, while this saint was still at Rathen, Lactean moved by pity for the distressed state of his community, brought him a present of thirty cows, one bull, two herdsmen, and some utensils. He is called in various martyrologies a bishop, but, says Colgan, whether at Achad-ur or elsewhere is not sufficiently clear. If he was a bishop, I believe Achad-ur was his see, as I find him constantly called *Lactan of Achad-ur*. He died on the 19th of March, A. D. 622 (623.) Harris places the monastery of Achad-ur in the Queen's county; but Archdall, who has it in Kilkenny at *Freshford*, is more correct, as appears from the name *Aghour*, by which a prebend in that place is still called. Colgan has confounded this saint with the abbot Lactean, who was a contemporary and neighbour of St. Senan of Iniscatthy. (See *AA. SS. p. 525.*) But this Lactean cannot be supposed to have lived down to 623. He was a different person, and was, I am sure, the Lactean or Lachtin, from whom the church of Lis-lachtin in Kerry, not far from Iniscatthy, got its name. Colgan has also confounded him with Lacten, who succeeded St. Molua at Clonfert-molua. For this he had no authority, except the mere similarity of name. There were Lactens or Lactans enough to succeed Molua without removing the one of Achad-ur to Clonfert-molua, of which no mention occurs in the calendars, where treating of him. St. Finn bar, another fellow-student of Pulcherius, was not, as Colgan justly remarks, the Finnbar of Cork, who, as is evident from his Life, was never a disciple of Comgall. It is probable that he was the Finnbar, who governed a monastery in Inisdamhle an island in the Suir, (Little island, I suppose, not far below Waterford) between, as Colgan says, (*AA. SS. p. 630.*) the country of the Desii and Hy-kinselagh. Of this Finnbar I can find nothing further except that his memory was revered on the 4th of July; (*ib. p. 597.*) whence it is plain that he was different from St. Finnbar of Cork, whose festival was kept on the 25th of September. I do not find this monastery of Inisdamhle in Harris, nor even in Archdall. Might Inisdamhle have been the same as Inis-leamhnacta, where there was a monastery, in which Pulcherius spent some time, as we read in his Life, (*cap. 34.*)? The situation favours this conjecture;

for Inis-leamhnacta is described (*ib.*) as in the southern part of Ossory not far from the arm of the sea, into which the Suir empties itself. Colgan has confounded this place with Inislannacht, where a celebrated Cistercian abbey was founded some centuries after the death of Pulcherius. (See Ware, *Ant. ca.* 26 at *Tipperary*.) Inislannacht lies far from Ossory and still farther from the sea, being some miles to the West of Clonmel. It is now called *Inislounagh* or *Inislough*. Harris and Archdall have not only followed this mistake of Colgan, but add, what he has not, that Pulcherius founded a monastery at Inislannacht or Inislounagh. For this there is no authority whatsoever, except its being related that he passed some time at Inis-leamhnacta. But might he not have been there on a visit? This is all that the text authorizes us to admit. I am greatly inclined to think, that he had gone to that place for the purpose of seeing his friend Finnbar, and that Inisleamhnacta was no other than Inisdamlle. If different places, they were, at least, not far asunder. As to Luchern, Colgan (*ib.*) makes him the same as Luctigern abbot of Inistymon. But Luctigern was a disciple not of Comgall but of Ruadan of Lothra. (See *Not.* 21 to *Chap.* xi.)

(70) *Life, cap.* 31. Colgan thought that Fechean was the famous St. Fechin of Fore, of whom hereafter. But the times do not answer. Fechean is stated to have been in company with Pulcherius, Cannech, and Molua of Clonfert-molua at one and the same time. This must have been prior to the close of the sixth century, as appears particularly from Cannech having been one of the party. Now Fechin of Fore was too young at that period to rank with those venerable abbots. He lived until 665, and died not of old age but of a plague. It is highly probable, that Fechean was the abbot Fechean, who is spoken of as having lived for some time with St. Senan of Inniscatthy; (*AA. SS.* p. 525.) but of whom I cannot discover any precise account.

(71) *Life cap.* 33. It can scarcely be doubted, that by this bishop Fursaesus was meant the great St. Fursey of Peronne. He flourished in Ireland in the early part of the seventh century at the same time with Pulcherius, and both of them lived in Munster. This is an additional argument in proof of St. Fursey having been a bishop. (Compare with *Not.* 96 to *Chap.* xv.)

(72) The 4 Masters assign his death to 655 (656). Following this

date he must have been, at least, 106 years old at the time of his death. He did not go to Bangor, at the latest, until 570; for St. Ita was still alive when he set out for it. As he was then 20 years of age, we cannot place his birth later than 550. Colgan remarks on a silly Irish verse, in which he is said to have lived 14 years above 400, that it ought to be read 14 above 100; and thus the whole age of Pulcherius would have been 114 years. The Bollandists (*Comment. pr. at Pulcherius 13 Mart.*) approved of this conjecture, but afterwards in a note to the Life of St. Cronan of Roscrea (at 28 April) retracted this approval, giving us a conjecture of their own, viz. that in said verse is to be read 14 past 40; and hence they concluded that he lived only about 55 years, and in their supposition that he was born in 550, died about 605. Their argument in favour of these fine positions is, that, as they say, they found no transaction of his life later than the sixth century. But did they not find that Failbhe Fland was king of Munster during the life time of Pulcherius? Now this prince did not reign until, at the earliest, A. D. 619. (See *Not. 39 to Chap. xiv.*) Were it not for the assertion of the 4 Masters I should place the death of Pulcherius either in the time of that reign, which ended in 634, or soon after it; whereas in his Life I meet with nothing, that belongs to a later period.

(73) On this point the Calendars, Annals, &c. agree with the Life.

§. vi. St. Mochelloc, of whom I had occasion to make mention elsewhere, (74) belonged to these times, having died very old in some year between 639 and 656. He is usually called Mochelloc of Cathuir-mac-Conchaidh, once a town in the now county of Waterford. (75) It is said that he was a relative of St. Finan of Kinnity. (76) I find him honoured with the title of bishop, but, I suspect, on weak authority. (77) Besides some establishment at Cathuir-mac-Conchaidh, the foundation of the church of Kilmallock is usually attributed to him, and the name *Kilmallock* is supposed to be a contraction of *Kill-mochelloc*. (78)

St. Manchan abbot of Meno-drochit (79) died in

652. (80) He was surnamed the *Wise*, and enjoyed a great reputation. (81) Some writers make him the same as Manchan abbot of Mohill in the now county of Leitrim; (82) but there is reason to think, that they were different persons. (83) Manchan the *wise* was, I believe the same as the Manchan, or, as vulgarly called, *Munchin*, who is supposed to have been the first bishop of Limerick. For this supposition there is no sufficient authority; (84) and, as far as I can discover, it rests on no other foundation than that Manchan the *wise* founded, perhaps, a monastery where Limerick now stands, or that the first church in that place was dedicated in his name. Of the identity of Munchin of Limerick with Manchan the *wise* a stronger proof need not be required than that his festival is kept on the 2d of January, the day assigned to the memory of Manchan the *wise* in all the Irish calendars. (85) There is not the least hint, in any old document relative to our Church history, of this Manchan having been raised to the episcopal rank; but the veneration in which he was held at Limerick, and the circumstance of its oldest church bearing his name, gave rise at a late period to the opinion of his having been a bishop. Mistakes of this kind have occurred not only in Ireland but likewise in other countries.

(74) *Chap. 1. §. 12.*

(75) §. See *ib.*

(76) Acts of Mochelloc at 26 March. Of this St. Finan see above *Not. 48.*

(77) Mochelloc is not called bishop in any of the Irish calendars quoted by Colgan.

(78) Keating says that Mochelloc erected the church of Killmochelloc. Colgan calls this place a town, meaning, it seems, Kilmallock. Hence Harris and Archdall ascribe a monastery at Kilmallock to St. Mochelloc.

(79) It is now called *Mundrehid* and is in the barony of Upper Ossory, Queen's county. The tract, in which it lies, was for-

merly called *Disert-chuillin*. There was an abbot Lasren in this place, who died A. D. 600. (*Tr. Th. p. 376.*)

(80) Annals of Ulster, and Usher, p. 970. and *Ind Chron.*

(81) The author of the work *De Mirabilibus S. Scripturae*, of which hereafter, takes particular notice (*L. 2. c. 4.*) of the death of Manchan, or, as the present text has, *Manichaeus*, as one of the wise men of Ireland. He places it in the last year of the eleventh (reckoning from the beginning of the world) cycle of 532 years, which, according to his chronological principles, was the same as A. D. 652. (See Usher, p. 970.) From the name *Manichaeus* Usher (*ib.*) seems to have concluded, that Manchan's real name was the Hebrew *Menaham*, which has been changed into *Manichaeus*. But Colgan maintains (*AA. SS. p. 332.*) that *Manchan* is a diminutive of the Irish *Manach*, a monk, and means *a little monk*. He observes, that there were many persons in Ireland called *Manchan*, *Manchen*, or *Manchin*, and, all names of the same import. *Manichaeus* is, as he justly remarks, probably a corruption of Manchanus; and it will be seen, that other Irish names have been corrupted in the text of that work. St. Manchan was, in all probability, the same as the *holy and wise man named Manchen*, who is mentioned in the Life of St. Mulua of Clonfert-molua as a survivor of his. (See Usher, p. 969.)

(82) Usher seems to have been of this opinion. He had (see p. 969.) a Life of St. Manchan of Mohill, said to have been written by Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, in which Manchan was called a Canon regular of St. Augustin and stated to have flourished in the year 608. But there were no such Canons regular in those times. He is there called also patron of seven churches. It is said that ever since said year glebes, lands, fiefs, tythes, &c. were granted to the establishment of Mohill. This account smells of a period much later than 608; for neither fiefs nor tythes were then known in Ireland. Ware (*Antiq. cap. 26*, at *Leitrim*) makes him the same as Manchan of Mene-drochit, and so does Archdall, (at *Mohill*) as appears from his assigning his death to 652.

(83) In the Irish Calendars quoted by Colgan at 14 *Febr.* where he treats of Manchan of Mohill, they are spoken of as distinct persons. Manchan the *wise* is mentioned at 2 January, while the one of Mohill appears at 14 February. This is a strong

proof that they were different, although, I will allow, the only one; for very little is known concerning these Manchans, notwithstanding the great esteem, in which the one, surnamed *Wise* was held. Colgan says that, in want of authentic documents to prove the contrary, he must consider them as different persons.

(84) Ware (*Bishops at Limerick*) says, that St. Munchin, son of Sedna, was the first bishop of that city. He does not refer to any authority, nor had he any except a passage of a genealogical hagiology, (*ap. AA. SS. p. 332.*) in which among five Manchans is reckoned *Manchinus Lumnichensis filius Sednae*. But this Manchin or Manchan is not called a bishop, although a Manchan mentioned just before him is marked by that title. I do not find either in the Irish calendars or annals any Manchan bishop of Limerick, nor even one called *of Limerick*. It is very probable that Manchan the *wise* was son of Sedna, who is said to have been a descendant of Cormac Cas king of Munster, and the founder of the Dalcassian line of princes. As Thomond, in which was comprized the country about Limerick, was the patrimony of this race, it is natural to suppose that Munchin son of Sedna was greatly revered in that territory, of which he was probably a native. And thus it can be easily accounted for, why there was a church in Limerick called by his name, without recurring to the unauthorized hypothesis of his having been bishop there. Ware acknowledges, that he was not able to find any account of Munchin's successors at Limerick until about the beginning of the twelfth century, and elsewhere (*Antiquities, cap. 29 at Limerick*) says, that it is a very difficult point to ascertain who Munchin of Limerick was. He mentions the opinion of those, who make him the same as the Mancenus, who, according to Jocelin, was left in Tirawley by St. Patrick. We have already seen, (*Chap. v. §. 12. and ib. Not. 118.*) that this pretended Mancenus of St. Patrick's times was no other than Manchan of Meno-drochit. But even if he were different, and if there was a Manchan in Tyrawley at that early period, how has it come to pass, that neither in Joceline nor in the Tripartite is a word to be found about said Manchan having become bishop of Limerick, although the latter work is particularly minute as to St. Patrick's proceedings in the now county of Limerick? The fact is, that in St. Patrick's days there

was neither a town, nor, I dare say, a village, nor monastery in the place where Limerick is situated. Ware touches also on the opinion, that Munchin was the same as Munchan of Mene-drochit, which, strange to think, he supposed to be less probable than the other. But he assigns no reason for his having thought so. O'Halloran pretends (*History, &c. B. VIII. ch. 7.*) not only that Manchan was bishop of Limerick soon after the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland, and that he had been employed in Connaught, but likewise that, before he became bishop, he was abbot, and the first, of Muingharid (Mungret) near Limerick. O'Halloran confounded Mungret with Mene-drochit, notwithstanding their being most clearly distinguished by Colgan, Harris, &c. &c. The first abbot of Mungret, at least on record, was Nesson, who died in 552. (See *Chap. XI. §. 6.*)

(85) See *AA. SS. p. 333.* In Ware's *Antiquities (cap. 29.)* the first of January is mentioned, by mistake, for the festival of St. Munchin, instead of the second. This mistake has not been corrected by Harris.

§. VII. As to the real bishops of these times, besides those of the third class of saints, and Carthagh of Lismore, Dagan, Colman of Doiremore, Colman or Columban of Clonard, Diman of Connor, &c. &c. already treated of, some others are mentioned, the accounts of whom are, in general, very imperfect. St. Aidus or Hugh, surnamed Dubh, bishop of Kildare, died in 638. (86) He is said to have been king of Leinster, and, on resigning his kingdom, to have become a monk, and afterwards bishop. Yet it seems more probable, that he was merely of the blood royal of that province. (87) The day of his death is uncertain. Dachua, or rather Mochua Luachra, a native of Munster, who is called by some only *abbot* of Ferns, and died on the 22d of June A. D. 652 (653) (88) was likewise a bishop, (89) and the immediate successor of St. Maidoc. (90) Tuenoc also, who succeeded Dachua, and died in 662 (663) was not only abbot but bishop of Ferns. (91) A St.

Aidan, who is said to have been maternal brother to Aidus, son of Anmiraeus, the king of Ireland, who was killed in 599, (92) is spoken of as bishop of Glendaloch. (93) If so, he may be supposed to have succeeded St. Molibba (94) some time in the first half of the seventh century. St. Thomian, archbishop of Armagh, died, as already seen, (95) in 661, and was succeeded by Segen, who held the see for 27 years (96) In the same year died Conang O'Daithil, bishop of Emly. (97) One or other of three bishops of Clogher mentioned by Colgan might have been there in these times; but which of them cannot be determined. (98) Bithan, who succeeded Aidhlog-Mac-Caimin, (99) as abbot of Clonmacnois, is said to have been also a bishop. (100) He was of a family called *Hua Cormaic*, and native of Conmaicne-mara, in Connaught. (101) Baithan died in 663; (102) and his memory was revered on the first of March, apparently the anniversary of his death. Some other bishops and holy men are mentioned as belonging to this period; but scarcely any thing is known concerning them except the years of their death, (103) further inquiries would be useless.

(86) Colgan has endeavoured to give some account of this bishop at 4 January; but it is very unsatisfactory.

(87) There was not in the early part of the seventh century an Aidus king of Leinster. The king Aidus who died in 591, according to the 4 Masters, could not have been the bishop, whose death they assign to 638. And yet they tell us, that the bishop had been king of Leinster. Colgan strove to explain this contradiction, but, as Harris observes, (*Bishops at Kildare*) with little success. It is therefore probable, that some mistake has occurred with regard to the title given to Aidus, and that, although of the royal family of Leinster, he had not been a king. Colgan conjectures that he was the bishop Aidus son of Moelodran, a member of that house.

(88) 4 Masters and Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 223.

(89) Colgan speaks of him (*Tr. Th. p. 564.*) as bishop of Ferns. A regular see had been established there; and St. Maidoc, although raised to it, still continued to govern the monastery. The same system was, in all probability, followed by his successors.

(90) Usher and Ware, as will be seen hereafter, were mistaken in making St. Moling the second bishop of Ferns. Of Mochuan Luachra more will be seen, when treating of St. Moling.

(91) See *Tr. Th. p. 564.* and Harris (*Bishop at Ferns*).

(92) See *Chap. xiv. §. 1.* (93) *AA. SS. p. 306.*

(94) See *Chap. xiv. §. 16.* Were we to believe some genealogists, who make Aidan a brother of Etchen the ordainer of Columbkil, we should rather suppose him a predecessor of Molibba. From such loose materials nothing authentic can be deduced.

(95) *Chap. xiv. §. 12.*

(96) *Tr. Th. p. 292-294.* and Ware at *Armagh*. It is probable, that this prelate was the Segen, who was a priest in the year 640. (See *Not. 91 to Chap. xv.*)

(97) *AA. SS. p. 150.* The Annals referred to by Colgan have *A. 660*, that is, 661. Yet Ware (at *Emly*) has retained *A. 660*, although he might as well have retained it for Thomian of Armagh, whose death is marked also at 660 in the Irish annals. Harris was right in adding "or 661." Conang O'Daithil is mentioned as comorban (successor of St. Ailbe in the *Life of St. Molagga, cap. 19.* Whether he was the person, who is called in the *Life of St. Pulcherius (cap. 35.) archbishop of Emly*, I am not able to decide. Probably he was, if it be true that Pulcherius lived until 655. This title of *archbishop of Emly* is very remarkable, as appearing in a tract so ancient, and shows that the bishops of Emly enjoyed a sort of pre-eminence over the other bishops of, at least, Munster. (Compare with *Not. 67 to Chap. vi.*) Colgan says (*AA. SS. p. 598.*) that some of our calendarists place the *Natalis* of Conang O'Daithil at the 23d of September.

(98) See *Not. 5 to Chap. xii.*

(99) Aidhlog Mac-Camain died in 652. Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(100) Colgan in his short account of Baithian (at 1 *Mart.*) refers to only the *Martyrologium Tamlaclense* for his having been a bishop, observing that in other calendars he is called merely

abbot. This, however, does not prevent his having been raised to the episcopacy.

(101) *Conmaicne-mara* means the Conmaicne near the sea. Harris says, (*Bishops, at Baitan, Clonmacnois*) that it was the same as the barony of Ballynahinch in the county of Galway. Thus he supposed it to have been confined to the tract now called *Connamara*; but the ancient Conmaicne-mara seems to have extended to the North of the barony of Ballynahinch; for, as Colgan observes, (*AA. SS. p. 437.*) the island of Inisbofinde (Ennisbofin) is represented as lying off its coast.

(102) This is the date assigned by the 4 Masters. It has been retained by Ware and Harris, although, I dare say, it ought to be understood *ās* 664.

(103) Colgan has (*Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.*) from the 4 Masters; A. 658 died St. Comin bishop of Antrim, and on the 17th of May in said year, St. Sillan bishop of Devenish. A. 659. St. Daniel, bishop of *Kinngaradh*, 18 January. Instead of *Kinngaradh* we ought, I believe, to read *Killgaradh*, now Oran in the county of Roscommon, where St. Patrick is said to have founded a church. (See *Chap. v. §. 10.*) St. Laidgen, a monk of Clonfert-molua, who had been educated there by the abbot St. Lactan, was a man of extraordinary sanctity, and his memory has been most highly respected. He died in 660 (661) *AA. SS. p. 57.* Archdall was wrong in making him abbot of that house. He was only a monk.

§. VIII. Segenius abbot of Hy, who died in 652, (104) was succeeded by Suibne (Sweeny) son of Curthri, of whom I find nothing recorded except that, having governed for more than four years, he died in 657 (105) The successor of Suibne was Cumineus Albus or Cunan the *white*, who has been often mentioned already, and who, as we have seen, (106) must not be confounded with Cummian the author of the Paschal epistle. Let it suffice to add in this place, that he was son of Ernan a brother of the above mentioned abbot Segenius, and accordingly a descendant of Fergus the grandfather of Columbkill. (107) Cumineus died after an administra-

tion of twelve years, on the 24th of February, A. D. 669 (108)

To the Columbian order is said to have belonged St. Mura, whose name has been latinized into *Murus* and *Muranus*. He governed the monastery of Fathen-Mura, now Fahan in Inishowen, of which he was most probably the founder. (109) Mura was a descendant of Neill Neigilliach by his son Eugene, and great grandson of another Eugene who died in 565. His father's name was *Feradach*, and his mother's *Derinilla*. (110) He flourished in the first half of the seventh century, and seems to have died some time before 658. (111) His memory, which is revered on the 12th of March, has been held in great veneration, particularly by the O'Neill family, who considered him as their patron saint. His staff, called *Bachull Mura*, was and is, perhaps, still preserved as a relique. St. Mura wrote a metrical Life, in Irish, of Columbkil. (112) His monastery flourished for many centuries, but is at present only a parish church in the diocese of Derry.

(104) See *Chap.* xiv. §. 12. The 12th of August was marked for his commemoration. (*Tr. Th.* p. 498.)

(105) Usher, p. 702. He has five years for Suibne's administration. This must be understood as reckoning in round numbers. For Suibne died on the 11th of January, and accordingly, counting from the 12th of August 652 (the day marked for Segenius) was abbot only four years and nearly five months. Colgan treats of Suibne at 11 January, but except the little now stated, gives us nothing particular concerning his history.

(106) *Not.* 70 to *Chap.* xi.

(107) Acts of Cumineus at 24 *Febr.* The far greatest part of what follows in these Acts, which were patched up by Colgan, belongs not to Cumineus Albus but to Cummian the writer of the Epistle, Colgan having confounded them together.

(108) All the Irish calendars, quoted by Colgan, agree in marking the 24th February as the day of his death. The Ulster An-

nals and the 4 Masters assign it to A. 668, *i. e.* 669. See also Usher, *p.* 702.

(109) See *Not.* 116. to *Chap.* xi.

(110) Mura's Acts at 12 *Mart.*

(111) The 4 Masters and Colgan *Tr. Th.* (*p.* 510. and *AA. SS.* *p.* 334.) assign the death of St. Kellach abbot of Fathen-Mura to A. D. 657 (658). Instead of 657 Archdall has (at *Fahan*) by mistake, 637. Kellach must have been a successor of Mura, and consequently, unless we are to suppose that Mura resigned the government of the monastery, a survivor of his.

(112) See Acts, and Harris, *Writers.*

§. ix. St. Monenna is reported to have founded a nunnery at Fochard Brighde, the birth place of St. Brigid, (Faugher in the county of Louth) about, as some say, the year 630. (113) But her history is so confused that it is impossible to ascertain the precise time of this foundation. It is plain that Monenna has been confounded with another person of the same or a somewhat similar name. (114) The account given of her, in a work called her Life, is that she was of the great sept of the Conalls of Conail Murthemhni (the country about Dundalk) and Clan Conall in the now county of Down. Her father was Maughteus, prince of that sept and ruler of an extensive territory stretching from Iveagh to the neighbourhood of Armagh. (115) Having governed for some time 150 virgins at Fochard she appointed Orbila, *al.* Servila, abbess of that establishment, and retired to near Sliev-Cuilin or Sliev-Gullen in the county of Armagh, where she erected a church, which has been called Kill-sleve-Cuilin, that is, the cell of Mount-Cuilin. (116) Next we are told, that she went to North Britain, and erected seven churches in various parts of that country, one of which was at a place called *Lanfordin*, where she died during the life time of Columbkil. (117) This does not agree with the hypothesis of her having founded the nunnery of Fochard about 630, as

Columbkil was dead long before that time. But other accounts bring her to England, where she was known by the name of Movenna or Modwenna, and greatly distinguished in the seventh, or, as some writers maintain, in the ninth century. Amidst these jarring statements I am not able to form any decisive conclusion. (118) St. Conchenna, who was either abbess or, at least, a member of the nunnery of Kill-sleve, died in 655, and her memory was revered on the 13th of March. (119)

There is good reason to think, that the celebrated St. Athracta or Attracta (120) lived about these times, or somewhat earlier. The statements relative to her are indeed so contradictory, that the period, in which she flourished, cannot be precisely ascertained. According to some accounts she was contemporary with St. Patrick. (121) But we find her spoken of as living in the times of St. Corbmac, brother of St. Eviu, (122) and consequently in the sixth century. (123) St. Nathy, that is, according to every appearance, Nathy of Achonry, who lived in the same century and probably during some part of the seventh, is also mentioned as a contemporary of hers. (124) On these grounds it may be fairly concluded, that St. Athracta belonged to the same period. She is said to have been the daughter of Talan of a princely family of Dalaradia in Ulster, (125) and brother of St. Coeman of Aird-ne-Coemhain, a consanguinity which it would be difficult to reconcile with her having been a native of Ulster. (126) Whatever were her family connexions, St. Athracta presided over a nunnery called Kill-athracta (Killaraght) near the lake Techet, now Lough Gara in the county of Sligo. (127) Her memory was revered there on the 11th of August, the day marked for her festival in the Irish calendars; but in some foreign martyrologies her name appears at the 9th of February. (128)

(113) Usher says (*Ind. Chron.*) that the virgin Monenna flourished in 630. Hence Harris deduced that she founded the nunnery of Fochard in that year. Archdall has 638, an erratum, I suppose, for 630. Harris calls her Monenna, *al. Darerca*. This is a mistake. It was Darerca, who is said to have lived in St. Patrick's times, that was surnamed *Moninne* or *Monenna*. (See *Not.* 181. to *Chap.* III.) Usher observes, (*Pr.* p. 824.) that Conchubran, the writer of *Monenna's Life*, perhaps confounded her with Darerca, owing to the latter's surname *Moninne*. This is indeed very probable; for Conchubran (see *ib.* p. 705.) makes her contemporary with St. Patrick, and afterwards speaks of her as having been in Scotland during the times of Columbkil. Usher thinks that, instead of Columbkil, it would have been more correct to have said, Columba bishop of Dunkeld in Scotland, who lived several years later.

(114) The Monenna of Conchubran is called by others Modvenna, a native of Ireland, who was, in the seventh century, famous in England. She is said to have been the instructress of St. Ositha an English virgin and saint. From Usher's own observations (p. 707) concerning the times of St. Ositha it would appear that Monenna or Modvenna did not, as he calculates, flourish as early as 630. On the other hand some of the transactions of Darerca, surnamed Monenna, who died in 518, have been attributed to the one simply called Monenna. To add to this perplexity, several writers maintain, that St. Modvenna lived not in the seventh but in the ninth century. Of this more lower down.

(115) See Usher, p. 705 and 1036.

(116) It has been seen, (*Chap.* VIII. §. 9.) that the church and nunnery of Kill-sleve-Cuilin is usually attributed to Darerca, surnamed Moninne, who died in 518. This was also Colgan's opinion, while, although placing this Darerca at that early period, he held that she was different from the one supposed to have been sister to St. Patrick. (See *Not.* 181 to *Chap.* III.) Usher was inclined to think, (*Ind. Chron. ad. A.* 630.) that the foundress of said establishment was the Monenna of the seventh century. But the common opinion appears better supported. Besides the 4 Masters, who call Darerca, that died in 518, abbess of that place, (see *AA. SS.* p. 190.) there is a passage in the *Life* of St. Endas of Arran (*cap.* 8.) in which Darerca, *al. Moninne* is stated to

have been in her nunnery of Bell-slebi (Kill-sleve) during the life time of that saint. Now Enda flourished in the beginning of the sixth century, and, at most, did not outlive the middle of it. On the whole it seems certain that the nunnery of Kill-sleve existed long before that of Fochard.

(117) Thus far Conchubran *ap.* Usher, *p.* 706, who gives the names of those seven churches, and observes that Lanfortin was near Dundee. Conchubran having erroneously called Columbkil an archbishop, Usher remarks that Columba the first bishop of Dunkeld was probably the person, in whose time Moninna died. Thus her death might have been as late as about 640.

(118) Conchubran, as far as I can discover, (for I know nothing of his work except from Usher's extracts) makes no mention of St. Monenna having been in England; nor does it appear that he thought her the same as St. Modwenna. Usher and several English writers make no distinction between them, and apply to Modwenna what Conchubran has concerning Monenna. That there was a celebrated Irish virgin Modwenna in England cannot be called in question. Camden says, (*col.* 613, Gibson's *ed.*) that "Modwenna an Irish virgin, famed for her wonderful piety, built a nunnery near Pollesworth" in Warwickshire. And (*col.* 641) he speaks of her as having been near Burton on Trent, Staffordshire. I do not find him stating the period, at which she was in these places. Usher thought it was in the seventh century, because Modwenna is said to have instructed St. Ositha, whom he assigned to said century, as have also Baronius and others. He acknowledges that Ositha flourished in the latter part of it; and hence, as observed above (*Not.* 114) it may be collected, that Modwenna was not distinguished as early as 630. But other writers assert, that Modwenna lived in the 9th century, and even in the second half of it. Their system is exhibited and followed by Cressy, (*Church History, &c. B.* 28. *ch.* 2.), who tells us 1. that Modwenna was the daughter of *Nangtheus* of Tirconnel. He mistook the name *Maughteus* of Conchubran for *Nangtheus*. Another mistake is that of *Tirconnel* instead of the Conalls' country in Louth and Down. Camden has fallen into it, but was corrected by Usher (*p.* 1036). 2. Cressy has the nunnery of Fochart, &c. and then says, that Modwenna erected another at Celliscline, *so called from the multitude of cells*. This is a droll

blunder; *Celliscline* &c. instead of *Kill-sleve-Cuillin*, the cell of Mount-Cuillin. As to the origin of this nunnery, it is well known, that whoever was the Monenna by whom founded, (see *Not.* 116) it existed long before the ninth century. 3. Modwenna, on the invitation of Ethelwolf, king of the West Saxons, went to England, taking with her Achea her disciple and relative—is entrusted with the care of Editha the king's sister, and founds the nunnery of Pollesworth. 4. Leaving the direction of Pollesworth to Achea and Editha she went to the small island of Andresey, (Andrew's island) where she erected a church in honour of St. Andrew, and near which was afterwards founded the Benedictine monastery of Burton. 5. Modwinna had also a disciple named Ositha, concerning whose times Cressy here changes a former opinion of his. For he had, (*B.* 17. *ch.* 15.) with Baronius, placed her in the 7th century, but now removes her to the ninth. 6. Modwenna returned to *Celliscline* in Ireland, and died there after having requested that her body should be interred in Andressey. This request was complied with through the care of the great Alfred; but the body was in a following age removed to the monastery of Burton. From this narrative, compared with Conchubran's account, the reader will be able to understand the epitaph on St. Modwenna's tomb at Burton, as in Camden (*col.* 641.) and Usher, *p.* 1036.

Ortum Modwennae dat Hibernia, Scotia finem,
 Anglia dat tumulum, dat Deus alta poli.
 Prima dedit vitam, sed mortem terra secunda,
 Et terram terrae tertia terra dedit.
 Aufert Lanfortin, quam Terra Conallea profert;
 Felix Burtonium Virginis ossa tenet.

St. Modwinna's death is here placed at Lanfortin, where Conchubran says that Monenna died, in opposition to the statement given by Cressy.

(119) This is all that I can find worthy of consideration as to St. Conchenna in what Colgan has about her at 13 *Mart.* The 4 Masters have for her death *A.* 654, which, I suppose, ought to be understood 655. They call her St. Conchenna of Killleve, without adding the title of abbess. As Killleve was the same as Kill-sleve-Cuillin, of which in the preceding notes, we have here

a proof that this nunnery existed long before the ninth century.

(120) Colgan has endeavoured to compile the Acts of this saint at 9 February. They consist chiefly of fragments of a bombastic Life, written, as he thought, by a Cisterian monk of the abbey of Boyle, and consequently not before the latter end of the twelfth century. He justly observes, that it was not commendable either for style or close attention to truth.

(121) See *Chap. v. §. 10.*

(122) Life of St. Corbmac, *cap. 17.* at 26 March.

(123) See *Not. 111.* to *Chap. XII.*

(124) Acts of St. Athracta, *cap. 13.* In the same chapter Keannfaelaid is said to have been king of Connaught during her time. Colgan, not finding any king there of this name before about 670, thought that, instead of a king of all Connaught ought to be understood a dynast of some part of it. But in said Acts Keannfaelaid is expressly stated to have ruled the whole province, "*tenens totum eius (Connaciae) principatum universalliter.*" The author certainly meant the well-known king of all Connaught. Yet we are not bound to believe, that Athracta lived as late as his reign. That author cared so little about anachronisms, that he places her also in the times of St. Patrick. Concerning Nathy of Achronry see *Chap. XII. §. 3.* That he he was the Nathy alluded to in Athracta's Acts is sufficiently clear from his having lived in the district, in which her nunnery was situated, viz. Lugné or Lugnia, of which the barony of Leney in the county of Sligo forms a part. Nathy of Achonry, which is in said barony, is the only saint of that name, that flourished in Lugne.

(125) *AA. SS. p. 281.*

(126) See *Not. 141* to *Chap. XII.* If Athracta was, whether sister or not, contemporary with Coeman, we have an additional argument in favour of her having lived in the sixth century; for Coeman is said to have been brother to St. Coemhgen of Glendaloch.

(127) See *Chap. v. §. 10* and *ib. Not. 95.*

(128) In the foreign calendars her name is spelt *Tarachta* or *Tarahata*. No St. Tarachta is mentioned in any Irish document; and hence Colgan justly inferred, that she was no other than St. Athracta. The Bollandists (at 9 *Febr.*) do not controvert his

opinion. They have scarcely any thing about St. Athracta except what they took from him, and follow him even to her having flourished in the 5th century, to which period they assign also Coeman of Airdne-Coemhain. It appears that they did not examine the history of either of these saints with much attention.

§. x. St. Fechin, (129) who is the first named among the priests of the third class of Irish saints, was a native of the territory, in which St. Athracta had her nunnery, that is, of Lugne. (130) Bile, or, as afterwards called, Bile Fechin, in the barony of Leney, is stated to have been the place of his birth. His father was Coelcharna a descendant of Eochad Fionn brother to the famous king Con of the hundred battles, and his mother Lassair of the royal blood of Munster. (131) When fit to be sent to school, Fechin was placed under St. Nathy or Nathi of Achonry, in whose monastery he remained until he made a considerable progress in learning and piety. How long he continued there we are not correctly informed. According to one account he staid with Nathi, until he was ordained priest; (132) but according to another, which appears more consistent, he left that school several years before he was ordained and went to that of some other holy man. (133) Having finished his studies, and being raised to the priesthood, he left his own country for the purpose of leading a retired life, and arriving at Fobhar, now Fore in the county of Westmeath, stopped there, being very kindly received by the proprietors of that place. Here he erected a monastery, to which such numbers of persons were attracted by his reputation, that after some time his community consisted of about three hundred monks, (134) who, as well as their holy abbot, subsisted on their own labour, (135) and were sometimes reduced to great penury. (136) Some other monasteries or churches are attributed to St. Fechin; but, with the exception of one or two of them, I greatly doubt whether they

were of his foundation. (137) That he established a religious house in the island of Immagh near the coast of Galway (138) cannot be questioned. The inhabitants were still Pagans when Fechin, taking with him some of his monks of Fore, undertook their conversion. At first he met with great opposition, and the people were so obstinate that they refused to supply him and his companions with even the necessities of life, so that two of them died of want of food, whom, however, the Almighty was pleased, through the saint's intercession, to bring again to life. But Guaire, king of Connaught, being apprized of their distress, sent them abundance of provisions. (139) When setting about the construction of a monastery, the islanders threw their implements and utensils into the sea, which, it is said, were driven back on land. At length Fechin succeeded in bringing all of them over to the Christian faith, and baptized them. Their zeal became so fervent, that they consigned themselves and their island to him as their master and superior. (140)

(129) Colgan has published (at 20 January) two Lives of St. Fechin. The author of the first was Augustin Magraidin, who died in 1405. The second, which is more copious and circumstantial was compiled by Colgan and his assistants from three different Lives of Fechin written in Irish.

(130) See *Not.* 124.

(131) *AA. SS.* p. 143.

(132) *Second Life, cap.* 8. In this Life Nathi is represented as living for some time, apparently not inconsiderable, after Fechin, already a priest, had founded some monasteries. If so, Nathi must have lived to a great age; for he was a grown up man before the death of Finnian of Clonard, (see *Chap.* xii. §. 3.) that is, before 552. Now it can scarcely be admitted that Fechin, who died of a plague in 665, was born earlier than between 580 and 590, or that he could have been a priest prior to between 610 and 620. Supposing then Nathi to have been alive after Fechin had established monasteries, he would have lived until, at least, 620; whence it would follow that he was very old when he died.

(133) In the first Life we read (*cap.* 6.) that Fechin was still a boy, “*bonae indolis puer,*” when he removed to another school. His going to this school was very probably owing to Nathi’s death, which may be conjectured to have occurred about the beginning of the seventh century. What school it was, or who was that other holy man, is not mentioned in the Life. He was most probably Fintan Moeldubh. (See *Not.* 174. to *Chap.* xii.) Colgan has a fable concerning Fechin having been a disciple of Kieran of Clonmacnois, as if a man, who lived until 665 could have been the scholar of one that died in 549. Yet this story is perhaps founded on truth misunderstood. Fechin might have been at the great school of Clonmacnois, which used to be called Kieran’s school or college. From its having been said that he studied there it might have been imagined that Kieran himself was his master. Whether the times answered or not was a point not inquired into.

(134) First Life, *cap.* 10. Second, *cap.* 9. In a hymn for the Office of St. Fechin we read ;

Dehinc fuit monachorum
Dux et pater *trecentorum*
Quos instruxit lege morum
Murus contra vitia. Amen.

Archdall (at *Fore*) has swelled the number to three thousand, and refers to Usher, who in the very passage referred to (*p.* 1195. or, as in the London *ed.* 500.) reckons only three hundred, quoting the lines now given from the hymn.

(135) First Life, *cap.* 10. and 14.

(136) *Ib.* *cap.* 11. and Second Life, *cap.* 36.

(137) It is said in the second Life, (*cap.* 8.) that Fechin prior to his going to Fore erected a noble church as Eas-dara (Ballysadare, co. Sligo ;) another at Bile, where he was born, together with a monastery called Kill-na-manach, *i. e.* *cell of the monks* ; and three churches, *viz.* of Druimratha, Killgarvan, and Edarguidhe, *al.* *Ecclas-roog*. In the first place I have to observe, that not one of these foundations is mentioned in the first Life, and that it gives us plainly to understand that the monastery of Fore, in which he

presided over 300 monks, was Fechin's first establishment. As to Eas-dara, the most we are bound to admit is, "that he built a church there. It is true that the monastery of that place possessed some land called *Tearmann Fechin*, i. e. the sacred ground of Fechin; but it does not follow that he founded the monastery, or that it was he that obtained the grants, by which it was enriched. Fechin's system, as appears from his conduct at Fore, was one of poverty and different from that of procuring estates for his establishments. If the monastery of Ballysadare had been founded by him, this would have been stated in the second Life as well as the erection of the church, in the same manner as the monastery at Bile is expressly mentioned besides the church. To account for the name *Tearmann Fechin*, it is sufficient that the church of Ballysadare, to which a monastery was afterwards annexed, had been denominated from St. Fechin as its founder; or that, what is at least equally probable, that both the church and monastery, by whomsoever founded, were dedicated to him.

That the church of Bile and the monastery of Killnamanach were not founded by Fechin seems almost certain, not only from their not being spoken of in the first Life, but from its being expressly stated that, as soon as he was ordained priest, he withdrew from his own country. Had he formed these establishments, among his relatives, would they not have been hinted at, and some reason assigned for his leaving them? It is no argument to say, that Bile was called *Bile-Fechin*; for the circumstance of his having been born there sufficiently explains the reason of that surname. In the passage of the second Life relative to these places the monastery of Killnamanach, as far as I understand it, is represented as at Bile. Colgan, however, seems (*1A. SS. p. 143.*) to distinguish them as differently situated. Perhaps this was the case; for we find a Kilnamanagh not far indeed from Bile but yet in a place distinct from it. Harris and Archdall make them different places; but they had no right whatsoever to assign a monastery to Bile, in the supposition of Killnamanach having been situated elsewhere. In this case there remains for Bile merely a church, according to the second Life, which is the only authority that can be produced for these pretended foundations of Fechin.

These writers have changed also DruiMratha into a monastery, although in said Life it is called only a church, nor does Colgar speak of it otherwise. It was the same as Drumratt in the barony, not, as Archdall says, of Lency, and near Ballysadare, but of Corran in the same county of Sligo. Archdall mentions St. Enan as having been at Drumrath; but this saint, who was earlier by many years than Feclin, belonged to Drumrath in Westmeath. (See *Not. 27 to Chap. XII.*)

In like manner Harris has without any authority placed an abbey at Kilgarvan, which he supposed to be in the county of Sligo. Archdall who with Colgan calls it *Kilnagarvan*, is more correct. He speaks of it as only a church, and so it is called in the second Life, as likewise by Colgan, (*AA. SS. p. 143.*) who says, that it is a parish church in the district of Coistealbach. Archdall is right in placing it in Mayo and in the barony of Gallen. At present it goes by the name of Kilgarvy. It is situated very near the barony of Lency in Sligo. Its old name *Kill-na-garvan* indicates, that its founder was not Fechin but one Garvan.

Edarguidhe is omitted by Harris and Archdall. All that Colgan says of it is, that it was an oratory, somewhere, I suppose, in Lugne.

In the second Life (*cap. 19.*) Fechin is spoken of as being in *his* monastery of Cong (in *suo* monasterio de Cunga) in the now county of Mayo, barony of Kilmaine. I suspect that *suo* has been inserted without sufficient authority. In the first Life there is not a word about Cong, an omission very strange indeed, if that celebrated monastery had been founded by Feclin. Among the many abbots of Cong I do not find one called his *comorban* or successor. Ware says, (*Antiq. cap. 26. at Mayo*) that the monastery of Cong was founded by Donald son of Aed, or Aidus, and grandson (not nephew, as in the English translation) of Anmirech, that is, Domnald II. king of Ireland, who died in 642. (See *Chap. XIV. §. 1.*) He assigns this foundation to A. D. 624; Harris adds, or 635. Whence Ware derived this information I cannot discover. He observes that *it is said*, that Fechin was some time abbot there. For this, *it is said*, there is no other foundation than the *suo* of the second Life. Colgan has (*AA. SS. p. 151.*) a St. Molocus of Cong, whose name is in the calendars at 17 April. It is very probable that, although this monastery might have been

erected at the expense of king Domnald, Molocus was its first abbot. He was the saint, whose name used to be joined to that of Cong, as we see in Colgan's Topographical Index (*ib.*) at *Cunga*. Such junction of names is generally indicative of the saints, who were either the founders, or the first distinguished in the monasteries or churches, to which their names are annexed.

In the same *Life* (*cap.* 22.) a monastery in Ard-oilen, one of the Arran isles off the coast of Galway, is attributed to Fechin. This is evidently a mistake; for besides its not being mentioned in the first *Life*, it is well known that the patron saint of Ard-oilen was a St. Coemhain, insomuch so that from his name it was formerly called *Ara-Coemhain*, and its monastery and principal church were called *Kill-Coemhain*. (See Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 715. and above *Not.* 141. to *Chap.* XII.) In what Colgan has (*ib.*) concerning Ard-oilen, although he treats of it very minutely, the name of Fechin is not even hinted at. Harris, however, follows the story of the second *Life*; and Archdall, to compromise the matter, says that Kill-Coemhain was founded by Fechin. Why rob St. Coemhain of this foundation? Archdall goes farther than the *Life*, which does not ascribe Kill-Coemhain to Fechin, but exhibits him as erecting a nameless monastery in Ard-oilen, as if there might have been two in that island. But the fact is, that there was only one, the founder of which was Coemhain. Another mistake (perhaps of the press) in his account of Ard-oilen is the confounding of Coemhain with Columb.

Another pretended foundation by Fechin, is that of Tulach-Fobhuir, supposed to be near Naas. This place is mentioned in the second *Life*, (*cap.* 32. *seqq.*) but it is not stated that a monastery was erected there. Colgan, when reckoning these establishments of Fechin, assigns neither a monastery nor a church to Tulach-Fobhuir. All that is said of it is, that a king of Leinster made a grant of it, together with its inhabitants, mill, and the adjoining district, to St. Fechin. Would Fechin and his monks of Fore have been poor and distressed, were they possessed of that fine estate? *Tulach-Fobhuir* means a landed property belonging to Fore, which this monastery acquired in its days of splendour, but certainly not in Fechin's time. Notwithstanding no mention being made of a monastery, Harris has placed one there, and has been

followed by Archdall, who was not able to give any account of it.

(138) Colgan says that, instead of the distinguished monastery of Immagh, in his time, there was only a parish church there, of which St. Fechin was the patron, as also of the island. It was in the diocese of Tuam. I do not find the name, *Immagh*, used at present. This island is, I suppose, that now called Inismain in the bay of Galway, and a rectory in said diocese.

(139) Usher fell into a huge mistake, (*p.* 1195. or, as in London *ed.* 500) with regard to Guaire or, as called in Fechin's Lives, Guari. He thought that he was king only of the island of Immogh, and thence placed him among the persons converted to christianity by Fechin. Usher had read in the first *Life*, (*cap.* 12) "*Cumque rex terrae, Guari nomine, quod factum fuit audisset, victum copiosum cum suo calice viro Dei et suis transmisit.*" He supposed that by *rex terrae* was meant the king of the island; a mighty king indeed! But that phrase is relative to the province of Connaught, in which Immagh was comprized. Had he seen the second *Life*, in which the same circumstance is related, (*cap.* 22.) and where king Guari is called son of Colman, Usher would have been more correct. Even the context, as in the first *Life*, might have taught him that Guari was somewhat more than king of Immagh. But, not being well versed in the provincial history of Ireland, he seems to have known little or nothing about this celebrated and pious king of Connaught, whom we have often met with already, *ex. c. Chap.* xiv. §. 11.

(140) Second *Life*, *cap.* 22. According to the first (*cap.* 12.) it would seem that the grant of the island was made by king Guaire. Be this as it may, said grant must be understood not as if Fechin became proprietor of the whole island, but that he was considered as the chief director, and, we may say, magistrate of the inhabitants. It is on this occasion that in the second *Life* Fechin is introduced as erecting another monastery in Ard-oilen. (See *Not.* 137.) But in the first, although the transactions in Immagh are equally detailed, there is nothing about his passing over to Ard-oilen; and he appears as if having returned from Immagh directly to Fore.

§. xi. Among the many transactions, in which

Fechin is said to have been engaged, it is related that, on occasion of Domnald II. king of all Ireland having marched with a great army into the country of the Southern or Meath Nialls for the purpose of fixing the boundaries of their principality, they applied for protection to the saint, who happened to be then at a place called Tibrada, where, perhaps, he had some small establishment. (141) Fechin complied with their request, and acted so powerfully on the king's mind as to induce him to desist from any further proceeding against the Southern Nialls, between whom and the king he procured a perfect reconciliation. His influence was very great with the kings and princes of his time. An instance of it is given in the case of a young man named Erlomhan, whom Moenach, king of Munster, immediately discharged from prison on perceiving that Fechin wished for this act of grace. (142) Erlomhan afterwards embraced the monastic state under Fechin. In like manner he obtained from the joint kings of Ireland Diermit II. and Blaithmaic (143) the liberation of one Aedus or Aedan, a brave military man, who, on being dismissed from prison and given up to Fechin, went with him to Fore, where he became a monk. Several holy men are mentioned as united in friendship with Fechin, for instance Coeman or Co-main Breac, abbot of Roseach in Meath, (144) Ultan of Ardbraccan, Fintan Munnu, Ronan son of Berach, (145) and particularly Mochua abbot of Ardsleine. (146) Fechin's life was one continued course of austerity, and he was so fond of solitude that he often used to retire from his monastery either of Fore or of Immagh to lonesome situations, passing his time in prayer, fasting, and other mortifications, and taking no food except now and then a little bread and water. Many miracles have been attributed to him; but the accounts of them are, in general, so intermixed with fables, that I shall not attempt to elucidate them. (147) This great saint died on the 20th

of January A. D. 665, of the dreadful pestilence that raged all over Ireland. His memory has been most highly respected, and the monastery of Fore, which continued down to the time of the general suppression, was greatly celebrated, (148) and in the course of ages became very splendid and wealthy. (149)

(141) This place is mentioned in the second *Life*, *cap.* 34. Harris (at *Westmeath*) assigns a monastery there to Fechin, and so does Archdall, who calls it *Tippert*, in, he says, the half barony of Fore. Thus it would be not far distant from the monastery of that name. Colgan also places (*AA. SS.* *p.* 143.) a monastery at Tibrada in Westmeath, but, not being able to give any account of it, conjectures (*ib.* *p.* 242.) that it might be Tibrad Ultain in that country where a church existed in his times. This is, I suppose, the *Tippert* of Archdall, who says that it is now a chapel. But even admitting that it was formerly a monastery, why attribute it to Fechin, rather than to Ultan, whose name it bore? There is nothing in the *Life* to show that he had a monastery at Tibrada, except the mention made of a person there, who had the care of the provisions. It may be, however, that there was a cell in that place dependent on the great monastery of Fore.

(142) Erlomhan's mother had applied to Fechin to assist her in procuring his liberation. He gave her a gold torques, which he had received as a present from Moenach, for the purpose of purchasing from him her son's release. On recognizing it, and as coming from Fechin, Moenach returned it to her, and at the same time discharged Erlomhan. (Second *Life*, *cap.* 37.) Fechin had spent some time at Cashel (*ib.* *cap.* 14.) probably with this king, who was son to Fingen, and died, as Colgan observes, in 660.

(143) See *Chap.* xiv. §. 1.

(144) *AA. SS.* *p.* 140. He died on the 14th of September, A. D. 614, *i. e.* 615, as Usher states (*Index Chron.*) Archdall calls Roseach *Rosse*, and places it at about a mile South-east of Tara.

(145) Ronan was abbot of Drumshallon in the county of Louth, and died of the great pestilence on the 18th of November in 665. (*AA. SS.* *p.* 141.)

(146) Second *Life*, *cap.* 44 and 49. Colgan was not able to

give any account of this St. Mochua or of Ardslaine ; nor has Harris or Archdall a monastery in that place. I believe it was at or near Slane in Meath, *Ardslaine* meaning the *height of Slane*, and am greatly inclined to think, that Mochua was the same as Cronan son of Silni. (See *Not.* 91 to *Chap.* xv.) It is well known, and remarked by Colgan, (*AA. SS.* p. 304.) that *Cronan* was the same as *Mochua*. This alone is not a proof of identity ; but as Cronan son of Silni is reckoned among the illustrious men, who died in 665 ; (*ib.* p. 150. and Usher, *Ind. Chron.*) and as, according to said Life, the person, called Mochua of Ardslaine died about the very same time with Fechin in that year ; and as the name, *Mochua*, does not appear in the list, given in the Irish annals, of the distinguished victims of the pestilence, it seems to me highly probable that Mochua of Ardslaine was no other than Cronan, the son of Silni. He must not be confounded with Mochua or Cronan, abbot of Balla in the county of Mayo, who had been a disciple of Comgall of Bangor, and died in 637. (See Colgan *AA. SS.* at 30 *Mart.*)

(147) One of these strange accounts is relative to a Tirechan, who had gone to Rome, and whose mother applied to Fechin, who was then at Cashel, to procure his returning to her. It is said that, through the saint's command, Tirechan instantly appeared before him in that city. (Second Life, *cap.* 14.) This is a perverted statement of a probably real fact, viz. that Fechin sent an order to him to come back to his mother, which Tirechan immediately complied with. Colgan thought that this was the celebrated Tirechan, who became a disciple of Ultan of Ardraccan, afterwards a bishop, and, as some say, Ultan's successor in that see ; and who wrote the Memoirs of St. Patrick so often quoted by Usher. The times agree very well ; for Ultan, who died in 657, was contemporary with Fechin. If Colgan's opinion be correct it may be justly supposed that Tirechan, the writer, was a native of Cashel or of its vicinity. The name of St. Tirechan is marked at the 3d of July.

(148) Usher observes (*p.* 966.) that Fore was called *Baile-Leabhair* or the *town of books*, whence it appears that learning was much cultivated there. Some of its abbots were bishops ; but Harris had no right to suppose, that it was at any time a regular episcopal see.

(149) See Archdall at *Fore.*

§. XII. In the latter end, viz. on the 29th of December, of said year, died of the same pestilence St. Aileran surnamed the *Wise*. (150) His name is sometimes written *Heleran*, *Aireran*, or *Ereran*. He was very probably the priest Airendanus of the third class of saints, (151) and who alone, of those mentioned in it, now remains to be sought for. Very little is known relative to the history of Aileran, except as far as concerns his writings. This much is certain, that he presided over the great school of Clonard, (152) not as abbot or bishop, but as principal professor. A tract written by him is still extant, in which the mystical meaning of the names of our Saviour's progenitors, as in the Gospel of St. Matthew, is treated of. (153) Although small, it exhibits, besides a great share of ingenuity, very considerable biblical and theological learning. Aileran wrote also a Life of St. Patrick, or at least, some Memoirs concerning him. (154) This work is lost, (155) as likewise some treatise of his on St. Brigid. (156) He is referred to (157) as having given an account of the proceedings of St. Fechin in the island of Immagh; but it cannot be hence concluded that he drew up, as some have thought (158) an entire Life of that saint.

It might be conjectured that Aileran was the author of the three books *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*. (159) The times agree very well; for, by whomsoever written, he was employed on their composition in the year 655. (160) The learning displayed in this work is such as to render it worthy of being attributed to Aileran. But it seems more probable that the author was a monk either of Clonmacnois or of Cork. (161)

Among the many persons carried off in said year, by the pestilence are reckoned also Ultan, abbot of

Clonard, and two abbots of Clonmacnois, Colman Cass and Cumin. (162)

(150) *AA. SS.* p. 140. and Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(151) Usher having (p. 967) proposed a conjecture whether Airendanus was the same person as Aileran, adds, "or was he rather Aired," who is mentioned by Capgrave as contemporary with St. Maidoc of Ferns, Usher says that Aired lived in a place called *Airdsinnaidh*. In the *Life of Maidoc* published by Colgan, which, however, has no mention of Aired, it is called (*cap.* 8) *Ardrinnygh*, and spoken of as near Mount Beatha, or Slieve-Beagh in the part of M^onaghan adjoining Fermanagh. Colgan observes (*AA. SS.* p. 216.) that St. Aired's name is in some calendars at 26 August.

(152) *AA. SS.* p. 140.

(153) It has been published by Sirin among the *Collectaneu Sacra* of Fleming, and republished in the *Bibliotheca patrum*, Tom. 12. *Lyons, A.* 1677. Its title is, *Interpretatio mystica progenitorum Christi*, and it consists of two parts, in the former of which the signification of the names is inquired into and shown to contain prophetic allusions to Christ; for instance "Abraham, *pater excelsus.*" The author then applies the meaning to our Saviour by referring to the prophecies concerning him, such as that of Isaias; *Vocabitur nomen ejus admirabilis, &c.* Thus at *Isaac* he writes; "In Isaac *gaudium*, dicente Angelo ad pastores, *ecce annuntio vobis gaudium magnum, &c.* The second part, which consists of moral explanations deduced from said significations, is imperfect as it ends with *Eliacim* and two or three words about *Azor*. Usher (p. 966.) makes mention, from Sedulius the younger's *Collectaneum on Matthew*, of this tract under a very apposite title; *Typicus ac tropologicus genealogiae Christi intellectus, quem sanctus Aileranus Scottorum sapientissimus exposuit.*"

(154) See *Chap.* III. §. 5.

(155) We have seen, (*ib.* §. 4.) that Colgan was mistaken in attributing to Aileran or Eleran what he calls the *Fourth Life of St. Patrick*.

(156) In the prologue to the sixth or metrical *Life of St. Brigid* (See *Not.* 18 to *Chap.* VIII) we read;

“ Scripserunt multi virtutes virginis almae
 Ultanus doctor, atque *Eleranus* ovans, &c.”

(157) First Life of Fechin, *cap.* 12.

(158) Colgan *AA. SS.* p. 140. Ware and Harris, (*Writers at Aileran.*)

(159) This very learned work, which had been erroneously attributed to St. Augustin and printed among his works in the early editions of them, may be seen in the Appendix to the third volume of that of the Benedictines. It is an abridgment of the history of the Bible, intermixed with a multitude of theological and philosophical disquisitions, tending to elucidate it, and clear away the difficulties that occur. In the first book the sacred history is treated of as far as it is given in the Pentateuch; in the second down to the end of the Old Testament; and in the third that of the New. The style is good and clear; and the author was well acquainted with general history and the ancient philosophy.

(160) The author having observed (*L. 2. c. 4.*) that Manchan the Wise, or, as his name appears in the printed text *Manichaeus*, died in the last year of the eleventh cycle of 532 years, that is A. D. 652. (see above *Not.* 81.) adds that the third year of the twelfth cycle was that, in which he was writing. It was therefore 665. Hence it is clear, that Manchan the *Wise* of Menodrochit was not, as some writers have imagined, the author of the work *De Mirabilibus*, &c. for nothing is more certain than that he died in 652. (above §. 6.) and Ware was right (at *Manchinan*) in rejecting this opinion.

(161) Prefixed to the work is a dedication beginning with these words; “ Venerandissimis urbium et monasteriorum episcopis et presbyteris, maxime *Carthaginensium* Augustinus per omnia subjectus optabilem in Christo salutem.” The author then adds, that he had been ordered by his superior *Eusebius*, who died in the interim, to undertake this work; and towards the end of said dedication makes mention of Bathan as one of these, apparently the *Carthaginensium*, whom he is addressing, and a master of his. He mentions also another of his masters Manchinanus *al.* Manchianus “ Ab uno enim *vestrum*, id est, Bathano, post patrem Manchinanum si quid intelligentiae addidi,” &c. That *Car-*

thaginensium is an erratum is sufficiently plain, unless we should suppose that it refers to Lismore that is, to the institution of St. Carthagh. But other circumstances do not agree with this conjecture. It is probably a mistake either for *Chuanensium* or for, what comes nearer to it, *Corcagiensium*. In the former supposition we have Clonmacnois, of which the abbot Aidhlog or Aedhlog died in 652 (above *Not.* 99), a time well corresponding with that of the injunction to write laid upon the author. If the name *Aedhlogus* was in his text, a continental transcriber might have softened it into *Eusebius*. As to Bathan, there is no difficulty; for the superior of Clonmacnois at the time of the author's writing was a Bathan or Baithan. (See § 7.) Yet there are strong reasons for supposing that this author belonged rather to Cork. Among the learned men of St. Finnbar's school I find Eulangius or Eulogius, and Baithan. (*AA. SS.* p. 630 and 750) *Eulogius* might have been easily changed into *Eusebius*. The times correspond; for these persons flourished in the first half of the seventh century. It may be some corroboration of this conjecture that the author seems to have lived not far from the sea. He often speaks of the various sorts of tides, calling the greater ones, or the spring tide, *Malina*, and the lesser ones *Ledo*. His mentioning Manchinanus affords us no assistance in this inquiry; as there is no hint that he belonged to the community of which the author was a member. This Manchinanus was most probably Manchan the *Wise*, whose name appears elsewhere in the work, corruptly written *Manichaenus*. From the manner, in which our author speaks of Manchinanus, it seems that he had been a pupil of his before he went to study under Bathan, or that Manchinanus had written something on the Scriptures, by which he was assisted in his researches. There was in those times another Manchanus or Manchinanus (for they are the same name) who was surnamed *Leth*; but nothing is said of his learning, and all that I find concerning him, is, that he died of the pestilence in 665 (*AA. SS.* p. 332.) and that he seems to have been abbot of Laithmore. (See the Litany of Aengus, *ib.* p. 539.) The chief difficulty in this question arises from the name *Augustinus*, under which the author appears in the printed text. No person of that name, a very rare one of old in Ireland, is spoken of in our history as living in the times that the work was written. It is, in all probability, a

corruption of some Irish name latinized, perhaps *Aengussius* or *Eugenius*. Did other circumstances agree, I should suspect that it was written by mistake for *Aileranus*. That the author was an Irishman and composed his work in Ireland is self evident. Besides his having been connected with Bathan and Manchinanus, who were certainly Irishmen, his noticing in a particular manner (*L. 2. c. 4.*) the death of the wise Manichaeus or Manchan, is a proof of it. Treating (*L. 1. c. 7.*) of how certain animals could have made their way into islands, he asks; "Who, for instance, would have imported into *Ireland* wolves, stags, wild boars, foxes," &c.? Why mention Ireland preferably to any other island, unless he was living and writing there? The Benedictine editors say, that he was either an Englishman or an Irishman. For his having been an Englishman they could not alledge a single argument; nor does he ever speak of England. Had they known that *Bathan* and *Manchinan* were downright Irish names, they would not have thrown out this conjecture; nor, had they been better acquainted with Irish history and topography, would they have said that, instead of *Carthaginensium*, the original word was perhaps *Cantuarensium*, or *Cambremsium*, or *Kilkeniensium*. There was no monastery at Kilkenny in the author's times; and as to the name it is much more unlike *Carthaginensium* than *Corcagiensium*, and even more than indicating other names Irish monasteries, *ex c. Clonardenisum, Clonmacnoisensium, &c.* The conjecture as to *Cantuariensium* and *Cambremsium* is set aside by the fact, that the author was addressing Irish monasteries. In a notice to the reader premised to an edition of this work (*ap. Opp. S. August. Tom. 3. Basil. A. 1569*) it is ignorantly observed, as if to show that the author was neither English nor Irish, that there are no wolves, wild bears or foxes in either England or Ireland. But we had, in his days, plenty of wolves and wild boars in Ireland, and we still have foxes.

(162) *AA. SS. p. 150.* This pestilence is called by Irish writers *Buidhe Chonnuill, i. e.* the yellow jaundice, and appeared in Ireland on the first of August, A. D. 664. It seems to have begun earlier in England, where, as Bede relates (*L. 3. c. 27.*) having depopulated the southern parts it penetrated into the Northumbrian province and swept away a vast number of people. He adds that it raged also in Ireland; and it is said that only a third part of the inhabitants survived it. A very extraordinary

eclipse of the sun had occurred in that year, not on the third, as Bede says, but on the first of May, as marked in the Annals of Ulster, which add, that during the summer the sky seemed to be on fire. (See Usher, *p.* 948. *seqq.* and *Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 664, and also Colgan's *Ind. Chron.* to *AA.* 55).

§. XIII. In the preceding year, that is 664, was held the celebrated conference at Whitby concerning the Paschal question and some other points of ecclesiastical discipline. Colman had succeeded, in 661, (163) Finan in the see of Lindisfarne, having been sent from Ireland for that purpose. (164) He was very probably a native of Connaught, and apparently of the now county of Mayo. (165) He was a monk of the Columbian order, and had, we may suppose, spent some time at Hy. (166) But at the period of his appointment to Lindisfarne he seems to have been living in Ireland. (167) Not long after Colman's arrival in Northumberland the controversies relative to Easter time and to some other ecclesiastical matters, were again revived and carried on with greater warmth than they had been even during the incumbency of Finan. (168) This was owing chiefly to the exertions of Wilfrid, who, after having spent part of his early years among the Irish at Lindisfarne, had gone to Rome, where he became perfectly acquainted with the Roman computation and other practices, and afterwards received the tonsure at Lyons according to the mode followed at Rome. (169) On his return to England Wilfrid had an opportunity of displaying his zeal for the Roman observances, having acquired the friendship of Alchfrid, son of king Oswin, and who, jointly with his father, ruled the Northumbrian kingdom. Alchfrid was instructed by him in ecclesiastical learning, and became so much attached to him that he made over to him the monastery of Rippon, (*Inhrypam*) having turned out the monks, to whom he had already granted it, because they refused to

change the Irish practices for the Roman. (170) Meantime Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons, (171) accompanied by a priest Agathon, came to Northumberland, and, at the request of Alchfrid, ordained Wilfrid priest in his newly acquired monastery. A discussion having occurred there concerning the Paschal computation, the tonsure, &c. it was agreed upon that a synod or conference should be held, for the purpose of terminating these disputes, in the monastery or nunnery of Strenaeshaleh, (Whitby) which was then governed by the abbess Hild. It was attended by the two kings, Oswin and Alchfrid; by Colman with his Irish clergy; and by Agilbert with the priests Agathon and Wilfrid. This party was supported by Jacob and Romanus, (172) while Hild and her community, together with the venerable bishop Cedd, (173) were on the side of Colman.

(163) Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(164) Bede writes; (*L. 3. c. 25.*) “ Defuncto autem Finano, cum Colmanus in episcopatum succederet, et ipse missus a *Scottia*”, &c. That by *Scottia* he meant Ireland, as he always does, is too clear to require further demonstration, and will be seen from the sequel. His saying that Colman was sent from Ireland ought perhaps to be understood not as if he went straight from Ireland to Lindisfarne; for Bede elsewhere seems to state, that he proceeded thither from Hy. On occasion of mentioning his coming to that island after he left England, he writes, (*L. 4. c. 4.*) “ Venit ad insulam Hii, unde erat ad prædicandum verbum Anglorum genti *destinatus*.” But as Hy was considered as an Irish island and inhabited by Irish monks, Bede might in a general way have said, that Colman was sent from Ireland. Speaking of Finan’s mission, he has; (*L. 3. c. 17.*) “ ab Hii *Scottorum insula ac monasterio destinatus*.” Yet his words *unde*, &c. may be well explained as relative merely to the order for his undertaking the care of Lindisfarne having emanated from the monastery of Hy, whose abbot was the general superior of the whole Columbian order, of which Colman was a member. This, I think, is the true meaning of Bede, and it appears to be con-

firmed by his saying not that Colman *returned* to Hy, but that he *came* to it. On the other hand, when mentioning his going to Ireland, Bede uses the word, *returned*; “in Scottiam *regressus est—Reverso patriam Colmano;*” and expresses his departure from England by the phrase *going home, abiens autem domum.* (See *L. 3. c. 26.*) Hence it is fair to conclude, that Colman’s home, before he was sent to Lindisfarne, was not in Hy but in Ireland.

(165) The only proof, but it is a strong one, of this position or conjecture is, that Colman, on his return to Ireland, went straight to Connaught, and formed a monastery in the island of Innisboffin off the coast of Mayo, and afterwards another at Mayo. Why prefer this part of Ireland to any other, unless he had lived there before he went to England? Bede, who mentions these establishments, and who tells us that Colman *went home*, seems to point out that country as his home. Colgan strives (*Tr. Th. p. 382.*) to make it appear probable that Colman was the same as Columban of the Briun family, who is spoken of by Adamnan (*Vit. S. C. L. 2. c. 16.*) as having been at Hy in the time of St. Columba, and then a young man. His mighty argument runs thus; Colman was a Connaught man; *atqui* the Briun or Hy-briuin race were of Connaught; *ergo*, &c. On this wretched mode of arguing he builds his hypothesis, which elsewhere (*ib. p. 488.*) he delivers as certain. How could he have imagined that Colman of Lindisfarne was an immediate disciple of St. Columba? Had he been so, and the same as said Columban, he could not, in the most favourable supposition, have been less than 20 years of age at the time of St. Columba’s death in 597. Thus he should have been 84 years old, when he was appointed to the arduous duty of governing the great diocese of Lindisfarne, comprizing an entire kingdom. If that Columban of the Briuns had been raised to this see, would Adamnan have neglected to record his promotion? Much more might be observed on this strange hypothesis, were it worthy of further animadversions.

(166) Of this point I do not find any positive proof. Yet it is very probable; whereas it is natural to think, that the abbot and other superiors of Hy would not have appointed him to Lindisfarne, had they not been personally acquainted with him. In

the fabulous Life of St. Gerald of Mayo it is said, that Colman became abbot of Hy. Colgan endeavours (*Tr. Th. p. 382 and 488.*) to support this absurdity, which, however, he acknowledges elsewhere (*AA. SS. p. 602.*) to be very very doubtful. What time could be found for Colman's abbacy? The succession and times of the abbots of Hy are perfectly well known. Cumineus Albus was abbot when Colman was sent to England, and since the year 657. (Above §. 8.) And what makes the matter worse, in said Life Colman is made the immediate successor of St. Columba, although it is very probable that he was not born at the time of this saint's death.

(167) See *Not.* 164.

(168) See *Chap.* xv. §. 14.

(169) *Fleury L.* 39. § 35.

(170) *Ib.* and *Bede L.* 3. c. 25.

(171) Agilbert was a native of France, but for the sake of studying the Scriptures had spent a considerable time in Ireland. Bede mentioning (*L. 3. c. 7.*) his arrival in Wessex says; " Venit in provinciam de Hibernia pontifex quidam, nomine Agilberctus, natione quidem Gallus, sed hunc legendarum gratia Scripturarum in Hibernia non parvo tempore demoratus." Agilbert became afterwards bishop of Paris.

(172) See *Chap.* xv. §. 14.

(173) See *ib.* §. 15.

§. XIV. The debate was opened by the king Oswin, who entertained no partiality on the subjects to be treated of, and had been rather favourable to the system of the Irish, by whom he had been instructed and baptized. He observed that, as they all equally served God, and expected the same kingdom of heaven, it was right that they should, in like manner follow the same observances, and that it was fit to institute an inquiry which was the true tradition, and that this should be adhered to by them all. He then directed his bishop Colman to speak first, who said; " The Easter, which I observe, I have received from
 " my elders, who have sent me hither as bishop; and
 " all our fathers, men beloved by God, are known to
 " have celebrated it in the same manner. It is that,
 " which, as we read, was celebrated by the blessed
 " Evangelist John and all the churches, over which

“ he presided.” On this latter point Colman was mistaken, as has been already remarked. (174) After some other observations by Colman the king called upon Agilbert to state his practice, and on what authority it rested. He requested that Wilfrid, who was of the same opinion with himself, might be allowed to speak in his stead, as he could not express his sentiments as clearly by means of an interpreter as Wilfrid could in his native tongue. For this debate was carried on in Irish and Anglo-Saxon, Cedd serving as interpreter between both parties. Then Wilfrid, by order of the king, thus addressed the assembly. “ The Easter, which we hold, we have “ seen celebrated by every one at Rome, where the “ blessed apostles Peter and Paul lived, taught, suf- “ fered, and were buried. We have seen it also in “ every part of Italy and France, that we have tra- “ versed. It is observed, and at one and the same “ time, in Africa, Asia, Egypt, and Greece, and, in “ short, by the whole Christian world, except by our “ adversaries and their accomplices, the Picts and “ Britons.” On Colman’s appealing again to the authority of St. John, Wilfrid answered by allowing, that St. John retained, indeed, the Jewish Pasch, whereas in the commencement of the church it was thought expedient not to immediately reject all the practices of the Mosaic law. On the contrary, St. Peter, looking to our Saviour’s resurrection on the day next after the Sabbath, followed a rule different from that of St. John. “ But after all,” added Wilfrid, “ what has your system to do with St. John’s? “ He celebrated the Pasch on the 14th day of the “ first month without caring on what day of the “ week it fell ; while you never celebrate your Easter “ except on a Sunday, so that you do not agree “ either with John or Peter, nor with the Law or “ the Gospel.” Wilfrid was very correct in these remarks on Colman’s erroneous position as to the practice of St. John, but far from being so in what

he has at some length concerning the Paschal regulations established by St. Peter. He supposed that the Paschal system at Rome in his time was the same as that, which had always prevailed there from the commencement of its church. This was a great mistake, as has been shown elsewhere ; (175) and it is unnecessary to trouble the reader with this part of Wilfrid's discourse.

(174) *Not. 24 to Chap. xv.*

(175) *Chap. xv. passim.*

§. xv. Colman then alleged the authority of Anatolius as having laid down, that the Paschal days were from the 14th inclusive, to the 20th of the first moon. To this Wilfrid replied that the day, called by Anatolius the 14th, was in reality the same as that, which the Egyptians reckoned as the 15th. But he would not have been able to prove this assertion. (176) Colman had asked, whether it could be supposed that their most revered father Columba and his holy successors, who followed the Irish system, entertained bad sentiments or acted contrary to the Scriptures ; men, whose sanctity was proved by miracles, and whose example and rules he endeavoured to adhere to in every respect. Wilfrid acknowledged that they were holy men, and that, as they were not acquainted with the true paschal system, their not observing it was of little detriment to them. " And," he added, " I believe that, had they been " rightly informed on the subject, (177) they would " have submitted to the rules proposed to them, in " the same manner as they are known to have ob- " served the commandments of God, which they had " learned. But you and your associates certainly " commit sin, if after having heard the decrees of " the Apostolic see, nay of the universal church, and " these confirmed by the holy Scriptures, (178) you " disdain to follow them. For, although your fa- " thers were saints, is their small number from a cor-

“ner of an island in the extremity of the world (179)
 “to be preferred to the whole church? And, how-
 “ever holy and great performer of miracles your
 “Columba was, could he be preferred to the most
 “blessed prince of the Apostles, to whom the Lord
 “has said: *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I*
 “*will build my church, and the gates of hell shall*
 “*not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee*
 “*the keys of the kingdom of heaven?*” The king
 then said: “Is it true, Colman, that the Lord has
 thus spoken to Peter?” He answered that it was.
 The king added: “Can you show that so great a
 power was granted to your Columba?” No, replied
 Colman. The king continued: “Do you agree on
 “both sides, that this has been said principally to
 “Peter, and that the Lord has given to him the keys
 “of the kingdom of heaven?” “Undoubtedly” was
 the general answer. The king then concluded:
 “Now I tell you, that this is the gate-keeper, whom
 “I will not contradict, and whose decrees I wish to
 “obey as far as I know and am able; lest on my
 “arrival at the gate of the kingdom of heaven
 “there should be no one to open it for me, as he,
 “who holds the keys, would be against me.” Thus
 the question was decided, and the assembly at large
 declared in favour of Wilfrid. (180)

(176) See *Not. 1. to Chap. xv.* Smith observes, (*Appendix*
 to Bede, *No. ix. p. 703.*) that Colman was perfectly right in what
 he stated concerning the rule of Anatolius, and that Wilfrid’s an-
 swer was unfounded and good for nothing.

(177) Fleury remarks (*L. 39. §. 36.*) that Wilfrid seems not to have
 known, that St. Columbanus understood the subject very well. He
 thought that the Columba, whose example was alleged by Colman,
 was Columbanus of Luxeu, who was certainly fully instructed on
 the state of the question. (See *Chap. XIII. §. 4.*) But the Columba
 meant by Colman, as also by Wilfrid, was Columbkil of Hy.
 This is a mistake very easily fallen into on reading Bede’s narra-
 tive, unless particular care be taken to recollect, that Colman had

been a monk of Columbkil's institution. As *Columba* and *Columbanus* were the same name, (see *Not. I. to Chap. XIII.*) and as the latter observed the Irish method equally with the former, I am not surprized that Fleury made this mistake. I fell into it myself, in the hurry of writing some years ago; (*Introduction, by Irenaeus, to the Protestant Apology for the Roman Catholic Church, p. cxliv. Dublin, 1809.*) but at that time I had no idea of undertaking this work, or of being obliged to dip deep into the ecclesiastical history of Ireland.

(178) Wilfrid here assumes grounds, which he had no claim to. Where did he find it ordered in the Scriptures to prefer the Alexandrian cycle of 19 years, then followed by the Romans, to that of 84 years used by the Irish, and for a long time by the Romans themselves, or to that of 532 years, which also had prevailed at Rome? Or where have the Scriptures determined on what day of the first moon Easter should be celebrated, or even that it should be celebrated at any time? But, it may be said, Wilfrid's meaning was, that the Alexandrian, or new Roman, rules were more conformable to the account given of the time of our Saviour's resurrection inasmuch as it took place after the 14th day. If the paschal day were to be determined by what we read in the Gospel, it would follow that Easter could never be celebrated earlier than on the 16th day, as had been the practice at Rome; (see *Chap. xv.*) whereas, the Friday of the passion having been the 14th, the Sunday of the resurrection was the 16th. Now Wilfrid maintains that the 15th was the first regular day for the solemnity of Easter, (see *Bede L. 3. c. 25.*) and insists upon it as if it were a rule of faith; and another great stickler for the Alexandrian method, Ceolfrid (or rather Bede, who seems to have been the chief author of Ceolfrid's letter) inveighs against those, who waited for the 16th (See *Not. 27. to Chap. xv.*) Yet the fact is, that, were Easter day to be fixed according to the Gospel history, the 16th should have been waited for; and thus Wilfrid and his adherents, instead of following the Scriptures as they supposed, were acting against them as much as the Irish, who thought that Easter might be celebrated on the 14th. But it was never made a general rule of the Church to make Easter day correspond exactly with all the circumstances of the time of the Resurrection; and accordingly it was not

thought necessary to attend to the whole interval, that elapsed between it and the Passion.

Wilfrid speaks also of decrees of the universal church in favour of his system. Where did he find them? There were such decrees against the Quartadecimans, and ordering that Easter should be always celebrated on a Sunday. The Irish observed these decrees, and were far from being Quartadecimans. But there was no decree enjoining the whole church to adopt the Alexandrian cycle and rules. Those of the general councils of Nice and the first of Constantinople contained no such order; and, if they had, the Roman church itself would have been long guilty of disobedience, whereas it opposed said cycle until about the middle of the sixth century. When the clergy of Rome in their letter to Thomian, &c. (see *Chap. xv. §. 11.*) speaks of a heresy concerning the Pasch as reviving in Ireland, it is plain that they misunderstood the question, imagining that some of the Irish followed the condemned system of the Quartadecimans. The practice indeed was, in Wilfrid's time, very general against Colman's party, which had been already diminished by the secession of the Southern half of Ireland. But practices, however extensive, are not alone sufficient for constituting an article of faith. (See Veron, *Regula fidei Catholicae*, §. 4. No. 4.) Even at that time the whole of the Alexandrian method was not adhered to in some parts of the continent, (See *Not. 27. to Chap. xv.*) Colman and his associates were certainly very blameable for persisting in a practice so contrary to that of the far greatest part of Christendom, and, in itself, of so indifferent a nature. Their only apology is the extreme veneration entertained by them for the memory of Columbkil. On the other hand it is surprising, that such men as Wilfrid and Bede could have considered this question as one of doctrine, of faith, of vital importance. It was a dispute of mere astronomical calculation, similar to that between the abettors of the Gregorian or new style and those of the old one. Neither faith nor morals were in any wise connected with it. As long as the old style continued to be followed in these kingdoms, our Catholics used, with the Pope's consent and permission, to celebrate Easter and the other festivals of the year at times different from those, in which they were observed at Rome and elsewhere. Would this have been allowed, were the fixing of

of Easter time, &c. considered as appertaining to faith? So far from an adhesion to the Irish cycle and rules having been supposed at Rome to be indicative of heresy or schism, some of its greatest supporters, after the disputes concerning it had begun, *ex. c.* Columban of Luxeu, and, even after admonitions from Rome had been received against it, *ex. c.* Aidan of Lindisfarne, are held there as saints; and the two great men now mentioned are particularly named in the Roman martyrology.

(179) The island meant by Wilfrid seems to be Hy, as that in which Columba and his successors, the fathers referred to by Colman, had lived.

(180) Bede, *L. 3. c. 25.*

§. XVI. It had been intended to treat in this conference concerning also the mighty question relative to the clerical and monastic tonsure; but the king's declaration, which implied that he would follow the Roman practices in all points, prevented the necessity of discussing it. Yet there existed great disputes about it; (181) and Wilfrid's party looked upon it as a matter of primary importance. The Romans themselves thought little about it; and I do not find that in any of the admonitions from Rome, or of the complaints of the missionaries, the tonsure is at all mentioned. But their ultra-orthodox English converts made vast noise about it, thinking that nothing was good or could be tolerated except what was practised at Rome. This is not the place to enter largely into the origin and varieties of the ecclesiastical tonsure. (182) The difference between the Roman one, as used since the times of Gregory the great, and that of the Irish, consisted in this, that the Romans shaved or clipped very close the crown of the head, leaving a circle of hair all around, (183) while the Irish shaved or clipped only the fore part of the head as far as both ears, allowing the hair to grow at the back between them. The English advocates for the Roman tonsure maintained, that it was practised by St. Peter, and

gravely asserted that the Irish one was that of Simon *magus*. Where they met with this notable discovery, I am not able to tell; yet this was the terrible ground, upon which it was reprobated; (184) for as to various modes of the tonsure, they were allowed to be, in general, harmless things. (185) But the fact is, that neither St. Peter nor Simon *magus* had any tonsure either circular or semicircular; and the Irish and the Roman ones were equally innocent and blameless. The English disputants constantly supposed, that every ecclesiastical practice observed at Rome in their times, had been established by St. Peter. How or at what particular time the Roman tonsure originated, no account remains; but the Irish seem to have received theirs from St. Patrick (186) who had seen it observed by some monks of the continent. (187) And hence it is easy to understand, why they were so strongly attached to it. Yet it yielded at last, although not as early as the period we are now treating of, to the Roman fashion; and its dissolution proceeded, hand in hand, together with that of the Irish paschal system. For, as soon as any party of the Irish or their adherents adopted the Roman cycle and rules, they received at the same time the Roman tonsure, as had been done by the Southern Irish since about the year 633.

(181) Bede says; (*ib. c.* 26.) “*Nam et de hoc (the tonsure) quaestio non minima erat.*”

(182) Smith, on occasion of treating of the tonsural dispute (*Append. to Bede, No. 9.*) has an excellent dissertation on the tonsure in general. The reader may consult also Fleruy, *Institut. au Droit Eccles. Part. 1. ch. 5.* and Bingham, *Origines, &c. B. VII. ch. 3. sect. 6.* It is now universally admitted, that until some time in the fifth century there was no tonsure peculiar to the clergy, and that it meant nothing more than the clipping of the hair so as to wear it short, a practice followed by all Christians both lay and clerical. As the term *corona* was, after the introduction of the

tonsure now understood, applied to it on account of its round form, some writers, for instance Bellarmine (*Tom. 2. L. 2. De Monachis, cap. 40.*) have argued, that it was meant by the *corona sacerdotalis*, which is often mentioned by the ancients. St. Jerome writing to St. Augustin says; “Fratres tuos dominum meum Alypium, et dominum meum Evodium, ut meo nomine salutes, precor *coronam tuam.*” But this *corona* was usually relative only to bishops, and it became a technical phrase to address them by *coronam tuam*, or *vestram*, as we would say, *your honour*. (See Bingham, *B. 2. ch. 9. sect. 4.*) Of the numberless passages, in which it occurs, there is not one that indicates an allusion to the tonsure. This phrase is constantly used as meaning dignity or honour, and seems to have been introduced to mark the power of bishops, in the same manner as the royal crown does that of kings. Thus Alypius in a letter to Paulinus: “Ad venerandum *socium coronae tuae* patrem nostrum Aurelium ita scripsimus.” Paulinus and Aurelius were both bishops; and what can *socium coronae tuae* signify except a partnership in episcopal authority? Its being used in Holy writ as expressive of glory, or of whatever causes respectability, authorized the application of it to bishops. We read in *Proverbs*, xvii. 6. *Corona senum filii filiorum*; and St. Paul writing to the Philippians calls them (iv. 1.) his *crown*, inasmuch as their good conduct added dignity to his character. That St. Jerome did not mean by *corona* the ecclesiastical tonsure is evident from the well known passage of his Commentary on Ezechiel xliv. 20. where he says, that “we ought neither to have our heads shaved as is done by the priests and worshippers of Isis and Serapis, nor on the other hand to wear our hair long, a fashion peculiar to luxurious persons, barbarians, and soldiers; but the priest’s face should indicate a decent demeanour, without making the head bald with a razor or clipping the hair so close as to make it appear as if shaven, allowing our hair to grow so as to cover the skin.” This mode, recommended by St. Jerome, was indeed a sort of tonsure; but it was not peculiar to the clergy. That, which afterwards became a distinctive mark of the clerical order, originated, in all appearance, with some monks, chiefly of the East, who, in sign of repentance and affliction, had their heads shaved, either entirely or in part. The Greek monks used to shave the whole head, or, at least, to clip all the hair quite close to the skin. Julian the apostate, when pretending in

the reign of Constantius to be a real monk, had his hair clipped in this manner. Others had their heads only half shaved or shorn, that is, from the forehead to the back of the head. St. Paulinus of Nola says (*Ep.* 7.) of the monks of his time, that they were “*casta informitate capillum ad cutem caesi, et inaequaliter semitonsi, et destituta fronte praerasi.*” Hence it appears that, at least in the Western church, there was no determined or prescribed form of the monastic tonsure, then the only one, about the beginning of the fifth century. From the monks the tonsure, whether of one sort or another, gradually passed to the secular clergy, partly through the circumstance of monks having been raised to high stations in the church, yet still retaining their practices, some of which were imitated by their subordinate clergy; and partly owing to the monasteries having become seminaries for the education of persons intended for holy orders, and who, while residing in them, used to observe their regulations.

(183) This tonsure is still practised by some religious orders, and is much larger than that usually observed by the secular clergy in Catholic countries. The surrounding circle of hair is that, which was, strictly speaking, called the *corona*, and was, when mystical interpretations were introduced, supposed by some to represent the crown of thorns placed on the sacred head of our Saviour. Others have exhibited it as an emblem of the royalty of the Christian priesthood.

(184) In Ceolfrid’s letter we read; “*Tonsuram eam, quam Magum ferunt habuisse Simonem, quis, rogo, fidelium non statim cum ipsa magia primo detestetur et merito exsufflet?*” Aldhelm and others allege the same tremendous charge. (See Usher, *p.* 924.) Ceolfrid adds another lamentation on the Irish tonsure not exhibiting a perfect *corona*, being defective at the back of the head. An unknown wiseacre advanced, that the author of the Irish tonsure was a swine herd of king Leogaire, pretending that St. Patrick had said so. (Usher, *ib.*) Bravo!

(185) In the same letter it is said, that “*tonsurae discrimen non noceat quibus pura in Deum fides et charitas in proximum sincera est; maxime cum nunquam Patribus catholicis, sicut de Paschae vel fidei diversitate conflictus, ita etiam de tonsurae differentia legatur aliqua fuisse controversia.*” Ceolfrid and his assistant Bede knew that the Greek tonsure differed from the Ro-

man, as exemplified in the case of Theodore, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, by Bede himself (*L. 4. c. 1*) ; for Theodore, while a monk, had his whole head shaved and wanted the *corona*. Bede says that this was the tonsure of St. Paul. I wish he had told us whence he derived this piece of information.

(186) In the catalogue of Irish saints (*ap. Usher, p. 913.*) it is said that the first class, which began with St. Patrick, had one only tonsure, from ear to ear, *ab aure usque ad aurem*, viz. which went over the fore part of the head. The second class also observed it and no other ; but the members of the third class had not a uniform practice, some of them having the *corona*, (as the Romans had) and others the *caesaries*, that is, their hair growing at the back of the head over the neck. We find in the sixth canon of the synod called, of St. Patrick, Auxilius, and Iserminus, (see *Chap. VII. §. 3.*) a clause ordering that all clergymen should be tonsured in the Roman manner. Admitting that the remainder of said canon was drawn up in that synod, this part of it is evidently an interpolation thrust in by some stickler for the Roman tonsure. It is easy to see, that there was a contest about the form of the tonsure at the time it was written. Now in St. Patrick's days no such contest existed in any part of the world ; and it is more than probable, that during the pontificate of Celestin I. when our Apostle was at Rome, the tonsure, called the Roman, was not used there. (See Fleury, *Instit. au Droit, &c. Part 1. ch. 5.*) It is strange that Usher allowed himself to be led astray by that spurious clause so as to lay down, (*p. 924.*) that the tonsure first introduced by St. Patrick was really the one known by the name *Roman*. Had it been prescribed by him, the Irish would not have dared to substitute another in place of it.

(187) It is a mistake to suppose, that the semicircular tonsure was peculiar to the Irish and Britons. St. Paulinus, who was a native of Gaul and died in 431, the year next before St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland, speaking of some monks whom he knew, describes their tonsure just as we might that of the Irish. He says that they were half tonsured, and the fore parts of their heads shaved ; *semitonsi et destituta fronte praerasi*. (See above *Not. 182.*)

CHAPTER XVIII.

Colman not agreeing with the decision of the Synod respecting Easter, resigned the See of Lindisfarne—is succeeded by Tuda—Eata appointed bishop of Lindisfarne—Colman took with him to Ireland some of the bones of St. Aedan, and left the rest at Lindisfarne—Venerable Bede's testimony in favour of Colman and his predecessors at Lindisfarne—Several of the nobles and others of the English at this time resorted to Ireland for education—Colman, on leaving Lindisfarne, took with him all the Irish, and about 30 of the English monks of that establishment—goes to the island of Inisbofinde, now Innisboffin—erects a monastery there—founds a Monastery at Maigh-eo or Mayo for the English monks, and leaves the Irish in the island—resides in Inisbofinde himself until his death in the year 676—Diermit and Blathmac, joint monarchs of Ireland, die of the pestilence in 665, and are succeeded by Seachnasach, who being killed in 671 is succeeded by Kennfoelius—Kennfoelius killed by his successor Finnacta, who after a reign of 20 years, was killed at the battle of Grelachdolla in 695—St. Molagga founds a monastery and school at Tulachmin—dies there—St. Finan the Leper—governs a monastery at Swords—is the reputed founder of those of Inisfallen and Ard-Finan—St. Cudberet or Cuthbert, said to be an Irishman—Egfrid, king of Northumberland, sends an expedition into Ireland—they land on the East coast between Dublin and Drogheda—destroy churches and monasteries, and carry away many captives—this injustice done by Egfrid, in revenge for the shelter given to his brother Alfrid by the Irish—Alfrid succeeds Egfrid in the kingdom of Northumberland, and is called on by Adamnan abbot of Hy

to restore the captives and property carried off from Ireland by Egfrid's pirates—Failbe, abbot of Hy—Adamnan again visits Alfrid—Another Adamnan, a priest—Mailduff or Mailduf, an Irishman, an eminent teacher at Malmesbury, the first name of which was Ingeborn—A monastery founded here by Mailduf, from which the place was called Maildufsburg, since changed into Malmesbury—Dagobert, son of Sigebert king of Austrasia, educated in Ireland—after his return to Austrasia patronizes several Irishmen, amongst which were SS. Arbogast and Florentius—Theodatus or Deodatus—Hildulph or Hidulf—Eberhard or Erard—and Albert—all natives of Ireland, accompanied Florentius to the Continent, and became famous there—St. Wiros of Ruremond an Irishman—St. Dysibod accompanied by several persons leave Ireland, and go into Germany—Sidonius (Sedna) an Irishman went to Rome with St. Audeon or Owen, archbishop of Rouen—St. Kilian Apostle of Franconia—assisted in his labours by Coloman and Totnan who accompanied him from Ireland—St. Cataldus or Cathaldus, a native of Ireland—Donatus, a brother of St. Cataldus, reckoned among the bishops of Lupiae or Aletium, now Lecce—Maldogar bishop of Ferns dies, and is succeeded by Dirath—St. Coman and other Irish saints—St. Cera or Chier and five other virgins apply to St. Fintan Munnu for a situation to establish a nunnery—Tech-telle—Killchore or Kilcrea a few miles from Cork—St. Ossan—revered at Rath-ossain, near the West gate of Trim—St. Becan of Clonard—Segen archbishop of Armagh dies, and is succeeded by Flan Febhlor—St. Moling, otherwise called Dayrchell, bishop of Ferns succeeded by the bishop and abbot Killen—St. Egbert and several ecclesiastics who had been educated in Ireland, undertook missions to the Continent—Willibrord,

or Vilbrord, and Suidbert with several others sent from Ireland to preach the Gospel in Friesland—Adamnan, abbot of Hy—Synod of Flan Febhlan and Adamnan—Canons of Adamnan—St. Aidus or Aedh bishop of Sletty—Colga abbot of Lusk—St. Killen abbot of Saigir—St. Mosacra, founder and abbot of Tegh-sacra, since called Tassagard, and now Saggard—and St. Machonna, all attended the synod of Flan Febhla.

SECT. I.

COLMAN, although silenced by the king's logic and its approval by the assembly, did not renounce his Irish practices, but resigned the see of Lindisfarne, *alias* York, in the same year 664, which was the thirtieth from the commencement of the episcopacy of the Irish in the Northumbrian kingdom, Aedan having governed that see for seventeen years, Finian ten, and Colman three. (1) He was succeeded by Tuda, who had studied in the southern half of Ireland, and had been ordained bishop there. In consequence of his having lived in that part of Ireland, Tuda observed the Roman practices as to the tonsure (2) and the Paschal computation. He had come from Ireland during the administration of Colman, whom he assisted in his pious labours. After his appointment he lived but a very short time, having been carried off by the great pestilence; and after his death the see was re-established at York. (3) Yet Lindisfarne was not quite abandoned; for, although none of the Irish monks chose to remain there, some of the English ones did, over whom was placed an abbot Eata, a disciple of Aedan, who, it is said, had been recommended for that purpose by Colman to the king Oswin, who was very fond of Colman. Eata was, some years after, appointed bishop of Lindisfarne, which thenceforth continued

to be an episcopal see in itself. Colman on leaving that place, and setting out for his home in Ireland, (4) took with him a part of the bones of St. Aedan, and left the remainder in the church of Lindisfarne. "How disinterested," continues Bede, "and strict in their conduct he and his predecessors were, the very place, which they governed, testified. On his departure very few buildings were found there except the church, and not more than were absolutely necessary for civilized life. They had no money, possessing only some cattle. (5) If they received any money from the rich, they immediately gave it to the poor. For there was no necessity of collecting money, or of providing habitations, for the reception of the great of this world, who never came to their church, except for the purpose of prayer and hearing the word of God. The king himself used, when occasion required, to come with only five or six attendants, and to depart as soon as he had finished his prayers in the church. And if it should happen that they took some refreshment, it was merely that of the simple and daily fare of the brethren, with which they were content, requiring nothing more. For the entire solicitude of those teachers was to serve God, not the world; to cultivate the heart, not the belly. Consequently the religious habit was at that time in great veneration, so that, to whatsoever place a clergyman or monk might come, he was joyfully received by all as a servant of God; and should he be observed travelling on a journey, the people used to run up to him and bending their necks received his blessing with gladness, and diligently listened to his exhortations. On Sundays they flocked with eagerness to the church, or the monasteries, for the sake, not of refreshing their bodies, but of hearing the word of God; and if any of the priests should arrive in a village, the inhabitants immediately assembling, took care to ask

“ them for the word of life. For the priests them-
 “ selves, and the clergy in general, had no other
 “ view in going to the villages than to preach, bap-
 “ tize, visit the sick, and, in short, the care of souls.
 “ And so little were they infected with the plague
 “ of avarice, that they would not, unless compelled
 “ by powerful personages, accept of lands or pos-
 “ sessions for constructing monasteries. This sys-
 “ tem was in all its parts observed for some time
 “ after in the churches of the Northumbrians.” (6)

During the time that Finian and Colman pre-
 sided over this vast Northumbrian diocese, many no-
 bles and others of the English nation were living in
 Ireland, whither they had repaired either to cultivate
 the sacred studies, or to lead a life of greater strict-
 ness. Some of them soon became monks; others
 were better pleased to apply to reading and study,
 going about from school to school through the cells
 of the masters; and all of them were most cheerfully
 received by the Irish, who supplied them *gratis* with
 good books, and instruction. (7)

(1) Bede, *L. 3. c. 26.* It is remarked by Simeon of Durham
 that the pontificate of the Northumbrian province, comprizing
 York, was held for 30 years by the bishop of Lindisfarne. Be-
 sides Aedan, &c. he mentions Tuda. See *Not. 107 to Chap.*
xv.)

(2) Bede (*ib.*) writes of Tuda; “*Habens juxta morem pro-*
vinciæ illius coronam tonsuræ ecclesiasticæ, et Catholicam tem-
poris paschalis regulam observans.” Fleury, having misunderstood
 this passage, exhibits (*L. 39. §. 37.*) Tuda as tonsured like the
 Irish, *but yet* observing the Roman rules for Easter. This was
 not the meaning of Bede, whose words, *juxta morem provinciæ*
illius, are relative not only to the tonsure but likewise to the pas-
 châl computation. By *the custom of that province* he alluded to
 the difference, that existed between the practices of the Southern
 Irish, whom he calls *Scottos Austrinos*, and those of the Northern,
 who still adhered to the old Irish modes, which the former had
 many years before renounced. And what renders his meaning

quite clear is his saying, that Tuda had the corona, *coronam tonsuræ ecclesiasticæ*. For *corona* was the exclusive name of the Roman tonsure, whereas in the semicircular form, such as practised by the northern Irish, there was no *corona*. (Compare with *Notes* 183-184 to *Chap.* xvii.) Wharton adds (*Anglia Sacra* Tom. 1, p. 693) to Bede's *Scottos Austrinos* the words, *seu pictos*. This is a very unlearned addition. Bede never confounded the Picts with the Scots, Besides, does not Bede expressly state, that Tuda had come from Ireland? The Scots, among whom he had studied, followed the Roman practices; but *all* the British Scots of those times adhered to the Irish ones.

(3) The king Oswin placed on the see of York, in preference to Wilfrid, Ceadda, a brother of bishop Cedd, and a disciple of Aedan of Lindisfarne as likewise an imitator of his virtues and pastoral zeal. Oswin still retained a great partiality for the Irish and their disciples. (See Bede, *L. 3. c. 28.* Eddis' *Life of Wilfrid*, and Fleury, *L. 39. §. 37.*)

(4) See *Not.* 164. to *Chap.* xvii.

(5) Bede's words are; "Nil pecuniarum *absque* pecoribus habebant." They are translated by Fleury (*ib.*) as if those holy men had neither money nor cattle. But the particle *absque* conveys, I think, the meaning, which I have given. It is difficult to suppose, that they had not, at least, some cows and sheep, were it merely for being supplied with milk, which was much used by the Irish monks, and wool, of which they made their garments.

(6) Bede, *L. 3. c. 26.* This interesting account may be considered as descriptive of the practices and rules of the Irish monks and clergy in general, and hence we may judge what little credit is due to the stories of some hagiologists, who talk of great estates granted to our monasteries and churches in those and even earlier times.

(7) Bede having observed that the great pestilence raged also through Ireland, *Hiberniam quoque insulam*, adds; (*L. 3. c. 27.*) "Erant ibidem eo tempore multi nobilium simul et mediocrium de gente Anglorum, qui tempore Finani et Colmani episcoporum, relicta insula patria, vel divinæ lectionis, vel continentioris vitæ gratia illo secesserant. Et quidam quidem mox se monasticæ conversationi fideliter manciperunt, alii magis, circumeundo per cellas magistrorum, lectioni operam dare gaudebant; quos omnes

Scotti libentissime suscipientes victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum, et magisterium gratuitum præbere curabant."

§. II. Colman departing from Lindisfarne took along with him all the Irish and about thirty of the English monks belonging to that establishment. On his way towards Ireland he went first to Hy, where he seems to have remained but for a short time. Thence he proceeded to the small island called Inisbofinde, (8) now Innisboffin, in the ocean, off the barony of Morisk and county of Mayo. Here Colman erected a monastery, (9) in which he placed the monks, both Irish and English, who had followed him from Lindisfarne. Some time after, a disagreement having occurred between the parties, (10) Colman thought it adviseable to separate the members of the respective nations, and, having found a spot fit for the establishment of a monastery at Magh-eo, now Mayo, purchased it from a nobleman its owner, with a condition annexed that the monks to be placed there should pray for him. The monastery being, with the assistance of said nobleman and the neighbouring inhabitants, soon completed, Colman removed the English monks to it, (11) leaving the Irish in the island. "This monastery," adds Bede, "is still possessed by English residents. For it is that, which having become a large one is usually called *Muigh-eo* (12) and, better regulations having been received there, contains a distinguished congregation of monks, who, being collected from England, live by their own labour in great strictness and purity under a canonical rule and abbot." (13) Of Colman's further proceedings I find no account except that he seems to have resided chiefly in Inisbofinde (14) until his death, which occurred on the 8th of August (15) in the year 676. (16)

(8) *Inisbofinde* means, as Bede has rightly observed, (*L. 4. c.*

4) the *island of the white cow*. This Inisbofinde must not be confounded with an island of the same name in Lough-ree (that of St. Rioch,) as has been done by Smith, (*Not. ad loc.*) who followed one passage of Usher, without taking notice of another, in which he corrected himself. (See *Not.* 176 to *Chap.* VIII.)

(9) According to Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) this monastery would have been founded 664. Yet the Annals of Ulster, quoted by himself (*p.* 964.) assign the sailing of Colman to Inisbofinde, and his founding a church there, to 667, and are followed by Colgan, (*AA SS.* *p.* 423.) If this date be true, we must suppose, that Colman remained much longer at Hy, than Bede seems to indicate, or than Usher supposed. For, according to Bede, (*L.* 3. *c.* 27.) the year 664 was that, in which Colman left Lindisfarne, and it cannot be believed, that he was mistaken on this point. Either then the Ulster annals are wrong, or it must be allowed that Colman and his companions tarried about three years in Hy, waiting perhaps until the great pestilence should totally subside. Archdall, following Colgan, places the foundation of Inisbofinde, or, as he calls it, Bophin island, in 667.

(10) Bede states that the Irish, whom, as usual, he calls *Scotti*, went in summer and harvest time from the monastery to various places, which they were acquainted with, *per nota sibi loca*, and that on returning in winter they wished to partake in common of the articles which the English had prepared during their absence. This was thought unfair and gave rise to the disagreement. It is plain that the places visited by the Irish monks were in Ireland, and, we may suppose, chiefly their native ones as being well known to them. It may also be justly conjectured, that they were principally in Connaught, the province nearest to Inisbofinde. Will it be now pretended, that the *Scotti* of Lindisfarne were British or Albanian Scots?

(11) Usher, adhering to his supposition, which is indeed very probable, of Colman having returned to Ireland soon after his departure from Lindisfarne, assigns (*Ind. Chron.*) the foundation of the monastery of Mayo to A. 665, and is followed by Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Mayo*.) Yet it might have been at least a year later; for it took place after the winter, in which the dissension occurred, and after the monks had spent at least one summer in Inisbofinde. It is hard to think that they could have been well

settled there in that of 664, and it seems more probable that the winter next prior to the establishment at Mayo was that of 665, coming 666. Archdall also has (at *Mayo*) followed Usher as to A. 665, a very awkward computation on his part, whereas he places the foundation of Inisbofinde in 667. (See *Not.* 9.) Did he not know, that this establishment was prior to that of Mayo?

(12) In the old editions of Bede we find, instead of *Muigh-eo*, *Invigeo* which Usher has, p. 964. But he observes, (*Ind. Chron.* A. 665) that the true reading is *Muigeo*; and so it appears in Smith's edition. It is evident, that *Invigeo* was an erratum of a transcriber, who mistook *M* for *In*; and Archdall had no right to say, that Mayo was sometimes called *Invigeo*.

(13) Bede *L.* 4. c. 4. By saying, that the English monks of Mayo had adopted better regulations than they had at first; *conversis jamdudum ad meliora instituta omnibus*; he alluded to their having received the Roman cycle, &c. which, as will appear from what will be seen hereafter, they did as early, at least, as the year 716. Colgan pretends, (*AA. SS.* p. 605.) that this monastery was of the Benedictine order, and asserts, I am forced to say, most ignorantly, that even Colman belonged to this order, and that the monks of Hy had already received its rule from ages. He confounds subsequent ages, in which Hy adopted Benedictine regulations, with much older ones. How he could have imagined that Colman was a Benedictine may appear unaccountable; but he found that Trithemius, Yepes, and some other Benedictine writers had said so, and had made all the Columbians Benedictines. This was enough for honest Colgan, who believed almost every thing that he met with in books, without caring whether what he found in one were, or not, in opposition to what he read in others. The fact is that, wherever the Irish system, maintained by Colman, prevailed, there were no Benedictines; and Wilfrid was, as he boasted of it, the first that introduced the Benedictine rule into the Northumbrian kingdom after the departure of the Irish (See *Not.* 237 to *Chap.* XII.) If Colman had been a Benedictine, would he have opposed the Roman practices as to Easter, &c. which were strictly adhered to by that order not only in Italy, where it originated, but in England and

every where else? Or would the English monks, who followed him to Ireland, have done so, had they been Benedictines? Poor Archdall, in obedience to Colgan, has (at *Mayo*) followed these strange mistakes.

Usher observes, (*p.* 964.) from the book of Ballymote, that in Adamnan's time, about the latter end of the seventh century, there were 100 Saxon (English) saints at Mayo. From the English establishment in that place it has been called *Maigh-eo na Sasson*, *i. e.* Mayo of the English. It became in course of time a very respectable town and the see of a bishop, but is now reduced to a petty village, situated a few miles to the S. E. of Castlebar, in the county to which it gives its name.

(14) In the Ulster annals (*ap.* Usher, *p.* 964) he is called bishop of the Island of the White cow, that is, Inisbofinde, where also the 4 Masters (*ap.* *Tr. Th.* *p.* 383.) place him as bishop.

(15) 4 Masters, *ib.*

(16) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* from the Ulster annals, which have 675 (676). The 4 Masters (*ib.*) assign it to 674 (675). Archdall in his blundering account of the monastery of Mayo speaks of Colman, as if he lived until 697. He confounded the year of Colman's death with that, in which Usher, and after him Colgan, supposed, erroneously indeed as will be seen hereafter, that St. Gerald of Mayo died.

§. III. Among the distinguished persons, that died of the great pestilence in 665, were the joint kings of all Ireland, Diermit II. and Blathmac. (17) They were succeeded by a son of the latter, Seachnasach who, having reigned six years, was killed in 671. After him his brother Kennfoelius or Kennfoelaid was raised to the throne, which he held only four years, having fallen in battle, A. D. 675, fighting against Finnaeta his paternal first cousin, and son of Donchad. Finnaeta succeeded him, and reigned 20 years until he was killed in the battle of Greallachdolla in 695. (18)

One of the Irish saints, who survived that mortality, was St. Molaga. (19) He was born in the territory of Feramugia, a part of the now county of

Cork, (20) of poor but pious parents, and is said to have been baptized, when an infant, by St. Cummin Fada. (21) Molaga received his education in his own country and, having distinguished himself by his piety and learning, established a monastery and school at a place there called *Tulach min*. (22) He is said to have afterwards visited other parts of Ireland, particularly Connor in Ulster, and even to have passed over to North Britain, and thence proceeded to Wales, where he spent some time with St. David. But this visit to St. David is quite inconsistent with the rest of his history, and with the respective times, in which they lived. (23) Molaga seems to have had some establishment in the district near Dublin, now called Fingall. (24) At length he returned to *Tulach-min*, where he died on a 20th of January in some year subsequent to the time of the great pestilence and consequently later than 665. His festival used to be celebrated on the anniversary of that day at *Tulach-min*, and at a place called *Lann-beachaire* in Fingall. (25) He must not be confounded with other saints of the name of *Molaga* or *Molocus*. Whether he was the *Molagga*, from whom *Timoleague* (*Teach-molaga*) in co. Cork got its name I cannot determine, as I do not find that he ever lived in that place. St. Finan, surnamed *Lobhar*, or the Leper, from his having been afflicted for thirty years of his life with some cutaneous distemper, flourished in these times. (26) He was a native of *Heli*, (*Ely O'Carrol*) then a part of Munster, and of an illustrious family. It has been strangely said that he was a disciple of *Columbkil*, and placed by him over the monastery of *Swords*. (27) But *Finan* was not, in all probability, born until after *Columbkil's* death, and his having been mistaken for a disciple of this saint was caused perhaps by his having been, as may be conjectured, a monk of the *Columbian* order. He certainly governed a monastery at *Swords*, which he was, most probably, the

founder of. (28) Two other monasteries are constantly attributed to him, *viz.* the celebrated one of Inisfaithlen or Innisfallen (29) in the lake of Killarney, and that of Ardfinan, the *high place of Finan*, in the county of Tipperary. (30) Finan spent some part of his life, apparently as abbot, in the monastery of Clonmore, which had been founded by St. Maidoc of Ferns. (31) But the house of Swords was that, in which he seems to have chiefly resided, (32) and where it is probable that he died. (33) Yet, if it be true that he was buried at Clonmore, as one account states, (34) it must be allowed that this was the place of his death. Be this as it may, St. Finan died during the reign of Finnacta, monarch of Ireland, and accordingly some time between 675 and 695. (35) The day of his death was very probably a first or second of February, (36) although in every martyrology, both Irish and foreign, in which he is mentioned, his name is affixed to the 16th of March. (37)

(17) See *Chap. xiv. §. 1.*

(18) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 4.* and O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. Part 3. cap. 93.* The English translator of Ware has made Finnacta a nephew of Aidus or Hugh Slani. But he was his grandson; for his father Donchad was brother to Diermit II. and Blathmac, and consequently son to Aidus Slani. The translator, instead of rendering the *nepos* of Ware's original by *grandson*, mistook it for *nephew*.

(19) Life of St. Molaga, *cap. 22.* Colgan translated this Life from Irish into Latin, and published it at 20 January. He laments that in several parts it is imperfect.

(20) Feramugia is called at present Roche's and Condon's country. The name is still retained in that of the town of Fermoy.

(21) Life, *cap. 7.* Concerning Cummin Fada see *Chap. xv. §. 8.*

(22) I cannot find in the country about Fermoy any place now called by this name. In Molaga's Life some other places, which

I cannot discover, are mentioned as having been in those parts, *ex. c.* Liathmuine, which is represented as a famous town.

(23) St. David did not live later than A. D. 593. (See *Chap. ix. §. 9.*) How then could Molaga, who was alive after 665, have been the abbot of a monastery before David's death? And, what comes still nearer to the point, we are told that Molaga was baptized by Cummin Fada, who was not born until 592. (*Chap. xv. §. 8.*) How can this agree with Molaga's being acquainted with St. David?

(24) It is said in the *Life*, (*cap. 17.*) that Molaga placed a swarm of bees at a town in Fingall, and that said town was thence called *Lann-beachaire*. *Lann* or *Llan* means in Welsh what Kill does in Irish: and *beach* is the Irish name for a bee; so that *Lann-beachaire* is the same as *Bees-church* or *Bees-cell*. It is added that these bees were derived from those, which St. Modomnoc had brought from Wales to Ireland. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 5.*) Whatever we may think of this story, the memory of St. Molagga was certainly revered at *Lann-beachaire* in Fingall, as appears not only from his *Life*, but likewise from the *Calendar of Cashel* at 20 January. How that place is now called I cannot discover.

(25) *Life, cap. 22.* (Compare with *Not. prec.*)

(26) Colgan has endeavoured to put together the Acts of St. Finan at 16 March. They are very scanty and uncircumstantial. The Bollandists at said day have published a short tract, called a *Life of Finan*, which they got from Fitzsimon. It was written by some Englishman after the settlement of the English in Ireland, and is, though praised by the Bollandists, a wretched little compilation crammed with fables. It has the story about Finan having been placed at Swords by Columbkil.

(27) See *Not. 109. to Chap. xi.*

(28) See *ib.* for Archdall's bungled account of this monastery. Ware makes no mention of it; but Harris has followed the unproved opinion of its having been founded by Columbkil.

(29) Ware, having been led astray by the story of Finan's discipleship under Columbkil, assigns the foundation of Innisfallen to the sixth century, as does also Harris. Archdall, treating of this monastery, has some blunders as usual. He makes Finan a son of Alild king of Munster, and disciple of St. Brendan, for which he refers to Colgan. Now Colgan, following several old

writers, constantly calls Finan the son of Conall, who was a descendant of the famous Alild Olum, a king that lived some hundreds of years before Finan was born. As to his having been a disciple of Brendan, Colgan has not a word about it. It is mentioned also in the meagre account of Finan in Butler's *Lives of Saints*, following the Bollandist Life, in which one Brendan is said to have taught Finan. Archdall adds, that Dichull, son of Nesson, was abbot of Innisfallen in 640. On this point he is not quite so much to blame, except that he had not even Colgan's authority for marking any precise year. Colgan happenig (*AA. SS. p. 92.*) to touch upon Dichull, one of the sons of Nesson, confounded the Inisfaithlen, now Ireland's eye, (see *Not. 61. to Chap. xi.*) with the Inisfaithlen or Innisfallen of Kerry. But at 15 March, where he treats expressly of the sons of Nesson, he has guarded against this mistake.

(30) Harris and Archdall, following the mistake of Finan having been a disciple of Columbkil, assign this foundation to the sixth century.

(31) See *Chap. xiv. §. 10.* In the sketch of Finan's Life, *ap. Butler*, it is strangely stated, that he built the monastery of Clonmore.

(32) The Irish calendarists in enumerating the monasteries belonging to Finan always mention Swords first; thus in the Calendar of Cashel at 16 March we read; "S. Finanus Lobhra filius Conalli—de Surdo, et de Cluainmor Maidoci in Lagenia, et de Inis-faithlin in lacu Lenensi, de Ard-finain." In the account *ap. Butler* Swords is omitted!

(33) It is related in the Life of St. Maidoc, (*cap. 62.*) that there was a man, named Finan, who had lived 30 years in the northern part of Leinster, and that on the day of his festival (31 January) this saint, accompanied by St. Brigid, appeared to Finan in a vision and announced to him that he was to be called out of this world within a day or two. Colgan observes, that in an Irish Life of Maidoc this Finan is called *Finan Lobhar*, and it seems very probable that he really was the St. Finan we are treating of. But Clonmore was not, as Colgan states, the place where the vision is said to have occurred, as it was situated not in the northern but in the southern part of Leinster. If Finan the leper was the person meant in this narrative, as appears almost

certain, the scene of the vision was undoubtedly Swords, a town in North Leinster; and consequently, according to this account, it was there that St. Finan, died, and on the 1st or 2d of February. Following the same supposition, viz. that Finan the leper was the person here alluded to, we have an additional argument to show, that he lived at a later period than that assigned by Ware and others; for he is represented as alive after the death of Maidoc, *i. e.* after the year 632. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 10.*)

(34) Colgan quotes from a little Irish poem on the church of Clonmore a passage, in which it is said that the body of St. Finan the leper was resting in that place. He attributes said poem to St. Moling of Ferns. If composed by this saint, there can be no question about the place of Finian's burial, and consequently death; I say, *consequently death*, because, had he died elsewhere, *ex. c.* at Swords, or, as some have said, at Ardfinan, it is not to be supposed that the monks of these establishments would have given up his *entire* remains to that of Clonmore. But what authority have we for believing that St. Moling was the author of that poem? It was, I dare say, the composition of a monk of Clonmore, perhaps at a late period, who, in honour of his monastery, wished to make it appear, that among the innumerable reliques preserved there (see *AA. SS. p. 277.*) was the *whole* body of St. Finan. It is probable that a part of his remains was to be found in that collection, which might have been the case, although, as seems most probable, he died and was buried at Swords. That St. Moling was not the author of the poem, is sufficiently plain from the allusions in it to certain disputes concerning the place where the reliques collected by a St. Onchuo were deposited. At what period this St. Onchuo lived, cannot be discovered, at least from the vague and confused account of him patched up by Colgan at 8 February. If he was contemporary with Finan the leper, as Colgan says, it would have been easy to know in St. Moling's time (the 7th century) where he had left his collection of reliques, and the disputes on this point could not have then existed; or if, as appears much more probable, he lived at a later period than either Finan or Moling, he could not have been mentioned in a poem written by the latter.

(35) Colgan says (Finian's Acts) between 674 and 693, following the 4 Masters, who mark these years for the reign of Finnacta.

But their date 674 is the same as the 675 of Ware and others; and their 693 is the same as 694, a date differing only by one year from that of other writers. Archdall boldly lays down, (at *Clone-more*) that Finian died in 680. Where he found this date, he does not inform us. Yet (at *Swords*) he makes him die before 563, or, at least, before the close of the sixth century. Bravo! (See more *Not.* 109 to *Chap.* XI.)

(36) See *Not.* 33.

(37) Colgan justly remarks, that this can be easily accounted for in consequence of the 1st of February being St. Brigid's day, and the 2d that of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin. We may therefore suppose that, to avoid a collision, the festival of St. Finian was transferred to 16 March.

§. iv. The great St. Cudberet, or Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, was, according to several distinguished writers, born in Ireland; (38) but it is very probable, that he was rather a native of the Northumbrian kingdom, and of that part of it which is now comprized in Scotland. The name *Cudberet*, if however it was his original one, indicates a Northumbrian, not an Irish origin. It is certain that, when a very young man, he lived in a district to the North of the Tweed at no great distance from the river. (39) While charged with the care of a flock of sheep and watching in prayer, Cuthbert had a vision on the night of the death of St. Aedan of Lindisfarne, in which he saw the soul of this saint wafted by Angels to heaven. (40) He immediately determined on retiring into a monastery, and chose for said purpose that of Mailros, situated on the bank of the Tweed, the prior of which was then Boisil, a very holy man, and the abbot Eata, (41) a disciple of St. Aedan. Cuthbert was one of the monks, whom Eata took along with him to the new monastery of Inhrypum or Rippon, which he erected on ground granted to him by the prince Alchfrid, and from which they were expelled some time after by the same prince, because

They refused to abandon the Irish practices as to Easter and the tonsure. (42) Having returned to Mailross, Cuthbert was, in consequence of the death of Boisil, which occurred about 661 (43) appointed prior of that monastery in his stead, and held that office until 664 or 665, (44) when he was removed to Lindisfarne by his abbot Eata, who was then abbot of this place also. (45) Here Cuthbert was employed likewise as prior, and continued as such for several years, until, wishing for a solitary life he withdrew, in 676, to the small island of Farne out in the sea some miles distant from Lindisfarne. But I shall not encroach further on the ecclesiastical history of England, to which that of this great saint principally belongs, (46) than to observe that he was, as it were, dragged out of that island in 684 by king Egfrid in person, bishop Frumwine, and many others, for the purpose of being raised to the episcopacy; consecrated at York in 685 and placed over the see of Lindisfarne; and that he died on the 20th of March A. D. 687 in the island of Farne, to which he had again retired a short time before his death. (47)

In the same year that Egfrid king of Northumberland (48) prevailed on Cuthbert to quit the island of Farne he sent, yet some time earlier in the year, an expedition under a commander of the name of *Beret* against some parts of the Eastern coast of Ireland, particularly that of Bregia, or the country extending from Dublin towards Drogheda. These marauders spared neither churches nor monasteries, and carried away many captives besides a considerable deal of plunder. It is difficult to account for this wanton attack upon an unoffending people, an attack replete with ingratitude, as the Irish had been exceedingly friendly to the English and used to treat them with the utmost kindness and hospitality. (49) A modern writer, who stops at nothing that may suit his purpose, says that Egfrid was urged to

this act by the clergy, whom he is pleased to call *Romish*, that is, the clergy who had adopted the Roman practices as to Easter, &c. (50) For this atrocious charge there is not the least foundation, and it is in direct opposition to the circumstances of the times; and to the conduct and feelings of the then advocates of said practices. (51) The only reason, that can be guessed at, which Egfrid might have had for being displeas'd with the Irish nation, was the shelter granted in Ireland to his brother Alfrid, who having gone thither after the death of king Oswin, applied himself to the ecclesiastical and other studies, and became very learned in every respect. He remained among the Irish during the whole reign of Egfrid, after whose death he was recalled to Northumberland, raised to the throne, and governed his kingdom, for many years with consummate wisdom and ability. (52)

(38) Usher, Ware, Colgan, Harris, &c. held this opinion. Bede, beside what he has about him in his Ecclesiastical history (*L. 4.*) has left us two Lives, one in verse, the other in prose, of St. Cuthbert, or as he calls him Cudberet, without mentioning the place of his birth. In Capgrave's collection, *alias* that of John of Tinmouth, there is a Life of this saint, in which he is expressly stated to have been an illegitimate son of an Irish king, who, having murdered another king, called Muriardach, ravished his daughter. Colgan in a note to this Life (*AA. SS. ad 20 Mart.*) says, that this Muriardach was Murchertach Mac-Erca, who is known to have suffered a cruel death; but is puzzled to account for his being the grandfather of Cuthbert, who was not born until about a hundred years later. For Murchertach Mac-Erca was killed, at the latest, in 533 or 534. (See *Chap. ix. §. 13.*) Hence Colgan conjectures, that Cuthbert's mother was not daughter, but either grand-daughter or great grand-daughter of said Murchertach. Then we are told, that the infant, the fruit of that violation, was baptized by the Irish name, *Nulluhoc*, that is, *moaning*; because, as Colgan explains it, his mother moaned and wept for the injury she had received. It is added, that some time after she passed over

to North Britain, taking with her the boy, whom thenceforth we find called *Cuthbert*, without being informed how he happened to get this name.

Ware (*Writers at Cuthbert*) has a different statement, according to which Cuthbert was born at Kells in Meath, or, as some have said, at Kill-mochudrick (Killmacudd), four miles distant from Dublin, and was the son of an Irish petty king. It is then said that Sabina, the mother of Cuthbert, going to Rome on a pilgrimage, left him in the monastery of Mailros, &c. thus accounting for his arrival in Britain. This story of Sabina, &c. is in direct opposition to Bede, who represents Cuthbert as a lad tending sheep on the mountains, probably of Berwickshire, when, in consequence of a vision, he determined on repairing to that monastery. In the *Life ap. Capgrave*, Sabina is said to have been the wife of king Muriardach, and accordingly would have been, following that narrative, the grandmother, not the mother, of Cuthbert. But neither Ware's nor Capgrave's account rests upon any sufficient authority, and it is easy to perceive that they were stories made up for the purpose of bestowing on the saint a royal descent, while it is clear from Bede that he was not entitled to it.

In another work (*Antiq. cap. 29. at Kenlis or Kells*) Ware says, that the great ornament of Kells was Cuthbert, who was born there, as a writer of his *Life* states out of Irish authorities. (See also Harris, *Bishops*, p. 138.) He adds that this tract was in the Cottonian library under *Vitellius*, D. xiv. 8. We find it in Mr. Planta's catalogue under *Titus*, A. II. 134. entitled, "*De ortu et vita B. patris Cuthberti libellus de Scoticis, i. e. Hibernicis auctoribus collectus.*" It is the same as that, which Usher call (p. 945) the *Acts of our Cuthbert extracted from Irish histories*, observing that it appeared about the year 1160. I dare say that those extracts agree in substance with the accounts above given from the *Life ap. Capgrave* and from Ware. But their being found in that Cottonian tract does not add much to their authority. Ware (*ib.*) repeats, that some maintain, that Cuthbert was born at Kill-mochudrick. This is asserted in the *Annals of St. Mary's-abbey of Dublin*, in which (at A. 684.) the most Rev. father Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, is mentioned with this addition; "*de Hibernia nato in oppido Kilmacrohuick.*" There was a church in that place de-

dedicated to his memory, and whence was derived the name *Kill-mocudrick*, that is, the *church of my (mo) Cudrick*, or Cudberet. This circumstance was, I suspect, the only foundation of the opinion that he was born there.

It is, however, remarkable that many old English and Irish writers, treating of Cuthbert, makes him a native of Ireland and that his name appears in the Irish calendars, as if he had been really so, although, as there marked, he lived in *Saxonia* (England) (See *AA. SS. p. 695. seqq.*) The Bollandists, while at *St. Cuthbert* (20 March) they leave this question undecided, yet at *St. Wiro* (8 May) seem to acknowledge, that Cuthbert was born in Ireland.

(39) According to Bede (*Life, &c. cap. 4.*) Cuthbert was, before he entered any monastery, employed in tending sheep on certain mountains, which, as appears from the sequel were in the country, in which Mailros was situated. Simeon of Durham adds (*D. of Dunelmensi Ecclesia, cap. 3.*) that Cuthbert was then near the Leder, now Lauder, a river in Berwickshire, that flows into the Tweed. Hence Mabillon (*Acta Ben. Tom. 2. p. 882.*) and others deduce, that Cuthbert was a native of that neighbourhood. This conclusion may appear not absolutely justified by the premises; for from Cuthbert's living, even when a boy, in that country, it does not necessarily follow that he was born there. But until some stronger arguments than those we have seen be produced to show, that he was in his boyhood removed thither from Ireland, the balance of probability remains in favour of Mabillon's opinion. That Cuthbert was a native of Britain seems to be confirmed by a passage of Bede's Preface to the metrical Life, where, having mentioned several great saints, by whom other countries had been enlightened, coming to Cuthbert the light of Britain, he uses the word, *genuit*:

————— hujusque Britannia consors
 Temporibus genuit fulgur venerabile nostris,
 Aurea qua Cudberetus agens per sydera vitam
 Scandere celsa suis docuit jam passibus Anglos.

(40) Bede's *Life of Cuthbert, cap. 4.* St. Aedan died on the 31st of August A. D. 651. (See *Chap. xv. §. 14.*)

(41) Bede, *ib. cap. 6.* and *Eccl. Hist. L. 4. c. 27.* Concerning Eata see above §. 1. It is strange that Fleury (*L. 40. §. 43*) places Mailros in the country of the Mercians, notwithstanding Bede's positive assertion that it was on the bank of the Tweed, and its being a well known place in Scotland near the town of Melross about 10 miles West of Kelso, and consequently very far distant from Mercia, which comprized the central parts of England.

(42) Bede's Life of Cuthbert, *cap. 7. 8.* (Compare with *Chap. xvii. §. 13.*) From this narrative it is evident, that the monks of Mailros were of Irish institution and followed the Irish system. Therefore Mabillon was mistaken (*Acta Ben. Tom. 2. p. 878*) in asserting that Cuthbert had received not the Irish but the Roman tonsure. This had been said before in an anonymous Life of Cuthbert; but the Bollandists justly suspect, that the passage relative to it is an interpolation.

(43) Smith (in a note to Cuthbert's Life, *cap. 8.*) shows, that Mabillon and the Bollandists were wrong in assigning the death of Boisil to 664.

(44) Smith (*Note to Life, &c. cap. 16.*) follows Simeon of Durham, who says that Cuthbert was removed to Lindisfarne in 664. This was the year, in which Eata became abbot of Lindisfarne. In the Life *ap. Capgrave (cap. 24.)* it is said that this removal occurred 14 years after Cuthbert had put on the monastic habit in 651. Thus it should be assigned to 665.

(45) See above §. 1.

(46) Were it certain that St. Cuthbert was a native of Ireland, I should think myself authorized to enter more fully, than I have done, into his history. But it appears to me more probable that he was not. If he was an Irishman, why did he not follow Colman on his return to Ireland, as *all* the Irish of Lindisfarne did? To this, however, it may be replied, 1. that Cuthbert was then not at Lindisfarne but at Mailros; and 2. that those, who make him a native of Ireland, represent him as so very young, when carried over to Britain, that he could scarcely have retained a recollection of it. Why, it may be asked, was the memory of Cuthbert so much celebrated in Ireland, were it not the land of his birth? I answer that this was owing to his connexions with the Irish of Northumberland, his being a member of their esta-

blishments, his having observed their practices, &c. In like manner Gildas and St. David of Wales were greatly revered in Ireland on account of their intercourse with the Irish.

(47) See Bede, *Eccl. Hist. L. 4. c. 28. 29.*

(48) Egfrid succeeded his father Oswin in 670. Bede, *ib. cap. 5.*

(49) Bede writes; (*ib. cap. 26.*) “Anno Dominicae incarnationis 684 Egfrid rex Nordamhymbrorum, misso Hiberniam cum exercitu duce Bereto, vastavit misere gentem innoxiam et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam; ita ut ne ecclesiis quidem aut monasteriis manus parceret hostilis.” We have seen above (§. 1.) with what extraordinary kindness the English, who went to Ireland for their education or other purposes, used to be received there. Bede’s words with regard to the devastation of Ireland are not to be understood as if he meant all Ireland; nor would the short time, during which it lasted, have been sufficient for a general overrunning of the whole kingdom. The expedition was merely piratical, and was confined chiefly, if not solely, to the territory of Bregia. The people were taken unawares, but fought, as Bede (*ib.*) observes, as well as they could. This act of piracy is mentioned in the Irish annals, at the very year marked by Bede, and as having occurred on the coast and plains of Bregia. The 4 Masters have; “In the year of Christ 683 (684) and 10th of king Finnacta, the territory of Magh-breagh (plains of Bregia) was laid waste, in the month of June, by the Saxons, (English) who spared neither the people nor the clergy, and carried off to their ships many captives and much booty.” (See *Tr. Th. p. 385.*) Hence it is clear that this devastation was a partial one, and of short duration, having taken place only in June. Hence also we find, that it was prior to Cuthbert’s leaving the island of Farne, which, as is known from Bede, (*ib. cap. 28.*) occurred just before the winter of 684.

(50) The reader will easily perceive, that this writer is Dr. Ledwich. These are his words: (*Antiq. &c. p. 66.*) “Not content with this triumph (the result of the conference of Whitby) the Romish clergy urged Egfrid, king of Northumberland, to wreak their vengeance, a few years after, on the dissident Irish, an harmless and innocent people,” &c. Whether the Doctor was the inventor of this story or not, I am not able to decide; but this

much I can state, that it is a shameful falsehood. He talks of a few years between the conference at Whitby, and the expedition against the Irish coast. But the reader will please to recollect, that the conference was held in 664, whence there elapsed full twenty years until said expedition took place.

(51) The paschal and tonsural disputes had subsided in Northumberland long before 684, in consequence of the departure of Colman and his Irish companions. The principal ecclesiastics of that time in said country had studied chiefly under Irish teachers, for instance Eata, who was bishop of Lindisfarne in that very year. Such men could not have entertained any hostility to the Irish nation; nor were they over-zealous against Colman's party, having belonged to it themselves in their younger days. Wilfrid, the great advocate of the Roman practices, was then in disgrace, and having been, some years before, driven from his see and imprisoned by Egfrid, was obliged to live out of the Northumbrian kingdom, to which he did not return until after this king's death. Bede, so far from hinting that any clergyman excited Egfrid to this proceeding, highly condemns his conduct, and informs us that the very reverend father Egbert, an English holy priest, who, although living in Ireland, observed the Roman Easter, &c. had advised him to the contrary. Egfrid's defeat and death in the following year, when fighting against the Picts, was considered as a judgment of God against him for his unjust aggression on Ireland. (See Bede *L. 4. c. 26.*) Egbert now mentioned, and whom we shall meet with hereafter, had been in Ireland since before the breaking out of the great pestilence in 664, during which he resided in a monastery, called in Irish, *Rathmelsigi*. (Bede, *L. 3. c. 27.*) Smith in a note to Bede (*ib.*) makes Rathmelsigi the same as Mellifont in the county of Louth, for no other reason, it appears, than that the syllable *Mel* is found in both names. But there is no account of any monastery at Mellifont until the 12th century. Colgan makes mention (*AA. SS. p. 793.*) of a monastery Rathmilsidhe, where had been a St. Colman, different however from Colman of Lindisfarne, and in his *Ind. Topogr.* (calling it *Rathmilsige*) places it in Connaught without telling us in what part of said province. Mr. Lingard speaks (*Angl. S. Church. ch. XIII.*) of Egbert as living near the eastern coast of Ireland. His reason for so doing

was, I suppose, that he relied on Smith's authority as to Rathmelsigi.

(52) This Alfrid, or as Bede sometimes calls him, *Aldfrid*, was an illegitimate son of Oswin, and older than Egfrid, who however, on account of his legitimate birth, was preferred to him as fit for the throne. We must not, as some writers have done, confound him with Alchfrid, the friend of Wilfrid, who ruled, as king, a part of Northumberland in the lifetime of his father Oswin. (See *Chap. xvii. §. 13.*) The names are different; and Alchfrid, besides having been a legitimate son, died before his father. (*Note of Smith to Bede, L. 5. c. 19*) On the accession of Egfrid, Alfrid, either through compulsion or indignation, went over to Ireland, and being out of the reach of his brother, and enjoying abundance of leisure, gave himself up to useful studies, in which he became a great proficient. William of Malmsbury writes; (*De Gestis Regum, L. 1. c. 3.*) “Is (Alfridus), quia nothus, ut dixi, erat factione optimatum, quamvis senior, regno indignus aestimatus, in Hiberniam, seu vi seu indignatione, secesserat. Ibi, et ab odio germani tutus, et magno otio literis imbutus, omni philosophia animum composuerat.” Bede says of him, (*Life of Cuthbert, cap. 24*) that he had studied a long time among the Scots (Irish) in their islands, alluding, it seems, not only to Ireland but to various small islands, either in the ocean or in lakes, in which they had monasteries and schools, and that he was very learned in the Scriptures, *vir in Scripturis doctissimus*, (*Eccl. Hist. L. 4. c. 26.*) adding, that, when placed on the throne, he nobly re-established, at least in great part, the Northumbrian kingdom, which had been much weakened in consequence of the defeat of Egfrid by the Picts. Harpsfeld, treating of his return to Northumberland, describes him (*Hist. Eccl. Angl. Sec. vii. cap. 27.*) as having improved himself so much by his studies, particularly sacred, in Ireland, that he became highly qualified for being placed at the head of a state. (See also Gratianus Lucius (Lynch) *Cambrensis eversus*, p. 128.

§. 5. Alfrid was king of Northumberland, when in the year 685, or 686, Adamnan, then abbot of Hy, was sent to that country for the purpose of recovering the captives and property, which had been

carried off by Egfrid's pirates. His application was successful, as might be expected, considering that Alfrid could not but be attached to the Irish, and was, besides, the personal friend of Adamnan. (53) This great man was abbot of Hy since the year 679. His predecessor Failbe had succeeded Cumineus Albus, who died in 669. (54) Concerning Failbe I find nothing particular related, except that he was a native of Tirconnel (Donegal) and son of Pipan, a descendant, in the male line, of Conall Gulbanus the ancestor of Columbkil; that, after his promotion to the administration of Hy, he visited Ireland once or twice; and that he died in 679, on the 22d of March, the day marked for his festival in the Irish calendars. (55) Adamnan, who succeeded him in said year, (56) was likewise a descendant, in the same line, of Conall Gulbanus, and son of Ronan. (57) From his consequently having been of the race of the Northern Nialls it may be fairly concluded, that he was a native of Tirconnel, or of some district not far from it. The time of his birth is doubtful; but it was not later than the year 628. (58) Of his younger days I cannot find any distinct account; but there can be no doubt of his having received his monastic education either in Hy, or in some other monastery of the Columbian institution. He was abbot of that of Raphoe, founded perhaps by himself (59) before he was raised to the government of the whole Columbian order. We find Adamnan again on another visit, two years later, that is, about 687 to the same king Alfrid. (60) He visited him also several years afterwards, as will be seen lower down. There was another Adamnan in these times, who, although perhaps of Irish origin, lived constantly in Britain, and was distinguished for the sanctity and austerity of his life. He was a priest and monk of the monastery of Coludi, now Coldingham in Scotland. (61)

Some time before the period we are now treating of Maildulf, or rather Mailduf, (62) an Irishman,

became eminent as a teacher in the place now called Malmsbury. Its former name was Ingebbone or Ingeborn. Mailduf, pleased with the situation, lived at the foot of the hill as a hermit, but afterwards, to supply his wants, set up a school, which was not long after changed into a small monastery. At what precise time he formed this establishment, I do not find recorded; but it must have been several years prior to 675, in which the celebrated Aldhelm, the most distinguished of his scholars, became abbot there. The monastery being greatly enlarged by Aldhelm, who had received the tonsure and habit from Mailduf, gave occasion to the name of the place being soon changed into *Maildufsburg*, (63) whence has proceeded the modern name *Malmsbury*. Some writings have been attributed to Mailduf, whether justly or not, I shall not undertake to decide. He died either in 675, or some short time previous to it. (64)

(53) Adamnan, making mention (*Vit. S. Col. L. 2. c. 46.*) of his visits to Alfrid, calls him his friend, and speaks of this visit as his first one after Egfrid's war. O'Flaherty (MS. note to Adamnan, *ib.*) referring to Tigernach's annals assigns this visit to A. D. 686. The 4 Masters have 684, that is, 685, and mark it as the eleventh year of the reign of Finnacta. It was that, in which the dreadful plague, mentioned by them at said year, broke out, the commencement of which is affixed by Florence of Worcester to 685. (See *Tr. Th. p. 385.*) Adamnan having observed, (*loc. cit.*) that this plague raged when he was on that visit, and that the continent of Europe and the islands *Scotia et Britannia* (Ireland and Britain) were laid waste by it, except the parts of North Britain inhabited by the British Scots and the Picts, who, he thought, were preserved from it by the intercession of St. Columba. He visited Alfrid more than once on some subsequent occasions; but this, his first embassy, was either in the latter end of 685 or in the beginning of 686.

(54) See *Chap. xvii. §. 8.*

(55) At this day Colgan has given us as much as he was able

to collect concerning Failbe. He rejects various lies of Dempster relative to him, among others that of his having written certain tracts attributed to him by that impostor. Harris might have saved himself the trouble of drawing up an article for Failbe as an Irish writer.

(56) Usher, *p.* 702. and *Ind. Chron.* at 679.

(57) *Tr. Th.* *p.* 480. It is remarkable that, for more than two centuries from the foundation of Hy, almost all its abbots were descended from Conall Gulbanus, thus connected, more or less, by relationship with Columb-kill, and belonging to the line of the northern Nialls. See Colgan *AA. SS.* *p.* 408-450-719.

(58) Colgan says (*Tr. Th.* *p.* 385.) that, according to the Roscrea and some other Annals, Adamnan was born in 624. This, as will be seen, does not agree with what is said of his age at the time of his death.

(59) See *Not.* 112. to *Chap.* xi. As Adamnan was particularly revered at Raphoe, as the patron saint of its monastery and church, it is certain that he had been closely connected with that place, and that, if not absolutely the founder, he was, at least, abbot there. Colgan (*Tr. Th.* *p.* 506.) expressly calls him *abbot of Raphoe*, before he was promoted to Hy. Adamnan was the person, by whose name the succession at Raphoe used to be distinguished. Thus Malbridid, who died archbishop of Armagh in 926, is called a *comorban* (successor) not only of St. Patrick, but likewise of Adamnan, inasmuch as he had been abbot (not bishop, as Harris states, (*Bishops*, *p.* 270.) of Raphoe, before he was raised to the see of Armagh. (See Colgan, *AA. SS.* *p.* 386.) I strongly suspect that St. Eunan, who is usually called the first bishop of Raphoe, was no other than Adamnan; not that Adamnan was ever a bishop; for, were he so, he could not have become abbot of Hy; but that he was the ancient patron saint of that place before it became an episcopal see. Colgan never mentions this St. Eunan, nor could Ware discover any account of him. The first bishop of Raphoe, that we meet with, was Malduin Mac Kinfalaid, who died about 930. (*Tr. Th.* *p.* 509.) These observations are not indeed sufficient to show, that Adamnan has been changed into St. Eunan; but it is a very remarkable circumstance that the festival of the saint, called Eunan, is kept on the 23d of September. Now this was the very

day, on which Adamnan died, and on which his memory was revered not only at Raphoe, but in many other churches. The name, *Eunan*, is, I allow, not favourable to the conjecture of his identity with Adamnan; but there might have been some reason for this variation of names, and a person better versed in the Irish language than I am might perhaps find some analogy between them.

(60) Adamn. *Vit. S. Col. L. 2. c. 46.*

(61) Bede treats of this Adamnan of Coludi, (*Hist. Eccl. L. 4. c. 25.*) and after him Colgan (*AA. SS. 31 January*) who acknowledges, that he was not able to decide whether he was an Irish or British Scot. In fact, there is nothing to make it appear, that he was rather the one than the other. All that Bede says in regard to his country is, that he was *de genere Scottorum*. Coludi, where he lived about A. D. 679. belonged at that time to the Northumbrian kingdom.

(62) The name is spelled *Mailduf* by Bede (*L. 5. c. 18.*) and by Leland, *Collect. III. 158.* (See Smith, *Not. to Bede ib.*) It was, I believe, originally *Moeldubh*, a name not uncommon among the ancient Irish. Its being written *Mailduf* was owing, I dare say, to William of Malmesbury, who in the *Life of Aldhelm* (*ap. Wharton, Anglia Sac. Vol. 2.*) treating of *Mailduf*, writes; "Id (the monastery of Malmesbury) quidam, qui alio nomine vocatur *Meildulf*, natione Scotus, eruditusque philosophus, professione monachus fecerat." Hence Camden has called him *Mailduf*, giving it a termination rather Saxon than Irish.

(63) *The town of Mailduf.* It was known by this name as early as the times of Bede, who calls it (*L. 5. c. 18.*) *Maildufi urbem.*

(64) It was soon after the death of *Mailduf* that Leutherius bishop of Winchester gave in 675 the site of Malmesbury to *Aldhelm*. (See *Monastic. Angl. Tom. 1. p. 50.* and Smith, *Not. to Bede, L. 5. c. 18.*) Concerning *Mailduf* see more in Camden, (*col. 103.* Gibson's ed.) Usher (*Ep. Hib. Syll. ad Ep. 12.*) Ware and Harris (*Writers at Maildulph*).

§. VI. Alfrid was not the only foreign prince, who in those times was sheltered in Ireland. Dagobert, son of Sigebert II. or III. king of Austrasia, had

been sent, when a child, to a monastery in Ireland after his father's death about the year 655 by Grimoald mayor of the palace. (65) The monastery, in which he was placed, is said to have been that of Slane. (66) Wheresoever it was, Dagobert remained in Ireland until about 670, when he was recalled to his own country, and received a part of Austrasia from Childeric the second. (67) On the death of Childeric he became in 674 sovereign of all Austrasia by the name of Dagobert the second, and ruled that country until he was assassinated in 679. (68) After his return to Austrasia we find some distinguished Irishmen in that country, particularly St. Arbogast and St. Florentius; and it would seem as if they had either accompanied him from Ireland or went to Alsace about the same time that he was recalled. (69) Be this as it may, Arbogast, who is usually called a Scot or Irishman, (70) was living retired at Suraburg, where a monastery was afterwards erected in honour of him, (71) when he was raised by this king Dagobert to the see of Strasburgh about 674. (72) Besides being a very holy man he is said to have possessed a considerable share of learning, and to have written some ecclesiastical tracts. (73) He died on the 21st of July in 679, and was succeeded in the same year by his friend and former companion Florentius. (74) That Florentius was a Scot, or Irishman, is universally allowed. (75) He had come from Ireland together with Arbogast, (76) and took up his abode in the forest of Hasle in Alsace near where the river Bruscha flows from the Vosges. (77) Here was founded a monastery either by him, or for him by Dagobert, (78) by whom he was greatly esteemed. It is said that he restored her sight and speech to a daughter of that king. While bishop of Strasburgh, he founded, according to some accounts, the monastery of St. Thomas in that city for the Scots or Irish. (79) Having governed the see

of Strasburgh for eight years, St. Florentius departed this life on the 7th of November, A. D. 687. (80)

Among the persons, who accompanied St. Florentius from Ireland, is mentioned a Theodatus, or Deodatus, (81) of whom I cannot discover any authentic account. The celebrated St. Deodatus bishop of Nevers, who lived in those times, and, having resigned his see, retired to Alsace to lead there a monastic life, (82) was indeed a particular friend of St. Arbogast; (83) but there is no reason to think, that he was a native of Ireland. It may be conjectured, that the Deodatus, bishop of Toul, who by the direction of Dagobert II. accompanied St. Wilfrid of York to Rome in the summer or autumn of 679, (84) was perhaps the one, who had come from Ireland. We find a bishop Deodatus, whose memory was revered in the monastery of Latiniacum or Lagny, and who, as that was an Irish establishment, (85) may be supposed to have been an Irishman. (86)

(65) According to Mabillon (*Annal. Ben.*) Sigibert died in 655; others say, somewhat earlier. It was very soon after his death that Grimoald got Dagobert, then very young, shorn by Didon bishop of Poitiers, and sent him to Ireland, spreading a report of his death.

(66) Archdall at *Slane*. I do not find this mention of Slane any where else. Archdall seems to refer to Mezeray, *Histoire*, &c. who, as far as I could discover, merely says that Dagobert was placed in some very retired monastery, without naming any one in particular.

(67) See *Abregé Chron.* at *Dagobert II.* Mabillon observes, *Annal.* &c. ad A. 672) that Dagobert had returned to France before the death of Grimoald, *i. e.* before 671 or 672.

(68) According to *L'Art de verifier les dates* (Tom. 1. p. 547.) Dagobert II. became king of all Austrasia in 674, and was killed in 679. Mabillon also has (*ib.* at A. 680. p. 52.) for his death 679, and marks the 23d of December as the day of it. He adds that Dagobert was revered as a martyr at Stenay, the

capital of the dutchy of Bar. Although Mabillon in the course of his work calls this prince Dagobert the *second*, yet in the General index to *Tom. 1.* he appears partly as the *second*, and partly as the *third*. This mistake of the framer of said index is apt to confuse a person searching in it for the transactions of this Dagobert. The king or half-king called Dagobert the *third*, belonged to the 8th century. (See *L'Art, &c. Tom. 1. p. 548.* and *Abregé, &c.* at *Dagobert III.*)

(69) In the Acts of St. Florentius (*ap. Surius 7 November*) we read; “Cum Dagobertus rex ad regni Francorum gubernacula sederet, sanctus Florentius, cum beato Arbogasto, Theodato, et Hildulpho, e Scotia venit in Alsatiam.” The Dagobert here mentioned was the second, not Dagobert the first his grandfather, with whom he has been often confounded; whence, as Mabillon remarks, several religious establishments, founded during the reign of the second Dagobert, have been assigned to that of the first.

(70) Gaspar Bruschius (*De German. Episcopat. Epitome, p. 55.*) makes Arbogast a native either of Aquitain, or of Ireland, “*etsi sint qui ex Hibernia ortum affirmant.*” But Mabillon (*Annal, &c.* at 667) speaks of him positively as an Irishman, “*Arbogastus origine Scottus.*”

(71) Mabillon (*ib.* at *A. 676. p. 533.*) says that this monastery was erected, *ob meritum S. Arbogasti*, during the reign of Dagobert II. Suraburg was in the diocese of Strasburgh, and near the Sura, or Saur, a river that flows into the Moselle not far from Treves.

(72) See *Gallia Christiana, Tom. v. col. 182*, where it is stated that Arbogast flourished about 673, and was appointed bishop of Strasburgh by Dagobert II. Hence, and from what Mabillon has, it is plain that Bruschius, who is followed by Ware and Harris, (*Writers at Arbogast*) was wrong in assigning Arbogast's promotion to 646. Bruschius, in whose time the history of Dagobert II. was scarcely known, supposed that the Dagobert, friend of Arbogast, was the first king of the name. But even in this hypothesis he fell into another mistake; for Dagobert I. was dead before 646, and accordingly could not have been the king by whom Arbogast was appointed.

(73) See Ware and Harris, *loc. cit.*

(74) *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. v. col. 781. 782. Bruschius was mistaken in assigning the commencement of Florentius' incumbency at Strasburgh to the year 663. That it was in 679, is clear from its being known that Florentius, having held that see for eight years, died in 687.

(75) Bruschius, Mabillon, and the *Gallia Christiana* agree on this point.

(76) See *Not.* 69.

(77) *Acts of St. Florentius*. Hasle is now called *Haselae*, and lies at two leagues distance from Molsheim in Basse Alsace.

(78) See Mabillon, *Annal.* &c. at *A.* 676. p. 533.

(79) Mabillon, *ib.*

(80) *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. v. col. 783.

(81) See *Not.* 69. (82) See Fleury, *L.* 39. §. 45.

(83) Mabillon, *Annal.* at *A.* 667.

(84) See *Acta Bened. Sec.* 3. p. 186. and Fleury, *L.* 40. §. 4.

(85) See *Chap.* xvi. §. 9-10.

(86) The Bollandists observe, (at 3 *February*) that they have found in old copies of Usnard's Martyrology this Deodatus thus mentioned; "*Latiniaco Natalis S. Deodati episcopi*," and quote Molanus, who says that the reliques of Deodatus, Maldegarius, and others were removed to that place. They did not know who this Deodatus was, but thought, and I believe justly, that he was different from St. Deodatus of Nevers. Whether he was the same as Deodatus of Toul, I will not pretend to decide; but it is very probable, that he was a native of Ireland.

§. VII. As to Hildulph, or Hidulf, who also is said to have gone with Florentius from Ireland to Alsace, (87) it is exceedingly difficult to form any decided opinion concerning him. We have no account of any distinguished person of this name at that period except Hildulph bishop of Treves, who, quitting his see, is stated to have retired about 676 to the Vosges and there founded a monastery. (88) He was apparently the Hildulph supposed to have accompanied Florentius; and it can scarcely be doubted that they were contemporaries. (89) But it is very uncertain

whether Hildulph of Treves was a native of Ireland ; for, according to some accounts, he was a Belgian, and, according to others, a Bavarian. (90) If it be true that he was a brother of St. Erard of Ratisbon, as has been very generally said, (91) it will follow that he was an Irishman. Hildulph had, perhaps, a brother named *Eberhard* or *Erhard* ; but it may be doubted whether he was the same as Erard of Ratisbon. (92)

Be this as it may, St. Erard, although younger than Hildulph, was living in his times ; and accordingly I may be allowed to give some account of him in this place, (93) notwithstanding the contest that has been carried on as to the century, in which he flourished. Some old writers assign his times to the seventh and the beginning of the eighth, while others represent him as flourishing during the reign of Pepin father of Charlemagne, consequently in the second half of the eighth century. Although I dare not pretend to decide on a question, which very eminent men have left undetermined, (94) the former opinion appears to me more probable and better supported by such circumstances of the times as seem sufficiently authentic. And I cannot but think that the confusion, which has taken place on this point as well as on that relative to St. Hildulph of Treves, has proceeded chiefly from Pepin Hiristall, mayor of the palace, and his son Charles Martel, having been mistaken for king Pepin, grandson of the former Pepin, and his son Charlemagne. That St. Erard was a native of Ireland can scarcely be called in question, unless we are to reject the authority of almost all the writers, who have treated of him. (95) It is stated on respectable authority, that he was bishop of Ardagh before he left Ireland. (96) Having resigned his see he went to the continent, and joined himself to St. Hildulph or Hidulf, who was then living retired in the Vosges, (97) and with whom he is said to have remained for a considerable time. From that country he went to Bavaria to

preach the Gospel, without attaching himself to any see as bishop. (98) Happening to be on some occasion near the Rhine, Erard baptized Odilia the infant daughter of the duke Etico or Atticus, who, having been born blind, became gifted with sight, through the prayers of Erard, in the very act of her baptism. (99) After this he returned to Bavaria, and stopped at Ratisbon, where, after having led a most holy life and wrought many miracles, he terminated his earthly career on an 8th of January. (100) This saint was canonized by Pope Leo IX. in 1052.

(87) See above, *Not.* 69.

(88) Fleury, *L.* 39. §. 45.

(89) Several writers assert, that Hildulph of Treves flourished in the seventh century, and died very old in 707. Yet Baronius and others, who are followed by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 36. seqq.*) place him about the middle of the eighth. Mabillon maintains, (*Annal. &c. at A. 667.*) that he was before the times of Charles Martel, that is, before 714.

(90) In some Lives of St. Hildulph he is said to have been a Nervian, *Nerviorum claro ortus genere.* (See Bollandus at *St. Erard, 8 January,* and Colgan *AA. SS. p. 37.*) The Nervii were a people of Belgium, inhabiting the country about Tournay, or, as some think, Haynault. In one of those Lives Bollandus found *Nierniorum,* instead of *Nerviorum,* and thought it might have been a mistake for *Hiverniorum,* i. e. *Hibernorum.* But according to a Life published in the *Acta Ben. Sec. 3. Part. 2.* Hildulph, or, as there called, Hidulf, was a native of Bavaria, and born at Ratisbon. This is, I am sure, a mistake founded on the false supposition that St. Erard, who in said Life is represented as a brother of his, was a native of that city. For his Irish origin we have, besides the Life of St. Florentius, the author of which in all probability alluded to the Hildulph of Treves, two Lives of St. Erard, an Office of this saint from the Breviary of Ratisbon, and some German historians quoted by Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 38.* If he was a native of Ireland, his original name was, I dare say, *Hilduf* or *Hiduf.*

(91) That Hildulph of Treves and Erard were brothers is positively stated in the Lives of Erard, Office, &c. mentioned in the preceding note.

(92) Mabillon observes, (*Annal. ad. A. 671.*) that an Eberhard or Erhard was said to have been brother to Hildulph, and elsewhere (*ib. ad. A. 667.*) that he was *perhaps* the same as Erard bishop of Ratisbon. Everhard, the supposed brother of Hildulph, was the first abbot of Ebersheim near Schelestad in Alsace, a monastery founded by Duke Etico or Atticus, father of St. Odilia, some time it seems in the second half of the seventh century. Ebersheim is supposed to have got its name from this Erhard or Eberhard, as if it meant the *mansion of Eberhard*. (Mabillon, *ib.*) Another account states, that Ebersheim signifies the *boar's habitation*, as being the place where, as we are told, a wild boar killed a son of Dagobert II. who was brought to life again by St. Arbogast. That Erard of Ratisbon lived for some time with Hildulph, when retired in the Vosges, is stated in two breviaries of Augsburg, and in one of Wurtzburgh; (*AA. SS. p. 32.*) but nothing is said of their having been brothers. Nor is there any thing in them or in his Lives about his having been abbot of Ebersheim. It is also to be observed, that Erard of Ratisbon is never called *Eberhard*, as appears from the etymologies of his name given in the documents, in which he is expressly treated of. From what has been now said, it may be conjectured, that, if Hildulph had a brother named *Eberhard*, he was different from Erard of Ratisbon.

(93) Bollandus had published three Lives of St. Erard at 8 January, two of which have been republished by Colgan at said day, besides extracts relative to him from breviaries. He had three other Lives, short ones, which he thought unnecessary to publish. Harris has (*Bishops at Ardagh*) a good summary of Erard's Acts; but he ought not to have called Conrad a *Montepuellarum*, (a place in Germany) one of Erard's biographers, *Conrad of Montpellier*.

(94) Bollandus (*Comm. pr. ad Vit. S. Erardi, 8 Jan.*) has not undertaken to fix the times of this saint. Mabillon complains (*Acta Ben. Sec. 3. part 2. p. 470.*) that the history of Erard, his times, &c. is equally confused and intricate as that of St. Hildulph. Yet, although he did not take the trouble of inquiring into it, he must have been inclined to think, that Erard belonged to the seventh century; whereas he was of opinion that Hildulph, in whose times Erard is generally allowed to have lived, did not

survive the early part of the eighth. (See *Not.* 89.) Colgan maintains, (*Appendix at St. Erard 8 Jan.*) that Erard flourished in the reign of Pepin or of Charlemagne, and strives to answer the arguments to the contrary. But it would be easy to show, that, whatever may be thought of his proofs, his replies are very unsatisfactory.

(95) In the first Life of Erard, written by one Paulus or Paululus in the eleventh century, we read (*L. 1. c. 1.*); “*Erhardus qui gloria fortis interpretari potest, Narbonensis gentilitate, Nervius civilitate, genere Scoticus fuit.*” Instead of *Narbonensis gentilitate*, alluding to his having been of a family settled at a place called Narbon, some other Lives or legends, not published by Colgan, have, “*Narbonae in Scotia natus.*” Colgan conjectures that this place was the same as Ardboe or Arboe in the county of Tyrone, formerly a town of some note. I suspect that *Narbon* is a corruption of *Nardach*, that is, of *Ardach* or *Ardagh*, where Erard is said to have been bishop. The *N* prefixed is a contraction of *na, of*; so that *Narbonensis* signifies of *Arbon*, and *Nardachensis*, if it was the original reading, would mean of *Ardagh*, in the same manner as *Nendrumensis* means of *Antrim*. (See *Not.* 187 to *Chap.* VIII.) As to *Nervius civilitate*, perhaps the author intended to say, that Erard had spent some time in the territory of the Nervii, (see above *Not.* 90.) in which there were some Irish establishments. In the Life written by Conrad nothing more is stated than that his country was Scotia, that is as Conrad explains himself (*cap.* 2.) Ireland, or *Scotia major*. In some German calendars, and in two breviaries of Augsburg together with one of Wurtzburgh, he is called *natione Scotus*. According to the breviary of Ratisbon he was born in the ancient Scotia or the island of Ireland; *Erhardus in veteri Scotia seu Hibernia insula oceani natus*. Raderus (*Bavaria Sancta, Tom.* 1.), Brunerus (*Rerum Boicarum L.* 5), and other German writers, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 38. *seqq.*) agree on this point that Erard was not only a Scot but a Scot of Ireland. In opposition to all these testimonies there is no authority worth mentioning except that of St. Hidulf’s Life published in the *Acta Bened.* (see *Not.* 90.) in which Erard is said to have been born at Ratisbon. For this statement there is no foundation whatsoever, unless it should be argued, that, because Erard spent the last years of himself and

died in that city, it was therefore the place of his birth. What could have induced so many German writers of Erard's Lives, compilers of breviaries, historians, &c. to deprive their country of the honour of having produced a saint so highly revered there as Erard was, unless they had incontrovertible proofs of his having been born elsewhere? Hence it is plain, that the author of that Life of Hidulf was as wrong in making Erard a native of Ratisbon as he was in assigning to it the birth of even Hidulf himself. Bollandus, having deeply studied this subject, states, as the most probable opinion, that Erard was an Irishman.

In several of the documents now mentioned Erard's name is spelled *Erhard*, following the genius of the German language; and hence the author of the first Life etymologizes it into *gloria fortis*; for *Er*, in German, signifies *honour*, and *hard*, or *hart*, is *strong*, *hard*. Passing by this and some other etymologies of *Erhard*, the real name of the saint seems to have been *Erard*, a name, as Colgan observes, not uncommon in Ireland.

(96) Besides the authority of the breviary of Ratisbon, Raderus, and Brunerus, we have for this statement that also of Hundius, *Catalog. Episc. Ratisbon.* (See Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 35.* and 39-40.)

(97) First Life of Erard, *L. 1. cap. 2.* second Life, *cap. 2.* Breviaries, &c. From the circumstance of Erard having been with Hidulf in the Vosges it seems almost certain, that he flourished in the seventh century; for this was, in all probability, the period, during which Hidulf retired to that country, as appears from its being stated on very good authority that he arrived there before the death of St. Deodatus of Nevers, who, as has been seen, had also retired to Alsace, and whose death is universally allowed to have occurred about 679. (See Colgan *AA. SS. p. 36.* Fleury, *L. 39. §. 45.* and compare with *Not. 89.*) It is said in the Breviary of Ratisbon, that Erard went to Rome straight from Ireland; but this cannot be reconciled with the series of his transactions, as related in the other documents. The journey to Rome must have been after his arrival in Germany.

(98) Several writers have called Erard bishop of Ratisbon. This is denied by Hundius, Raderus, and others, although they allow that he spent a good part of his time in that city and died there. Mabillon observes, (*Acta Ben. Sec. 3. part 2. p. 470.*)

that Erard's name does not appear in the catalogues of the bishops of Ratisbon, and that it is a mistake to make him bishop of that see. As to a story of his having been bishop of Frisingen or of Treves, it is not worth attending to.

(99) According to some accounts Hidulf was joined with Erard in baptizing Odilia, or, as better known, St. Odilia. Be this as it may, we have here another very strong argument to show, that Erard lived before the times of king Pepin. Bollandus states (*Comment. &c. at St. Erard*) that Etico was the son of Leudesius and grandson of Erchinoald, (the mayor of the palace and friend of St. Fursej) who died about 660. Etico married Bersroinda during the reign of Childeric, that is, Childeric the second, king of Austrasia and afterwards of all France, who was killed in 673. (See *Abregé, &c. at Childeric II.*) This king had made Etico duke of Germany, who accordingly resided at Ehenheim and Hohemburg. St. Odilia his daughter was the person baptized by St. Erard and St. Hidulf. From these circumstances Bollandus justly concludes, that this baptism, &c. were prior to the times of king Pepin and Charlemagne.

(100) *AA. SS. p. 35.* The Breviary of Ratisbon and Hundi- us state, that he died during the reign of Pepin father of Charle- magne; but this cannot agree with other circumstances, particu- larly the baptism of Odilia, not long after which his death occurred. Pepin's reign did not begin until 751, while, on the other hand, the birth of Odilia was not later than about 700. Therefore in- stead of *king* Pepin, I think we should say, Pepin mayor of the palace, Pepin Heristall, who had held that office from about 688 until 714, and was the father of another Charles, *i. e.* Charles Martel. It is right to observe, that this Pepin had governed Aus- trasia with almost sovereign authority since about 680. (See *Abregé, &c. at Thierry III.*)

§. VIII. Whatever difference of opinions there may be in regard to Hildulph or Hidulf having been a brother of Erard, there is scarcely any as to his having had a brother called by foreign writers Albert. The names of the two brothers St. Erard and St. Albert (101) go hand in hand together, and the latter is not less constantly stated to have been a

native of Ireland. His real name was probably *Ailbe*, (102) and he is generally said to have been, prior to quitting his country, archbishop of Cashel, which must be understood as to his having been bishop of Emly. (103) It is stated, that he left Ireland, together with Erard and others, and that he accompanied him to Germany, whence they are said to have gone to Rome. (104) Having remained there some time, Albert, on Erard's returning to Germany, continuing his pilgrimage proceeded to Jerusalem, where Gillapattrick, one of his companions, died. How long he stayed there we are not informed. Returning to Germany he lost John, another of his followers, at Saltzburg, and on arriving at Ratisbon found that Erard had, some short time before, departed this life. Not wishing to survive him he prayed to God to take him out of this world; and his petition was listened to soon after. Albert's remains were deposited at Ratisbon in a tomb, only seven feet distant from that of his brother Erard.

To the times of Pepin Heristall, during whose mayoralty the saints now treated of seem to have flourished, belonged to St. Wiros, of whose having been a native of Ireland I find no reason to doubt. (105) Even the Irish family, of which he was a member, is mentioned; for he is stated to have been the son of Cuan, son of Lugid, &c. of an ancient family settled in Corcobaschin, (in the now county of Clare) and that, from which was sprung St. Senan of Inniscatthy. (106) Wiros is said to have travelled to Rome and to have been there consecrated bishop. It is added, that on his return to Ireland he governed for a time some see (107) which he afterwards resigned for the purpose of leading a more retired life. He went to France, where he was most graciously received by Pepin Heristall, (108) who held him in great veneration and used to confess to him barefoot. Pepin assigned to him a habitation at *Mons Petri*, now Odilie-berg in the

diocese of Liege. This was the place where St. Wiros died on an 8th of May; (109) but in consequence of its collegiate church having been transferred to Ruremond, the saint's remains were removed hither in part, and hence he is often called St. Wiros of Ruremond, while another part of them was preserved at Utrecht. (110)

(101) Colgan treats of St. Albert also at 8 January, not because he knew what was the day of his death, or even what day his memory was revered, but on account of its being assigned for St. Erard, with whom the German writers usually associate St. Albert, joining them together in their inquiries into the history of these two holy brothers. Of those writers Conrad is the only one, who making mention (*Life of St. Erard, cap. 2.*) of Albert, whom he calls Adalbert, seems to speak of him as not having been a brother of Erard. Colgan had no *Life* of this saint, but has endeavoured to make up his Acts as well as he could.

(102) This conjecture of Colgan is indeed not improbable. *Albert* was a name well known in Germany, and the transition to it from *Ailbe*, a name to which the Germans were not accustomed, was easy and natural. We find similar inflections in the names of several Irish saints and teachers, who in old times resorted to the Continent.

(103) The passages of various authors, who agree in calling Albert archbishop, or, at least, bishop of Cashel, may be seen in Colgan at *Albert*. But, as he remarks, there was neither an archbishop nor bishop of Cashel in Albert's times, supposing him to have flourished even as late as the eighth century. He therefore conjectures, that Albert or Ailbe might have been originally called archbishop of Munster, and, if so, that his see was Emly, the prelates of which were sometimes called *archbishops*. (See *Not. 97. to Chap. xvii.*) In this hypothesis Albert or Ailbe would have been Ailbe the second of that see. He might have been there between Conang O'Daithil, who died in 661, (see *ib.*) and Conamail M'Carthy, who died in 707. But as Cashel became in later times the metropolitanical see of Munster, the writers referred to supposed that Albert had been archbishop there.

(104) Conrad says (*Life of Erard, cap. 2.*) that Albert went

with Erard from the Vosges to Bavaria, and Roderus states that Albert did not go to Rome until after he had spent some time in Germany. (Compare with *Not.* 97.)

(105) The Bollandists have St. Wiro at 8 May. Bollandus, who wrote the prefixed commentary was inclined to think that he might have been a native of North Britain rather than of Ireland. But in the *Life*, published by his continuators, the island Scotia, that is Ireland, is expressly called Wiro's country; "*Scotia uber sanctorum patrum insula*;" and we find it again called an island, *ex. c.* in the words, "apud incolas ejusdem *insulac.*" It is there said that he imitated Patrick, Cuthbert, and Columba, the pillars of *his* country. And what still more proves this point, we find a bishop Wiro in various old Irish documents and calendars, who was in all appearance the same as the St. Wiro known in the continent. (See *AA. SS. p.* 542) Mr. Lingard says, (*Angl. S. Church, ch.* 13. *Not.* 12.) that Alcuin in the poem, *De Pont. Ebor. v.* 1045. calls Wiro an Anglo-Saxon. Now in said poem, which, by the bye, was not written by Alcuin (see *Not.* 12 to *Chap.* III.) there is not a word about Wiro at that verse, nor, as far as I can find, in any other part of it.

(106) *AA. SS. ib.*

(107) It has been supposed by some persons unacquainted with the state of Ireland in Wiro's times, that he was bishop of Dublin. Suffice it to say, that Dublin had no bishops in those days. Foreigners were very apt, since Dublin became the capital of Ireland, to assign to it some of our bishops that had removed to the Continent, of whose real sees they had no account.

(108) See Bollandus at *St. Wiro*. As Pepin was not invested with great power until about 680, (see *Not.* 100) Wiro's arrival in France must have been later than this year.

(109) The year of his death is not known. Harris says (*Bishops of Dublin, at St. Wiro*) that he died in 650. He took this date from a marginal note in Surius; but it is certainly a much too early one, as appears from the preceding note. Many of the dates marked in Surius's edition of the Lives of Saints are merely conjectural.

(110) Bollandus, *loc. cit.*

§. IX. We read in the chronicle of Marianus Scotus, at the years 674, and 675, that Ireland was

then full of holy men, and that St. Dysibod, having given up his episcopal functions, went, accompanied by several persons, from Ireland to Germany. (111) He is said to have been of a noble family, and gifted with great genius. Having been raised to the episcopacy, and officiated as bishop for some years, he left his own country, Ireland, and after ten years peregrination and preaching, stopped in the diocese of Mentz. There, together with three companions, he erected a habitation and an oratory on the side of a mountain. Several persons flocking to him, particularly Benedictine monks, a monastery was established there, (112) in which the rule of St. Benedict was observed. Dysibod did not embrace it himself, as he led a stricter life than it required. Yet the monks refused to submit to any other person but him as their abbot. He is said to have died in the 81st year of his age, on an 8th of July. (113)

About the same time that St. Dysibod went to Germany there was living in the territory of Rouen an Irish monk, named Sidonias (Sedna), who formed a monastery on some ground granted to him by Theodoric, or Thierry III. king of Burgundy and Neustria. He went afterwards to Rome with St. Audeon or Ouen, archbishop of Rouen, in the year 677. Sidonius died on a 14th of September, at which day his name is marked in the calendars. His monastery became, in course of time, a cell belonging to the house of Fontanelles, and the adjoining village of St. Saens has been called from his name. (114)

(111) “*Hibernia insula sanctis viris plena habetur; de qua beatus pater noster Dysibodius, episcopatu abdicato, cum plerisque sociis egressus hunc locum inhabitavit, et divinis laudibus hic se a fidelibus venerari apud Deum promeruit.*” Mabillon observes (*Annal. Ben. ad. 674.*) that what is here said of Dysibod was perhaps inserted by Dodechin the continuator of Marianus’ chronicle. This seems very probable; for Dodechin was abbot of the monastery of St. Dysibod, and could have used the phrases, *our blessed*

father, this place, and here, with greater propriety than Marianus, who did not belong to that establishment, although he spent his last years not far from it, as it was in the diocese of Mentz. The Life of St. Dysibod, which Surius has at 8 July, was written by the abbess St. Hildegardis, and as if by revelation, in the year 1170. Much of it is mere common place narrative.

(112) Mabillon states (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 674*) that this monastery was in the diocese of Mentz, and county of Spanheim, one mile distant from the monastery of Spanheim, and two from that of Creutznac.

(113) Mabillon observes, (*ib.*) that, according to the martyrology of Rabanus, the *Natalis* of St. Dysibod was celebrated in the neighbourhood of Mentz on the 6th of September. Rabanus, he adds, calls him simply a *confessor*, without adding the title of *bishop*. But his being represented as such in the chronicle of Marianus is a good reason for believing that he really was so. As to the story of his having been bishop of Dublin, it appears no where except in Wilson's Anglican martyrology. What has been remarked concerning St. Wiro (*Not. 107*) is applicable to this case. We may also pass by Dysibod's having been author of a tract attributed to him by Dempster. (See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Disibod.*)

(114) See Mabillon (*ib.*) and compare with Fleury, *L. 39. §. 54.*

§. x. The celebrated bishop and martyr St Kilian the apostle of Franconia, flourished in these times. (115) That he was a native of Ireland is universally admitted; (116) but we have no account of the part of it, to which he belonged. He was of an illustrious family, and, having embraced the monastic life, (117) is said to have governed some monastery, of which, however, I do not find any particular mention. Having distinguished himself by his sanctity and great ecclesiastical learning, he was raised to the priesthood, and afterwards to the episcopacy. (118) Notwithstanding his being very much beloved by his clergy and people, a wish for attaining a greater degree of perfection induced him

to visit foreign parts, and accordingly taking with him some companions, among whom are named Coloman (119) a priest and Totnan a deacon, he went over to the continent and proceeded on his journey until he arrived at Wurtzburg in Franconia. Liking the situation, he determined on fixing his abode there ; but, being anxious to preach the Gospel to the people of that country, who were still pagans, he thought it necessary to apply to the Holy see for permission to do so, hoping that the then Pope, John V. would not refuse it to him. (120) On his arrival at Rome he found that John was dead, but was very kindly received by his successor Conon. This occurred either late in the year 686, or early in 687. (121) Conon finding him well qualified for the mission both by the purity of his faith and his learning, gave him every requisite faculty for that purpose. (122) Kilian then returned to Wurtzburg, accompanied by Coloman and Totnan, who assisted him in his apostolical exertions. He was fortunate enough to convert and baptize Gozbert, duke of that country, whose conversion was followed by that of a great number of his subjects. Geilana, to whom Gozbert was married, had been the wife of his brother. Although Kilian disapproved of his keeping her as his wife, he thought it advisable to be silent on this point, until Gozbert should be well confirmed in the Christian faith. The time being come when Kilian found the duke fit for receiving further instruction, he told him that one thing was still requisite for his being quite acceptable in the sight of God, *viz.* that he should part with Geilana, whereas their marriage was unlawful. Gozbert answered, that this was the most difficult point as yet proposed to him by Kilian ; but that, as he had already renounced many things for the love of God, he would also quit Geilana, although she was very dear to him ; adding however, that, being then hurried to proceed on a military expedition, he should

defer until his return the arrangement and execution of his design. After his departure Geilana, who was informed of what had passed between him and Kilian, became determined on revenge, and seizing on a convenient opportunity sent at night one of her men (123) to put him and his companions to death. Kilian, Coloman, and Totnan were singing the praises of the Lord, when the assassin arrived. They made no resistance, Kilian exhorting his brethren to receive the wished for crown of martyrdom, and were immediately beheaded. During the same night their remains were hastily thrown into the ground, together with their clothes and pontifical ornaments, the sacred books, cross, &c. This martyrdom occurred in 689 on the 8th of July, at which day the names of St. Kilian and his companions are marked in the Roman and other martyrologies, and Kilian is particularly revered at Wurtzburg as its patron saint. (124)

When Gozbert returned to Wurtzburg, he inquired for the servants of God. Geilana said that she did not know what was become of them. But the whole matter was soon discovered; for the assassin, running about in all directions, complained that Kilian was burning him with a dreadful fire. Gosbert, calling together his Christian subjects, asked of them how that unhappy man should be treated. A person present at the meeting, who had been suborned by Geilana, proposed that he should be left at liberty, for the purpose of trying whether the God of the Christians would avenge the death of the martyr, which if he do not, we will, said this wiseacre, worship the great Diana as our forefathers have done. This proposal was agreed to; and the assassin, being let loose, got into a phrenzy and tore himself with his teeth until he expired. It is added that Geilana was seized with an evil spirit, which tormented her so much, that she died soon after. The remains of the holy martyrs were found in 752

(125) by St. Burchard, bishop of Wurtzburg, and removed by him to a great church, which he had erected in that city.

(115) Canisius has published (*Antiq. lect. Tom. 4. al. Tom. 3. part. 1.*) two Lives of St. Kilian; one rather large, the author of which he conjectured to be Egilward a monk of St Burchard's monastery near Wurtzburg, who lived, according to some writers, in the 11th century; the other shorter, but more exact, by an unknown author. The former is also in Surius (at 8 July) and has been republished by Messingham (*Florilegium, &c.*) and others; the latter was preferred for republication in the *Acta Bened. Sec. 2. p. 991* particularly as various interpolations have been foisted into the larger one.

(116) It would be useless to collect the many testimonies, that might be adduced on this point. In the large Life Kilian's country is thus described; "Scotia, quae et *Hibernia* dicitur, *insula* est maris oceani. foecunda quidam glebis, sed sanctissimis clarior viris; ex quibus Columbano gaudet Italia, Gallo dicitur Aleman-
nia, Kiliano Teutonica nobilitatur Francia." Rabanus and Notker, in their martyrologies, say that he came from *Hibernia Scotorum insula*; Marianus Scotus has *Hibernia insula*. These and other passages to the same purpose, such as from Bellarmine, Serarius, &c. may be seen in Messingham, *Floril. p. 324. seqq.* Among the more modern writers it is sufficient to mention Mabil-
lon and Fleury.

(117) It is said in St. Kilian's Office in the Benedictine breviary, that the monastery in which he professed the monastic rule was that of Hy. Trithemius also calls him a monk of Hy, *monachus Huensis in Hibernia*; but this appears to be only conjectural. According to the large Life Kilian could not have been a monk of Hy; for it is stated that he became superior of the very monastery, in which he had made his profession. Now it is well known that he was never abbot of Hy. Trithemius' meaning was perhaps, that Kilian belonged to the order of Hy, although living in Ireland. It is odd, that Burke (*Office of St. Kilian*) makes him a Benedictine, which, omitting other observations, he could not have been, were he of the order of Hy.

(118) According to the short Life Kilian was a bishop before he

left Ireland. And in an old chronicle, quoted by the abbot Thadaeus of Ratisbon (see Messingham, *Floril.* p. 324.) he is spoken of as a bishop, prior to his setting out for the Continent. This statement has been followed by Fleury, *L.* 40. §. 38. But, as will be seen lower down, other accounts represent him as having been consecrated bishop at Rome.

(119) In some documents, relative to St. Kilian, Coloman is erroneously called *Colonat*.

(120) At this part of Kilian's transactions the author of the large Life, or rather some interpolater, introduces the fable of Ireland having been under an apostolical censure on account of the Pelagian heresy, and accordingly of the necessity Kilian was under of going to Rome for the purpose of being absolved from it. To what has been already observed on this subject (*Not.* 95 to *Chap.* xv.) I shall here add, that there is not the least allusion to such a censure in the other and more correct Life of Kilian; nor among the old authors, *ex. c.* Rabanus, Notker, Marianus, Scotus, &c. some of whom mention his having got permission to preach from the Holy see, is there a word about this story of Irish Pelagianism. Nothing relative to any general censure or interdict laid upon Ireland appears in Bede, and the only charge brought forward, yet still unaccompanied by ecclesiastical censure, against any considerable portion of the Irish people, was on the ground of their Paschal and tonsural observances. How could the people or clergy of Ireland be supposed to lie under an interdict, while such crowds of Irishmen were, as was well known at Rome, instructing the continental nations; while Furse, Foillan, Livinus, Arbogast, Florentius, Wiro, &c. preached the Gospel to them without any previous absolution from censures? National interdicts, or general censures of the kind alluded to, were scarcely known at that period; nor is there any historian or canonist, who, in his inquiries into the origin of interdicts, has ever alleged this pretended Irish one as a specimen of them. (See Fleury *Instit. au Droit, &c. Part 3. chap.* 21.) I shall waste no further time on this silly fable, except to observe that the passage, in which it is contained, is to all appearance an interpolation.

(121) The death of John V. and the accession of Conon have been assigned by some writers to 687; but Pagi (*Critica, &c. ad*

A. 687.) maintains that John died in 686, and was succeeded by Conon in the same year on the 21st of October.

(122) In the large Life it is said that Conon raised Kilian to the prelacy, *in praesulatus officium constituit*; so that he might exercise functions peculiar to bishops. The author's meaning seems indeed to be, that Kilian was consecrated bishop by Conon, and so it has been understood by several writers. This is very probably a mistake, founded on the circumstance of Kilian having received from the Pope certain extraordinary powers, with which bishops are not usually invested, such as that of erecting episcopal sees, and other privileges requisite in the case of a new mission, such in short as those which Gregory the great had granted to Augustin towards the formation of churches in England. His having obtained such privileges at Rome might have easily led to the supposition, that it was there also that he was consecrated. But we have better authority for believing, that Kilian was a bishop before he left Ireland. (See *Not.* 118.)

(123) Some accounts state, that Geilana sent two assassins. This is a matter of no consequence. It is somewhat singular, that Rabanus and Notker, in opposition to every other account, attribute the order for murdering Kilian, &c. to Gozbert.

(124) Although St. Kilian is called the patron of Wurtzburg, Mabillon, (at Kilian's Life, *Acta Ben. Sec.* 2.) Fleury, (*L.* 40. §. 38) and Basnage (Preface to Kilian's Acts in his edition of Canisius, *Tom.* 3. *Part.* 1.) deny that he was bishop of that city, as its see was not established until many years later in the eighth century. Colgan had said (*AA. SS.* p. 331.) that, although he was bishop of all Franconia, he was not of Wurtzburg. Yet Marianus Scotus (*ad. A.* 687) expressly calls him *bishop of Wurtzburg*, and so he is named in the chronicles of Sigebert and Rhegino, and by many other writers, some of whom, *ex. c.* Notker, add that he was its first bishop. This question is easily settled; for it is not doubted by any one, that Kilian was a bishop, nor that, although he preached and exercised episcopal functions throughout Franconia, his chief residence was at Wurtzburg. He was not indeed immediately succeeded by any bishop there; whereas from the time of his martyrdom about fifty years elapsed until St. Burchard was appointed bishop of that city. But had this interval not taken place, and if there had been a bishop fixed there immediately

after the martyrdom, Kilian would have been universally called bishop of Wurtzburg and its first bishop. What is the reason why some old sees are considered as fixed and regular in preference to places, in which bishops have presided? It is no other than that in the former there has been an uninterrupted succession of bishops, which was not the case with regard to the latter. The question therefore is one of mere words, and it is an affectation of canonistical precision to say, that St. Kilian was not bishop of Wurtzburg. He lived there not as a hermit or in a retired manner, as, for instance, St. Erard had at Ratisbon, but as a bishop actively employed in practising episcopal duties; and this was surely enough to authorize the old writers, who treat of him, to give him the title of *bishop of Wurtzburg*, and *first bishop* of that see, whereas no bishop had ever resided there before him. Serarius observes, (*Notes to St Kilian's Life ap. Messingham, Floril, &c. p. 328.*) that the ecclesiastical monuments of Wurtzburg point him out as its bishop, and joins those, who call him its *first bishop*. St. Kilian is spoken of as also an author, but, I suspect, on weak grounds. (See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Kilian.*)

(125) See Pagi, *Critica*, &c. *ad A.* 689. and Colgan, *AA. SS.* at 14 February, where he treats of the translation of the remains of St. Kilian and companions.

§. XI. St. Cataldus or Cathaldus, (126) whose history has been already touched upon, (127) flourished, I believe, in these times, that is, in the latter half of the seventh century. It has been strangely supposed that he lived in the second; (128) but from the accounts, however confused and mixed with fables, that are given of his transactions, it is evident, that he must have lived at a much later period. As to his having been a native of Ireland, there can be no question; (129) and Munster is mentioned as the province, to which he belonged. (130) The very town, in which he was born, is spoken of; some say it was Raschau, and others Catandum, (131) both which in our times can scarcely be guessed at, except that they were, particularly the latter, supposed to have been not far distant from Lismore.

It is said that his father was named *Euchus* (Echu), and his mother *Achlenna*, or *Athena*. He studied at Lismore, where after some time he became a professor. (132) His lectures are stated to have been attended by a great number of students from various countries. (133) The times, in which Cataldus was thus employed, cannot be precisely ascertained; but they were undoubtedly later by several years than 633, about which time the Lismore establishment was founded by St. Carthag. (134) Cataldus, besides instructing others, edified them by his extraordinary piety. He is said to have erected a church at Lismore in honour of the Blessed Virgin mother of God. (135) It is added, that some how or other he incurred the displeasure of a king, (136) who ordered him to be thrown into a dungeon. The king soon repented of this violent measure, and, to make some amends for the injury Cataldus had sustained, is stated to have made him a grant of a district, which had belonged to a duke or chieftain recently dead, whose name was *Meltridis*. (137) This must be understood with such limitations as the discipline of those times, particularly in the Irish church, required, and can mean no more than that the king assigned to him some land for endowing a church at Rachau, of which place Cataldus was immediately appointed bishop. (138) This was probably about the year 670. (139) Having governed that see for some time he is said to have gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and, on his preparing to return thence to Ireland, to have been admonished in a vision to proceed to Tarentum. According to certain strange stories he found, on his arrival in that city, almost all the inhabitants immersed in paganism; (140) but this monstrous assumption is quite irreconcilable with the times of St. Cataldus. It is, however, very probable that vices, although not amounting to idolatry, prevailed there at that period, in consequence of the revolutions and vicissitudes of

that country. (141) The saint, having landed at some distance from the city, cured on his way to it a woman, who had been deaf and dumb, and on entering the city relieved a man from blindness. He was immediately taken notice of, and preaching to the inhabitants was listened to with great attention. Not long after he was unanimously appointed to the see of Tarentum, which he governed for many years with great wisdom and zeal. The year of his death is not known; but it appears that the day was an 8th of March. (142) It would be unnecessary to enlarge on the extraordinary veneration, in which this saint is held at Tarentum and elsewhere, and on the great number of miracles, which are said to have been wrought at his tomb. (143) A curious prophecy relative to the state of the kingdom of Naples about the latter end of the 15th century, and the times of Ferdinand of Arragon, the French invasion, &c. has been attributed to St. Cataldus; but it is evidently a forgery made up on the occasion of those troubles, and has nothing to do with the real history of the saint. (144)

St. Donatus, a brother of Cataldus, is reckoned among the bishops of Lupiae, or Aletium, now Lecce, (145) a noble city of the kingdom of Naples. It is said, that these holy brothers lived together as hermits for some time near a small town, now called San Cataldo. (146) Concerning St. Donatus I can find nothing further, unless we should admit the fiction of Dempster that he was author of one or two books. (147)

(126) The name is spelled in both these ways. The original name of this saint was, as Colgan observes, *Cathal*, or *Cathald*, an appellation very common in Ireland, now softened into *Cahal* or *Cahill*. According to our pronunciation of the letter *t*, the old Irish would not have written *Catald*.

(127) *Chap. i. §. 3.* Colgan, omitting the *Cataldias* or poetical Life of St. Catalaus by Bonaventure Moroni, has published (at 8

March) the prose Life in two books by his brother Bartholomew, besides a short account of him from Petrus de Natalibus, and an office of St. Cataldus from the breviary of Tarentum or Taranto. Usher treats largely of this saint, *Prim. p. 751. seqq.* The account given of him by the Bollandists is at the 10th of May, the festival of his *Invention* and *Translation*.

(128) John Juvenis says, in the preface to his History of Tarentum, that Cataldus was at Tarentum in the year 160, but elsewhere he places his arrival there in 166. According to the Life by Barth. Maroni his entry into Tarentum was about 170. Other writers assign his times to about 500. (See Usher, *p. 759*, and Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 560.*) Ughelli, in his account of St. Cataldus, (*Italia Sacra, ad Tarentini Archiep.*) merely relates the stories of Juvenis and Petr. de Natalibus. They are not worth the trouble of refutation.

(129) Dempster, with his usual effrontery, pretended that Cataldus was born in Scotland. His lies and contradictions on this subject have been well exposed by Usher (*p. 753.*) and Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 561.*) The Bollandists, while they admit that every circumstance tends to show, that Cataldus was a native of Ireland, yet, as if to display their ingenuity, throw out a conjecture that he might have been from Ragusa. And why? Because it had been said that the name of the place, in which he was born, was *Rachau*, and that he was sometimes called *Cataldus Rachau*. Then they ask; might not Rachau have been the same as *Rausium* or *Ragusium*? But those, who thought that Rachau was the birth-place of Cataldus, say that it was situated in Munster in Ireland; and as to Ragusa, the Bollandists themselves observe, that Ragusa did not exist until it was formed out of the ruins of *Epidaurus*, which had been destroyed in the 7th century. Not only the Maroni in their Lives of Cataldus, but Juvenis, Petrus a Natalibus, Philip Ferrarius, and many other writers, besides various martyrologies, and Offices of St. Cataldus, all agree in making him a native of Ireland. (See Usher and Colgan, *loc. cit.*) And it is to be observed, that in every passage relative to this point his country is called *Hibernia*, or the island *Hibernia*, the equivocal name of *Scotia* not being even once used.

(130) Barth. Maroni (Life, &c. *L. 1. c. 1.*) calls it *Mononia*, for which Colgan has justly substituted *Momonnia*. In some old

Offices of St. Cataldus it is written *Numenia*, which has been corrected in a Roman edition into *Mononia*. (See Usher, p. 754.)

(131) According to the Office *ap.* Colgan, and others referred to by Usher, (*ib.*) with which Juvenis agrees, the saint's native town was Catandum. Maroni says, (*loc. cit.*) that by some he was made a native of *Rachau*, but observes that the former is the more probable opinion, and that the latter was seemingly founded only on the saint's being surnamed *Rachau*, which, he adds, ought to be understood not as if Cataldus had been born there, but as relative to his having been bishop of *Rachau*. Colgan has some conjectures as to the situation of these places; but they are far from satisfactory. With regard to Catandum, his supposing (*AA. SS.* p. 544.) that it might have been a Baile-Cathal, or Cathel's-town, in the county of Tipperary might be admitted, were it called, as indeed it is by P. de Natalibus, *Cataldus*, so as that it had the same name as the saint. There is a place called Ballycahill in said county at the borders of the baronies of Kilnemauna and Kinelogurty. But, besides its being far distant from Lismore, the name of the saint's native spot is usually written *Catandum*. As to *Rachau*, which, Morani says, was formerly a city of some note in Munster, Colgan thought the real name was *Rathan*, observing that there were three places so called in the Nandesi country, in which Lismore is situated, and that one of them is now called *Sen-Rathan*, or Old Rathan. This must, I am sure, be the same as Shanraghan in the barony of Iffa, county of Tipperary. According to the Irish sound of *th*, *Rathan* is the same as *Raghan* or *Rahan*. It is really probable that Shanraghan or Old Rathan is the place meant by *Rachau*, particularly as it is within a short distance of Lismore, not far from which *Rachau* is represented to have been situated. If, instead of *Rachau*, we should read *Rachan*, (*u* and *n* being often interchanged in MSS.) the probability would be still greater. Although Colgan's conjecture as to *Rathan* for *Rachau* is worthy of attention, yet Burke, when republishing (*Officia propria*, &c.) the Office of St. Cataldus from the *AA. SS.* ought not to have thrust into the text *Rathan*, instead of *Rachau*, which Colgan has preserved. This is not the only alteration he has made in said Office *motu proprio*, and without any sufficient authority.

(132) Life by Barth. Moroni, *L. I. c. 4.* and Office.

(133) In the Office we read; “Adolescens (Cataldus) liberalibus disciplinis eruditus ad eam brevi doctrinae excellentiam pervenit, ut ad ipsum audiendum Galli, Angli, Scoti, Theutones, aliique finitimarum aliarum regionum quamplurimi Lesmoriam convenirent.” Bonaventure Moroni has described this conflux in the following verses;

“Undique conveniunt proceres, quos dulce trahebat
Discendi studium, maior num cognita virtus,
An laudata foret. Celeres vastissima Rheni
Jam vada Teutonici, jam deseruere Sicambri:
Mittit ab extremo gelidos Aquilone Boemos
Albis, et Arverni coeunt, Batavique frequentes,
Et quicumque colunt alta sub rupe Gebennas.
Non omnes prospectat Arar Rhodanique fluenta
Helvetios; multos desiderat ultima Thule.
Certatim hi properant diverso tramite ad urbem
Lesmoriam, juvenis primos ubi transigit annos.”

(See Usher, *p. 755.*)

(134) See *Chap. xiv. §. 14.* Not few years must have elapsed from the foundation of Lismore until Cataldus began to teach there. He had studied himself in that school and spent some years at it, before he became qualified to be a professor. In his time Lismore was well known in foreign countries, which its reputation could not have reached all of a sudden.

(135) Life, *cap. 4.* Office, &c. Colgan observes, (*AA. SS. p. 555.*) that among eight churches, that were in Lismore in his time, there was one under said title.

(136) P. de Natalibus makes him king of all Ireland. But, if there be any truth in the matter, he must have been rather a king of Munster. The same author as well as Moroni and others assign a very silly cause, not worth mentioning, for the king's displeasure.

(137) It can scarcely be doubted that Meltridis, as he is called by the Italian writers, was the same person as Moelochtride, a chieftain of Nandesi, who had granted to St. Carthagh the ground for his monastery of Lismore. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 14.*) There

is every reason to think, that Moelochtride survived St. Carthagh, who died in 637, and, it is highly probable, even his own so Bran-finn, who was killed in 666. (See Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 561.) Now supposing that he lived until about 670, we have the period, at which Cataldus was raised to the episcopacy. The name *Mel-tridis* has been mistaken by some writers as that of the Duke's territory. There was no principality so called in Ireland.

(138) In the saint's Life, &c. it is ridiculously stated that, having obtained this wonderful grant of a whole principality, he divided it into twelve bishoprics, and raised Rachau to the rank of an archiepiscopal see. Burke, perceiving the absurdity of this fable, has, in his edition of the Office, changed the bishoprics into parishes and the archiepiscopate into a simple bishopric.

(139) See *Not.* 137.

(140) This story might agree well enough with the supposition of Moroni and others, that St. Cataldus arrived at Tarentum about the year 170. But as the hypothesis is false, so are its concomitant parts. It is odd, that Burke has retained this tale, whereas he lays down, erroneously indeed, that the saint died about 492. How could he have imagined, that Tarentum, or any other city of southern Italy, was at that period almost devoid of Christians?

(141) The Goths had been driven out of Tarentum in the sixth century by the Greeks, who in their turn were expelled by the Lombards under Romoald, duke of Beneventum. (See Paulus diaconus, *De Gestis Langobard.* L. 6. c. 1.) According to Bollandus and Muratori, (*Rer. Ital. Scriptor.* Tom. 1. p. 490.) Romoald ruled the dutchy of Beneventum from 671 to 687. It was, I think, during this interval that St. Cataldus arrived at Tarentum.

(142) Some writers say it was on 8th of May; but the archives of the church of Tarentum and other authorities have the 8th of March. (See *AA. SS.* p. 559.)

(143) The second book, which is rather large, of Barth. Moroni's work is full of accounts of these miracles.

(144) Whoever wishes to know more about this pretended prophecy may consult the Life by Barth. Moroni, L. 1. and Ware and Harris, *Writers at Cataldus.* Dempster, in his usual way, took it into his head to ascribe to him also a *Book of Homilies.*

(145) See Ughelli, (*Italia Sac. ad Aletini sive Lupienses Episcopi*) who quotes J. Ant. Ferrara and Jul. Caes. Infantinus for Donatus having been bishop of that city. Following the fable of Cataldus having been at Tarentum in the second century, he accordingly assigns his brother Donatus to the same period. He speaks of Lupiae and Aletium as one and the same place; but Baudrand (*Lexic. Geogr. at Lupiae*) states that the ancient Lupiae was a maritime town some miles distant from Aletium, or Lecce, and that is now called *La Rocca*, although, as he observes, others think that it was the same as San Cataldo, likewise at some miles distant from Lecce. Be this as it may, the see, named *Lupiensis*, is now at Lecce. Barth. Moroni (*Life of St. Cataldus, L. 1. c. 11.*) makes mention of Donatus as being said to have been the first bishop of Lupiae and a brother of St. Cataldus. Juvenis also relates the same tradition; (see Usher, p. 760.) and we find it likewise in Philip Ferrarius (*Catalog. &c. at 22 October*). As to the name, *Donatus*, no object can be derived from it; for the Irish used to latinize *Donagh* into *Donatus*.

(146) Moroni, *ib.* Juvenis has swelled the time of this eremitical life up to 14 years, observing that San Cataldo lies within ten miles of Otranto. (Usher, *ib.*)

(147) See Usher, *ib.*

§. XII. While this swarm of holy and learned men were teaching and edifying foreign nations, some persons, distinguished for sanctity or ecclesiastical rank, died in Ireland. Maldozar, bishop of Ferns, the immediate successor of Tuenoc, (148) departed this life in 677, and was succeeded by Dirath, who held that see until 691. (149) In the same year died a St. Coman or Comman, whose memory was revered on the 18th of March, and who is called a bishop in various Irish calendars, but of what see is not mentioned. (150) Another Coman, surnamed *of Ferns*, and erroneously supposed by some to have been bishop there, (151) died in the following year 678. (152) To this year is assigned the death of Colman abbot of Clonmacnois, (153)

as also that of Kennfael, abbot of Bangor, whose memory was revered on the 8th of said month. (154)

The holy virgin St. Cera, *alias* Chier, died in 680. (155) She is said to have been the daughter of one Duibhre, and of an illustrious family of Muskerry in the now county of Cork. It is supposed that she was the St. Chier, who, together with five other virgins, applied to St. Fintan Munnu, when residing in Heli (Ely O'Carrol) for a situation to establish a nunnery, and to whom he is said to have assigned the place, where he had lived himself, afterwards called Tech-telle. (156) That St. Cera spent some time in this place I do not find any sufficient reason for denying; (157) but it is very doubtful whether she got it from Fintan Munnu, or whether he had ever resided there. (158) How long she remained in Heli we are not informed. Returning thence to her own country she founded a nunnery, called, from her name, *Killchree*, now Kilcrea, (159) a few miles S. W. from the city of Cork, which she governed until her death. The reputation of this saint was very great, and her festival was kept at Kilcrea not only on the 5th of January, the anniversary of her decease, but likewise on the 16th of October, as a day of commemoration. Russin, son of Lappain, a *comorban*, or successor of St. Barr of Cork, and who was in all probability a bishop, departed this life in 685. (686) (160)

St. Ossan, whose name is in the Irish calendars at 17 February, in some of which he is called a bishop, died in 686 (687). He is said to have been a descendant of king Leogaire; and his memory was revered at Rath-ossain, a place named from him near the west gate of Trim. (161) The death of St. Becan of Clonard is assigned to the 16th of April, A. D. 687 (688). (162) I do not find him stiled

bishop or abbot ; but he was probably either one or the other.

(148) See *Chap.* xvii. §. 7.

(149) Four Masters and Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 564. According to their practice of anticipating the Christian era, they assign the demise of Maldogar to 676, and that of Dirath to 690.

(150) See *Not.* 36. to *Chap.* xvii. (151) See *ib.*

(152) Usher, p. 968, and *Ind. Chron.*

(153) Archdall at *Clonmacnois.* (154) *Idem* at *Bangor.*

(155) Colgan, treating of this saint at 5 January, has, from the Irish annals, A. 679. *i. e.* 680 for her death.

(156) Archdall places Tech-Telle or Teaghtelle in the county of Westmeath, because Colgan says that, from having been in Heli, it afterwards was comprized in the western Meath. But by *western Meath* Colgan, and the older writers whom he quotes, understood not only the present Westmeath, but likewise the King's county, in which Tech-Telle ought to be placed, whereas no part of Heli ever extended as far as what is now called Westmeath. Tech-Telle, or the house of Telle, got its name from St. Telle, son of Segen, who was contemporary with Fintan Munnu, and accordingly lived in the early part of the seventh century ; and whose memory was revered on the 25th of June. (See *AA. SS.* p. 15. and 713.) Archdall has for this saint another Teach-Telle at Teltown in the county of East Meath. And why? Because Colgan, speaking of him (at p. 713 *ib.*) places Teach-Telle in Midia, or Meath in general. But he had elsewhere (p. 15.) observed, that the part of Midia, in which Teach-Telle lay, was the western ; and we have just seen that it was in the tract now called the King's county. It is plain, on comparing the passages of Colgan, that he knew of only one Teach-Telle. As to Teltown, a place not far from Kells to the East, there is no reason to think that it owes its name to any saint, and it is more than probable that it is the same, at least in part, as the ancient Tailten, celebrated for the sports held there in former times. (See *Not.* 6. to *Chap.* v.)

(157) She is stated to have been in that place before it was occupied by St. Telle. The only difficulty is that Telle flourished before the death, in 635, of Fintan Munnu. But St. Cera seems to have been young at the time she is said to have been there.

Supposing that this was about 625, her having lived until 680 contains nothing contradictory or unchronological.

(158) See *Not. 78. to Chap. xv.*

(159) Colgan, in the Acts of this saint, which he has endeavoured to patch up, pretends that she had founded the nunnery of Kilcrea, before she went to Heli. The only reason, that appears for this position, is that he thought, and indeed very strangely, that she was the St. Ciara who is mentioned, in the Life of St. Brendan of Clonfert, as a holy virgin, contemporary with him, and living in *Muscrighe Thire*. He confounded *Muscrighe Thire* with the *Muskerry* of Cork, not recollecting, as he often does elsewhere, that the former was the tract now called Lower Ormond in Tipperary, whereas the latter was known by the name of *Muscrighe Mitine*. This is not the worst part of his hypothesis; for he knew that St. Brendan was dead since 577. And yet he would fain make us believe that a person, who lived until 680, was a distinguished saint in his days. To enable us to swallow this anachronism, he says she might have reached the age of 130. Harris was so led astray by this stuff, that he assigned the foundation of Kilcrea to the sixth century. Archdall says nothing (at *Kilcrea*) about the time of this foundation; but (at *Teachtelle*) he introduces St. Cera building an abbey, as he calls it at *Teachtelle*, before the year 576. Passing by these absurdities, I shall only add that, if there was a St. Ciara or Cera in Brendan's time, she was different from the one of Kilcrea, and that she belonged to Lower Ormond. Colgan observes that, besides the St. Cera of Kilcrea, three other holy virgins of the same name are mentioned in the Irish calendars.

(160) 4 Masters, and Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 150*. Ware has not Russin among the bishops of Cork, but Harris has.

(161) See Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 366*.

(162) *Ib. p. 406*. As the date 687 is taken from the 4 Masters, it may be concluded that it was the same as 688. Yet Ware and Harris (at *Bishops of Meath*) have retained 687.

§. XIII. Segen, archbishop of Armagh, having held that see for 27 years, (163) died on the 24th May, A. 688. (164) and was succeeded by Flan Febhla, son of Scanlan, whose incumbency lasted

for the same number years. Dirath, bishop of Ferns, whose death is assigned to 691, had for successor St. Moling, (165) who is said to have been otherwise called *Dayrchell*. (166) He was a native of Hykinselagh, in Leinster, (167) and his genealogy has been traced to the royal house of that province. (168) According to some accounts he was a disciple of St. Maidoc of Ferns. If so, he must have been very young at that time, as St. Maidoc died, at the latest, in 632. Having embraced the monastic life, he founded a monastery at Aghacainid, or, as called from his name, Tegh-Moling, now St. Mullen's, near the Barrow in the county of Carlow. The precise time of this foundation is not known, but it was probably about the middle of the seventh century. (169) He governed this establishment for many years, part of which he is stated to have spent at Glendaloch, until he was raised to the see of Ferns in 691. (170) We find him under the title of *archbishop* of Ferns, inasmuch as the sort of precedency, which king Bran-dubh had procured for that see, still continued annexed to it. (171) In the year 693 he induced Finnacta, the monarch of Ireland, to exempt the province of Leinster from the tribute of oxen, with which it had been burdened from a very long period of time. (172) Some prophecies, relative to the kings and affairs of Ireland, have been attributed to St. Moling. (173). He died on the 17th of June, 697, (174) and has been considered as one of the principal saints of Leinster. (175) His successor at Ferns was, it appears, the bishop and abbot Killen, who lived until 714. (176)

(163) See *Chap. xvii. §. 7.*

(164) Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Armagh*). Colgan has from the martyrology of Donegall, *A. 687, i. e. 688.* Harris has strangely misrepresented his words (*Tr. Th. p. 294*) on this point, stating that he places Segen's death in 686, in consequence of his having followed a *faulty copy of the Psalter of Cashel.*

Now the fact is quite the reverse. Colgan found the date 686 (687) in the 4 Masters, but preferred that of 687 (688); and the reason he assigns for this preference is, that in the catalogue of the archbishops of Armagh, taken from the Psalter of Cashel, 27 years are allowed for the incumbency of Segen. Thence he concludes that, as Segen became archbishop in 660 (661), his death ought to be placed in 687 (688). So far then from complaining of a *faulty copy* Harris ought to have told his readers, that one of the chief authorities for the date 688 assigned by Ware, and, before him, in substance by Colgan, is that very Cashel catalogue, which may be seen, *ib.* p. 292.

(165) Usher (*Ind. Chron. ad A.* 670.) calls St. Moling *second* bishop or archbishop of Ferns. This is a mistake, which he would have avoided, had he not published his *primordia* before Colgan's works appeared, in which the true succession of the prelates of that see is to be found (See *AA. SS.* p. 223. and *Tr. Th.* p. 564.) It is strange that Ware, notwithstanding his having these works before his eyes, followed Usher's mistake. He seems to have misunderstood a passage of St. Moling's Life, in which we read that, being conducted to Ferns, he was appointed archbishop of the see of St. Maidoc. It adds, that it had been determined by Bran-dubh, king of Leinster, that the archiepiscopacy of that province should be annexed to Ferns (See Usher, p. 864.) Ware perhaps imagined, that Bran-dubh was still alive, when Moling was raised to the see, and might have been thus induced to place him there next after Maidoc, who died in 632. But Bran-dubh was dead since 602. (See *Chap.* xiv. §. 10.) But, as I have not the Life of St. Moling, which Ware had, I will not deny that there may be something else in it, upon which he founded his opinion. Yet I find that Colgan, who also had a copy of it, reckons several bishops of Ferns between him and Maidoc, without even hinting that in said Life he is any wise spoken of as Maidoc's next successor. According to Colgan, Maidoc was succeeded immediately by Mochua Luachra. (See *Chap.* xvii. §. 7.) Yet he observes (*AA. SS.* p. 219.) that in an Irish Life of St. Maidoc this Mochua has been confounded with St. Moling. Colgan proves that this is a palpable error. In the first place they were from different parts of Ireland. Moling was a native of Leinster, and Mochua of Munster. 2. Mochua died in 652

(653), and Moling in 697. Next we find their names marked at different days in the calendars; that of Moling being at 17 June, whereas Mochua's is at the 22d of said month. That Mochua was the immediate successor of St. Maidoc is evident from what is related in this saint's Life, *cap.* 37. It is there stated, that St. Maidoc, being about to cross a certain ford, said to his charioteer that the person, who would open for them the entrance to it, would sit in his see after himself. A number of students, among whom was Mochu, as he was afterwards called, were at that time amusing themselves near the ford, when on the saint's coming up Mochua ran and opened the passage to it. He then with great humility said to St. Maidoc; "O holy man of God, I wish to go along with you and to live under your discipline." The saint asking him whence he was, and what was his name, he answered; "I am from Munster, and of the people who inhabit Luachra, and my name is *Cronan*. The saint then said; "Henceforth you shall be called Mochua Luachra, (my Chua or Cronan, the names being the same) come then and follow me." Accordingly Mochua went off with St. Maidoc, and remained with him as long as the saint lived. His progress in piety and learning was so great, that St. Maidoc appointed him as his successor to the see of Ferns. We have already seen, (*Not.* 84. to *Chap.* vi. and *Not.* 6. to *Chap.* xi.) that Luachra was a territory comprized in the now county of Limerick, and probably stretching into Kerry. Mochua is sometimes called *Dachua*; but as Colgan observes, there is no difference between these names.

(166) Ware, *Bishops at Ferns*, and *Writers*, L. 1. c. 13. at 15.

(167) Ware, *ib.*

(168) See *AA. SS.* p. 219. Colgan observes that the mother of St. Moling was from Luachra; and this he assigns as the reason for his being sometimes named *Moling Luachra*.

(169) Harris was grossly mistaken (*Monasteries*) in assigning this foundation to the sixth century. How could he have imagined that St. Moling, whom he admits to have lived until 697, had been an abbot before 600!

(170) In consequence of following the erroneous hypothesis of St. Moling having been the second bishop of Ferns, Ware assigns his accession to A. D. 632. If this were true, his incumbency

would have been an extraordinary long one, whereas, according to Ware himself, he did not die until 697. But how account for that see having been held in the interval by Mochua Luachra, Tuenoc, &c.? To shove off this difficulty, Ware tells us that St. Moling had resigned the see *long* before his death. Where he found this information I cannot discover, nor could he, I believe, have adduced any good authority for it. He thought, however, that such must have been the case, as otherwise it would be impossible to reconcile the accession of St. Moling in 632 and his death in 697 with the fact of there having been four other bishops of Ferns in the mean time.

(171) See *Not* 135. to *Chap.* xiv.

(172) See O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, *Part* 3. *cap.* 56.

(173) Ware and Harris, *Writers*.

(174) The 4 Masters (*ap.* Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 223) have *A.* 696. *i. e.* 697.

(175) *Ib.* p. 610.

(176) See *ib.* p. 223.

§. xiv. In these times several zealous and learned English ecclesiastics, who had studied in Ireland and there practised the monastic life, undertook missions to the continent, which were set on foot chiefly by St. Ecgberet, or Egbert. (177) This holy man intended to reach Friesland, by sailing round Great Britain, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel in that country; but, in consequence of a violent storm, which, before he embarked, drove the ship on shore, and conceiving that he was ordered by the Almighty to proceed to the monasteries of Columbkil's institution, he desisted from his enterprize, and remained in Ireland. In his stead Vickberet, who was to be a companion of his, and who also had spent many years in Ireland, undertook it in 690, and preached for two years in Friesland, but with so little advantage that he returned to his retreat in Ireland. (178) St. Egbert, still not despairing of success, appointed to that mission Willibrord or Vilbrord, a very holy priest, who was then in Ireland, where he had been for twelve years, (179) and gave him eleven com-

panions, (180) the most celebrated of whom was Suidberet. Having sailed from Ireland in the year 692, (181) they preached with great success in Friesland, being protected by Pepin Heristall, who had conquered part of that country from its duke Rathbod. (182) About the same time, two English priests, both of whom happened to be called *Herwald*, and who had lived many years in Ireland, went thence on a mission to the country of the old Saxons in the North of Germany; but, soon after their arrival there, they were put to death. (183)

Adamnan, abbot of Hy, who had come to Ireland in 692 (184) on a visitation of the monasteries subject to his jurisdiction, returned to it in 697. (185) It must have been on this occasion that the synod, called that of Flan Febhla, archbishop of Armagh, and Adamnan, was held. (186) There are extant certain decrees, usually termed the *Canons of Adamnan*, and which are chiefly relative to some meats improper for food, together with a prohibition of eating such of them as contain blood. It is said that they were passed in this synod; (187) but it can scarcely be supposed, that its labours were confined to matters of such little consequence as these Canons are relative to.

(177) See above *Not.* 51.

(178) Bede, *L. 5. c. 9.* and Fleury, *L. 40. §. 47.*

(179) See Alcuin's *Life of St. Willibrord*, and Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 433.*

(180) Bede, *L. 5. c. 10.* This number of twelve missionaries was fixed upon in imitation of several Irish saints, who, when proceeding on missions, took along with them twelve assistants, following the example of our Saviour, who appointed twelve apostles. Thus Columbkil was accompanied to Hy by twelve persons, and Columbanus took with him the same number to France. Several other instances of this practice are mentioned by Colgan. *AA. SS. p. 436.* In like manner Egbert, the framer and director of the Frisian mission, sent his twelve co-operators to that country.

(181) See Smith's *Notes* to Bede, *L. 5. c. 9-10*. Usher assigns (*Ind. Chron.*) this expedition to 693, and Fleury (*L. 40. §. 47.*) to 690; but Smith's dates are more correct.

(182) Bede, *L. 5. c. 10*. It does not belong to me to inquire into the situation or present denominations of the country called by Bede *Fresia*, as these points do not form any part of Irish history. On them the curious reader may consult Smith, *Notes, ib.* For the same reason I shall not enter on the further proceedings of St. Willibrord and his companions.

(183) Bede, *ib.* Mr. Lingard says, (*Angl. Sax. Church, ch. 13.*) that the two Hewalds were brothers. Had they been so, Bede would not have omitted to mark it. Nor had Mr. Lingard a right to make them disciples of Egbert. We read indeed in Bede's martyrology, (at 3 October) that they came with St. Willibrord to Germany. But this cannot mean, that they belonged to the party of the eleven assistants given to him by Egbert; for Bede (*Histor. &c. ib.*) expressly distinguishes them from that party. And Mr. Lingard himself represents them as distinct from it, and as not having left Ireland until after it had arrived in Friesland. Its being stated in the martyrology, that they came to Germany with Willibrord, if however there be not some mistake in the text, must be understood as to their having come about, or soon after, the time of his arrival there. That they were not disciples of Egbert, is evident from the manner in which Bede speaks of them in his history, *ib.* Having made mention of Egbert but a few lines before, and relatéd how he sent Willibrord and his companions to Friesland, he then states that certain two priests, *duo quidam presbyteri*, named *Hewald*, following their example, &c. Would he have written in this manner, had they been disciples of Egbert? On the contrary, he speaks of them as persons apparently unknown to him. Mr. Lingard, not content with this unfounded supposition, tells us that they set out on their mission *with the permission and benediction of their teacher* (Egbert.) Now of this *permission*, &c. Bede has not a word, as he certainly would have had, were the matter true. This gentleman would fain make his readers believe, that all the English clergymen, monks, and students, then in Ireland, were under the care of Egbert and instructed by him. If such were the case, he should indeed have had a monstrous great establishment. But the fact is, that there is no reason to sup-

pose, that Egbert governed any monastery or religious house in Ireland. Bede, who is the best authority on this subject, as having been his contemporary, (for he survived him only about six years) although he makes mention of him very often, never calls him an abbot or head of an institution. He represents him as a holy priest zealous in teaching and giving good advice, (see *L. 3. c. 27.* and *L. 5. c. 22.*) but does not say a word about his having been a superior of any establishment. He calls Vickberet a companion of his, (*L. 5. c. 9.*) that is, not a constant one, whereas Vickberet led the life of a hermit, (see *ib.*) but as one of those, whom he had induced to join him in his intended mission to Friesland. Alcuin says, (*Life of St. Willibrord*) that not only Vickberet but likewise Egbert spent his time in solitude, attending to contemplation and the service of God; “*dulcissimos supernae contemplationis fructus seculo nudus, Deo plenus, solitaria quiete hauriebat conversatione.*” He adds, that Willibrord, who went to Ireland in the 20th year of his age, because he heard that scholastic erudition flourished there, “*quia in Hibernia scholasticam eruditionem viguisse audivit*, attached himself to Egbert and Vickberet, by whose conversation he was greatly improved in piety and virtue. But as to the learning, which he acquired during twelve years study, Alcuin attributes it to the instruction not of these his two friends, as Cressy states (*Church hist. &c. B. 20. ch. 6.*) mistranslating his words, but of others, whom he calls *excellent masters both of holy religion and sacred reading*, and that these were Irish teachers he expressly states in the second book of said *Life*, *ex. c.* just after the beginning;

“*Quem tibi jam genuit foecunda Britannia mater
Doctaque nutritiv studiis sed Hibernia sacris,
Nomine Willbrordus.*”

And again in *ch. 33.*

“*Ut dudum cecini, foecunda Britannia mater,
Patria Scottorum clara magistra fuit.*”

Egbert's sending Willibrord and others on the Friesland mission proves nothing more than that his influence was great, particularly over his countrymen; and as to Willibrord he had an especial

claim on him, as he was one of his chief directors in the practice of piety. Bede says, (*L. 3. c. 27.*) that Egbert was very serviceable both to the English and Irish, &c. among whom he lived, (for he never returned to Britain) by the example of his life, his assiduity in giving instruction (*instantia docendi*), his freedom in reproving, and his charity in giving alms out of what he used to receive from the rich. The *instantia docendi* is relative merely to his zeal in preaching, catechizing, &c. and cannot be understood of his having been abbot or superior of any particular establishment; for Bede represents him as then mixing with the various nations, among whom he reckons even the Picts, not those of Britain, but such of them as Egbert met with elsewhere, for instance in the Western Isles, in which he spent a great part of his later days. For it is to be observed that, after he gave up his intention of proceeding to the continent, he withdrew from his retreat, and moved from place to place, instructing the people and visiting chiefly the Columbian monasteries. (See Bede, *L. 5. c. 9.*) On the whole there is not the least foundation for supposing, that Egbert governed a great school resorted to by English students. The monks, students, &c. from England were, exclusively of the establishment formed for them at Mayo, (above §. 2.) dispersed throughout various monasteries and schools in different parts of Ireland. (See §. 1.) Their numbers were so great, that they excited the jealousy of Aldhelm, and induced him to write his angry, macaronic and ridiculous letter (*No. 13. in Ep. Hib. Syll.*) to Eahfrid, or Eadfrid, who had been one of them, and who afterwards became bishop of Lindisfarne. Among other complaints he says, that whole fleet-loads of English students used to sail to Ireland. "*Hibernia, quo catervatim isthinc lactores classibus advecti confluent.*"

(184) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* (185) Usher, *ib.*

(186) Colgan says (*AA. SS. p. 473*) that he had the Acts of this synod, and that it was attended by forty *antistites*, that is, bishops or abbots, as he explains himself in *Tr. Th. p. 218*. In the former place he assigns it to *A. D. 695 (696)*; but in the latter he states that it was held *about* said year. I wish he had published these Acts.

(187) Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 382.*) mentions the Canons of Adamnan as part of the Acts of said synod. They are eight in

number, and may be seen in Martene's *Theasaur. Nov. Anecd.* (Tom. 4. col. 18). They are of very trifling import, except inasmuch as they show, that the practice of abstaining from blood, according to the Apostolic precept, (*Acts xv. 29.*) continued to be observed in Ireland as late as the times of Adannan. The second canon runs thus; *Pecora de rupe cadentia, si sanguis eorum effusus sit, recipienda. Sin vero, sed fracta sunt ossa eorum, et sanguis foras non fluxit, refutanda sunt.* Others of them contain rules with regard to using or not using the flesh of animals, that had eaten *morticinum, i. e.* the carrion of animals that died of themselves. In the eighth the owner of a horse or beast grazing in land annexed to a town, which may have wounded or hurt a person belonging to said town, is ordered to pay a fine to the injured person.

§. xv. Among the fathers, who composed said synod, I find the name of St. Aidus or Aedh, bishop of Sletty, who died in 699, (188) and whose name is in the Irish calendars at the 7th of February. (189) This was the Aidus, to whom a writer, called *Mac-cuthenus*, addressed his *Life of St. Patrick*, of which only some fragments remain. (190) Colga, abbot of Lusk was also one of them. (191) Concerning him nothing further is recorded, except that he was the son of one Moenach. (192) Another of the members of that synod was St. Killen abbot of Saigir, who is called son of Lubne, and whose memory was revered on the 12th of April. (193) It was attended also by St. Mosacra, the founder and abbot of the monastery of Tegh-Sacra, (*the house of Sacra*, this being his original name) which is stated to have been not far distant from Tallagh or Tallaght in the county of Dublin. It was afterwards called *Tassagard*, now contracted into *Saggard*. St. Sacra or Mo-sacra is said to have been of an illustrious family, and the son of one Senan. He governed for some time also the monastery of Finn-magh in Fotharta, apparently somewhere near Wexford. (194) It is said, that he had been likewise

abbot of Clonenagh; (195) but I suspect, that he has been confounded with another person of the same name. (196) The year of his death is not known; but he must have lived until after the holding of the synod in 679. The day marked for it is the third of March. A Mochonna, who subscribed the acts of said synod under the title of *Antistes Dorensis*, is supposed to have been abbot of Derry. (197) He must not be confounded with St. Mochonna, called of *Dore-Bruchaise*, who died in 688 (689). Mochonna of Derry was a very holy man, and lived until 704 (705). His name is marked in the calendars at 8 March as the anniversary of his death. (198)

(188) *Tr. Th. p. 218.* The 4 Masters have A. 698, *i. e.* 699.

(189) *AA. SS. p. 221.*

(190) Usher, *p. 818.* Concerning this Maccuthenus Colgan has (*Tr. Th. p. 218.*) three conjectures. 1. That he might have been the same as Mocomthemne, one of the twelve persons who accompanied Columbkil to Hy in the year 563. But this cannot, as he acknowledges, be reconciled with the circumstance of Maccuthenus having been contemporary with Aidus of Sletty. 2. That he was Cucumneus, surnamed the *Wise*, who, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, died in 746, or, as the 4 Masters state, in 724; and who wrote a hymn in honour of the blessed Virgin. By prefixing the particle *Mo* to his name he would have been called *Mocucumneus*. Although this name is very unlike *Maccuthenus*, and there is some difficulty as to the times, yet Colgan prefers this conjecture to the others, and it is the only one of them, that Harris relates (*Writers at Maccuthenus.*) Now the third conjecture is far better than it, and I think, the true one. It is, that *Maccuthenus* is only another name for Adamnan, who, it is well known, wrote a *Life of St. Patrick*. (See *Chap. III. §. 5*) He was the grandson of one Tenne and accordingly was sometimes called *Hua-Tenne* or *Mac-ua-Tenne*, a descendant of Tenne. In the passages of the Tripartite history of St. Patrick, where the older writers of the saint's Acts are mentioned, he is surnamed *Hua-Tenne*. The name *Maccuthenus* is plainly *Mac-ua-Tenne*

latinized. As there is no account or tradition in Irish history of any Maccuthen, biographer of St. Patrick, different from Adamnan, it appears to me quite clear that the only difference on this point consists in the surname having been sometimes used instead of the proper name, as was frequently the case among the ancient Irish. I need not remind the reader, that Adamnan and Aidus were contemporaries and acquainted with each other.

(191) Colgan, *Ind. Chron. A.* 695. *ad AA. SS.*

(192) See *AA. SS. p.* 382. (193) *Ib. p.* 473.

(194) Concerning Fotharta see *Not.* 138 to *Chap.* 1.

(195) Archdall (at *Clonenagh*) quotes Colgan as if assigning the death of the abbot Mosacra of that place to *A.* 650. Colgan says no such thing, nor indeed could he, as he knew that Mosacra was present at the grand synod more than 40 years after that date.

(196) Among the documents referred to by Colgan (*AA. SS.* at 3 *Mart. p.* 454.) where he treats of St. Mosacra, are the Calendar of Cashel and the Martyrology of Donegal, in both of which he is called abbot of Clonenagh, and is stated to have lived in the time of Neill Glandubh king of Ireland. Now this king did not begin to reign until the 10th century. It is therefore probable, that the Mosacra of Clonenagh was different from the one of Tegh-sacra.

(197) Colgan, having observed (*AA. SS. p.* 566.) that there were many places in Ireland, whose names began with *Dore* or *Doire*, from the oak forests in which they were situated, thinks that Doire, where this Mochonna was abbot, was Derry, inasmuch as it was the most celebrated of them all, and accordingly it was not necessary to join to the signature *Dorensis* its additional name *Chalguigh*. Had Mochonna belonged to any other Doire, its distinguishing name would have been added. Accordingly he reckons him (*Tr. Th. p.* 503.) among the abbots of Derry.

(198) *AA. SS. p.* 566. Yet Colgan elsewhere (*Tr. Th. p.* 503. and 506.) says that his memory was revered on the 3d of May.

CHAPTER XIX.

Longsech—Congall Kennmagar—Fergal, son of Malduin—Fogartach Hua Cernach—Kineth and Flahertach successively monarchs of Ireland—SS. Herlog or Hierologus, and Colman bishops of Lismore—Theodoric or Turlough king of Thomond, retires from the world and receives the monastic habit from St. Colman—Foundation of the see of Killaloe—St. Flannan its first bishop—Monastery of Killaloe founded by St. Molua Løbhar—St. Aidan brother of St. Flannan—Adamnan, abbot of Hy, again sent on an embassy to Alfrid king of Northumberland—adopts the Roman mode of observing the Paschal festival—persuades several of the Northern Irish to do so—Death of Adamnan—succeeded as abbot of Hy by Conan Mac Failbhe—St. Maoldobhorchon bishop of Kildare—Lochan Meann, surnamed the wise—Great conflagration at Kildare—Conamail Mac Cartiaig bishop of Emly dies, and is succeeded by Cellach—Death of St. Caide or Caidin bishop at Hy—Succession of several abbots of Hy—The priest Egbert sent from Ireland to Hy, prevailed on the monks of that establishment to receive the Roman Paschal Cycle—Death of Dunchad abbot of Hy—Folchua mac Dorbene abbot of Hy—People of Hy expelled by Nectan or Naitan king of the Picts—St. Cale-Christus—St. Cronan bishop of Lismore—Colman ó Liathan—St. Adamnan bishop of Rathmuighe—Monastery of Mayo possessed by the English—St. Segrelia Virgin—St. Samthanna and other holy virgins—Death of Suibhne archbishop of Armagh—St. Foeldooar bishop of Clogher—Reign of Aodh Ollain and other Irish monarchs—Deaths of SS. Manchin of Tuaim-greine, Cormac bishop of Trim, &c.—Feargal or Virgilius bishop of

Salzburg—St. Alto a companion of Virgilius—Deaths of Moelimarchan and other holy bishops and abbots, from A. D. 747 to A. 787.—St. Hemelin, St. Mono, St. Rumold and other Irish Saints who flourished in the Continent—Deaths of Ferfugill bishop of Clondalkin and others.

SECT. I.

FINNACTA, monarch of Ireland, who fell in battle A. D. 695, (1) was succeeded by Longsech, a grandson of Domnald the second (2) by his son Aengus. Having reigned nine years (3) he was killed, together with three sons of his, fighting against Kellach, son of Ragall, king of Connaught. Congall Kennmagar, who was also a grandson of Domnald II. by his son Fergus, and consequently a first cousin of Longsech, was then raised to the throne in 704, and held it for seven years, when he died suddenly in 711. (4) Congall's successor was Fergal, son of Malduin, and great grandson of Aidus Huaridni or Huanriodnach. (5) He reigned eleven years, and was killed at the battle of Cath-Almain by Murchad, son of Bran, king of Leinster, on the 11th of December, A. D. 722. (6) Next after Fergal was Fogartach Hua-Cernach, son of Niell, and great grandson of Diérmít II. (7) Fogartach reigned only one year and some months, having lost his life in 724, fighting against Kineth, who succeeded him as monarch of Ireland. Kineth was a son of Irgalach, and grandson of Conang, a nephew of Diérmít II. After a reign of three years he was killed in the battle of Drum-chorcain, A. 727, (8) by Flahertach, son of king Longsech, who, having ruled retired seven years, (9) for in 734 to a monastery in Armagh.

St. Hierlog, whose name has been hellenized into *Hierologus*, was bishop and abbot of Lismore in the latter end of the seventh century. I find no-

thing further concerning him, except that he died on the 16th of January in 699. (10) He was succeeded, both as abbot and bishop, by St. Colman, a native of Ibh-Liathain, (11) and son of Finbar who belonged to the illustrious house of Hua Beogna, dynasts of that country. Colman has been called also *Mocholmoc*, that is, *my Colman*. (12) He had embraced the monastic life at Lismore, where he distinguished himself by his piety and learning. His incumbency lasted only about four years, as he departed this life on the 22d of January, A. D. 703. (13) St. Colman is said to have been already bishop of Lismore, when he was visited by the Dalcassian prince Theodoric, or Turlough, king of Thomond. He was the son of Cathal, and grandson of Aodh or Aidus Coemh, (14) who had been king of all Munster and brother to St. Molua-lobhar. (15) Theodoric had ruled his kingdom for some time, and was the father of several children, among whom was St. Flannan of Killaloe, when he determined on retiring into a monastery. Accordingly he repaired secretly to Lismore, and received the monastic habit from St. Colman. As this saint was then a bishop, (16) Theodoric must have been far advanced in years as that time; for his father Cathal is said to have died in 625. (17) Notwithstanding his age, which, according to this date could not be less than 75 years, it is related, that he employed himself at Lismore in breaking rocks and making a convenient road up to the monastery. It is added, that, with the permission of Colman, he afterwards returned to his kingdom for the purpose of repairing the ravages it had undergone. (18) It is probable, that this pious prince died not long after his return to Thomond, and he is said to have been buried in the church of Killaloe. (19)

(1) See *Chap.* xviii. §. 3.(2) See *Chap.* xiv. §. 1.

(3) O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. Part. 3. c. 93.* Ware, (*Antiquities cap. 4.*) says, 8 years.

(4) This is the year marked by O'Flaherty, *ib.* Ware has *A. 710.* But they agree as to the seven years of Congall's reign, Ware having placed its commencement in 703.

(5) See *Chap. xiv. §. 1.*

(6) Ware, *ib.* This date comes to the same point with the computation of O'Flaherty, who allows eleven years from the reign of Congall, reckoning from 711, while, according to that of Ware, it lasted twelve.

(7) See *Chap. xiv. §. 1.*

(8) O'Flaherty, *ib.* Ware has, in 728, thus allowing four years for the reign of Kineth.

(9) Ware says, *six* years. His computation and O'Flaherty's agree as to the termination of Flahertach's reign in 734, whereas he assigns the beginning of it to 728, which O'Flaherty places in 727.

(10) 4 Masters, and Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 155.* Their date 698, *i. e. 699.*

(11) Ibh-Liathain, or the territory of the O'Lehans was, as already observed more than once, in the now county of Cork. Colgan, treating of this St. Colman at 22 January, marks its situation in a very clear manner by stating, that it lay between Cork and Youghall.

(12) Colgan remarks that *Colman* and *Colmoc* are the same name, being both diminutives of *Colum* (or *Colm*) contracted for *Columba*. In like manner another St. Colman, who was contemporary with the one of Lismore, and whom Colgan calls Colman of Lann, got also the name of *Mocholmoc*. As the history of Colman of Lann is exceedingly obscure, I shall avail myself of this opportunity merely to mention what Colgan has endeavoured to pick up concerning him at 30 March. 1. He was a native of a part of Ulster, called *Hi-Guala* or *Gaill-fine*, perhaps the Galen hills in the county of Tyrone. 2. He governed three monasteries or churches, *viz.* Cambos, now Camus, a monastery in the diocese of Derry, which had been founded by St. Comgall of Bangor (see *Not. 201. to Chap. x.*); a church, either in the diocese of Down or in that of Dromore, at a place called *Lann-Mocholmoc*; and another, apparently in the diocese of Dromore,

at a place called *Linn-Huachaille*. 3. He died on the 30th of March, A. D. 699, *i. e.*, 700. Colgan adds, that he was maternal brother of another St. Colman, son of Luachain, and known by the name of *Colman of Lann-mac-Luachain* in Meath, whose name is in the calendars at 17 June.

(13) The 4 Masters and Colgan have A. 702, the same as our 703.

(14) *Ogygia*, Part. 3. c. 83. p. 389.

(15) See *Not.* 98. to *Chap* XII.

(16) It is expressly stated in the Life of St. Flannan, quoted by Colgan, (*AA. SS.* p. 154.) that Colman was bishop of Lismore when called upon by Theodoric.

(17) The 4 Masters, referred to by Colgan (*ib.* p. 149) assign the death of king Cathal to A. 624 (625.)

(18) See Colgan (*ib.* p. 154.) from the Life of St. Flannan.

(19) Ware, *Antiq.* cap. 29 at *Killaloe*; and Harris, *Bishops*, at said place.

§. II. To these times, that is, to the latter part of the seventh, or the beginning of the eighth century, ought, I think, to be assigned the foundation of the see of Killaloe. Its first bishop was St. Flannan, who, according to every account, was a son of the above mentioned king Theodoric. (20) He could not have been a disciple of St. Molua, (21) who was undoubtedly dead before Flannan was born. But it is very probable that he studied in the monastery of Killaloe, which seems to have been founded by the St. Molua surnamed *Lobhar*, or the leper, who was his great grand uncle. Hence he might have been called a scholar of St. Molua, in consequence of having been a student of the house, which was known by the name of that saint. At what precise time he became bishop of Killaloe is not known; but it must have been many years later than the period which some writers have assigned for it. (22) It is said that Theodoric, the father of St. Flannan, endowed this see with ample revenues;

(23) but whether it was founded before that prince retired to Lismore, or after his return to his kingdom, I am not able to determine. Nor can I find how long it was held by St. Flannan, nor in what year this saint died. (24) His festival is kept on the 18th of December. A St. Aidan, whose history is still less known, is said to have been a brother of his.

(20) Colgan had a Life of St. Flannan, which he intended to publish at 18 December, as had also Ware, who quotes the beginning of it in his first book of *Writers*, cap. 13. al. 15. They were different works, as appears from the disagreement between the words adduced by Ware and those, with which the Life extant at Louvain in Harris's time began, and which was undoubtedly the one referred to by Colgan. These words are; "*Flannus itaque ejusdem Theodorici regis filius.*" (See Harris's addition to Ware, *loc. cit*) They are quite different from those given by Ware. Yet he calls Flannan son of king Theodoric, following, we may be sure, the authority of the Life, which he had.

(21) Ware says (*Antiq. cap. 29.* and *Bishops at Killaloe*) that Flannan was a disciple of the abbot St. Molua, who lived about the end of the sixth century, for some time at Killaloe, which from him got its name. He speaks of St. Molua in general, so that a person may think that he meant the celebrated Molua of Clonfert-molua. But as far as I am able to judge, the Molua of Killaloe was, although contemporary with him, a different person, and the same as Molua Lobhar. (See *Chap. XII. §. 7.*) Flannan could not have been a disciple of either of them; not of Molua Lobhar, who, as above seen, was a grand uncle of his father Theodoric and, in all probability, did not survive the sixth century; nor of the other Molua, who died soon after the commencement of the seventh. (See *ib.*) Nor was he born before this century was pretty far advanced; for, as his father was, when at Lismore, during the episcopacy of St. Colman, and consequently about A. D. 700, still able to work at making roads, &c. he cannot be supposed to have been at that time more than eighty years of age. Accordingly Flannan's birth must, at the earliest, be assigned to between 640 and 650.

(22) According to Ware (*Bishops at Killaloe*) Flannan was consecrated at Rome by Pope John IV. in 639. Harris and others have followed him without any examination. Whether Flannan was ever at Rome I shall not stop to inquire, although I must observe, that Colgan in a long list (*AA. SS. p. 900.*) of Irish saints, who travelled to Rome, has not Flannan among them, as he certainly would, had he found such a circumstance related in the Life, which he had in his hands. Ware must have taken it from the other Life; (see *Not. 20.*) but it is to be recollected, that some of our hagiologists have sent to Rome several Irish saints, who never were in that city. As to John IV. and *A. 639*, I cannot but suspect, that in Ware's document no particular year was mentioned, and that the Pope was named *John* in general without the addition of any number. Ware might have thought that he was the fourth of that name, in consequence of his supposition that St. Flannan was a disciple of St. Molua, and consequently flourished in the early part of the seventh century. As John the fourth was the earliest Pope John of said century, he was the fittest for Ware to fix upon. He then laid down the year 639, thinking that John was then Pope. In this, by the bye, he was mistaken; whereas John was not consecrated until very late in 640. (See *Not. 88. to Chap. xv.*) Had Ware not been wrong as to the period in which Flannan flourished, he would have looked to Pope John V. in 686. or to John VI. in 701. Whether Flannan was consecrated, or not, by a Pope called John, it is certain that he could not have been a bishop either in or about 639, a time, at which it is more than probable he was not as yet in the world. (See *Not. prec.*)

(23) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 29* and Harris, *Bishops at Killaloe*.

(24) On these points Ware and Harris are silent. Colgan has scarcely a word about St. Flannan, except at *AA. SS. p. 154.* where he calls him bishop of Killaloe.

§. III. Adamnan, having returned to Hy after the synod held in 697, was again sent by his Irish countrymen as legate or ambassador to his old friend Alfrid, king of Northumberland, some time, it seems, in the year 701, or 702. (25) On this occasion he was urged by some persons to receive the

Roman Paschal computation, &c. (26) Examining the subjects in question, and observing the Roman practices, he became persuaded that the Roman cycle was preferable to the old Irish one, and had no objection to whatever other observances were followed in England. (27) While on this embassy, Adamnan presented to Alfrid his work on *the places of the Holy land*, &c. (28) On his return to Hy he endeavoured to introduce there, and in other places subject to its jurisdiction, the Roman computation, but was not able to bring the monks over to it. He sailed to Ireland apparently in the latter part of 703, and exerted himself to induce the Northern Irish to adopt that computation, and was so far successful as to persuade almost all of them to do so, with the exception of those, who were immediately under the controul of the monastery of Hy. (29) Adamnan remained in Ireland until after the Easter of 704, which he celebrated at the time prescribed by the Roman cycle. Then returning to Hy he lived only for a short time after, as he died on the 23d of September in the course of said year, (30) and in the 77th of his age. (31) Adamnan has been justly considered as one of the fathers of the Irish church, (32) and his memory was held in great veneration, particularly at Raphoe. (33) Besides the *Life of St. Columba*, the *Treatise on the Holy land*, and the *Life of St. Patrick* under the name of Maccuthenus, this great and good man is said to have drawn up a Monastic rule. (34) Some other tracts have been attributed to him, concerning which I am not able to form any opinion. (35) Adamnan was succeeded, as abbot of Hy, by Conain Mac-Failbe, who governed the order for six years. (36)

(25) Bede, who mentions this embassy, (*L. 5. c. 15.*) does not mark the year; but Smith, following Matthew of Westminster, assigns it to 701. Perhaps it was rather in 702, about two years before Adamnan's death.

(26) The abbot Ceolfrid in his letter to the Pictish king Naiton (*ap. Bede L. 5. c. 21.*) relates a conversation, which he had at that time with Adamnan concerning the tonsure, and praises him as a man of admirable prudence, humilty, and religion.

(27) Bede, (*L. 5. c. 15.*) who observes, that Adamnan was a good and wise man, and most deeply versed in biblical knowledge, *scientia Scripturarum nobilissime instructus.*

(28) Bede (*ib.*) calls it *De Locis sanctis*, and (*cap. 16-17.*) has some extracts from it. Besides an old edition of this tract, (see Ware and Harris, *Writers at Adamnan*) there is a later one in *Act. Benedict. (Sec. 3. Part. 2.)* Adamnan composed it on information, which he received from Arculf a French bishop, who had been in Palestine and other parts of the East; and who, returning by sea, was driven by a storm to the western coast of Britain. Having visited Adamnan he was very kindly received by him, and on relating his adventures and every thing remarkable, that he had observed in those countries, was listened to with great pleasure by Adamnan, who put to paper in a regular form the substance of his narrative.

(29) Bede, *ib.* Dr. Ledwich is very angry with Adamnan for having recommended the adoption of the Roman cycle. At *p. 66*, amidst a heap of falshoods, he says that Adamnan apostatized, and (at *p. 412.*) blames him for having brought over most of the *Southern monks to Rome*, whom he represents as ignorant and bigotted. What mountains does this pseudo-antiquary raise out of trifles! Am I to tire the reader with over and over reminding him, that there was no question of religion properly understood, that is, of faith or morals, between the Anglo-Romans and the Irish, and that, notwithstanding their not celebrating Easter at the same time, or using the same tonsure, they maintained ecclesiastical communion together? Adamnan was as much in communion with Ceolfrid and the other advocates of the Roman practices before he received their Paschal cycle as he was after he agreed to it. Why then talk of apostatizing or changing religion, as this ignorant Doctor is constantly plaguing us with? Adamnan's adopting the Roman cycle, which our Doctor must allow to be far more correct than the Irish one, no more implied a change of religion than the conduct of the church of England

in having, after too long a delay, received the Gregorian style. Will the Doctor say, that the English Protestant church by so doing *went over to Rome*? If in proceedings of this sort there be any *going over*, according to his phraseology, from one religion to another, this church was guilty of a much greater apostacy than Adamnan had been. For it *went over to Rome* not only as to the festival of Easter, but likewise with regard to those of the whole year round, Christmas day and its concomitant festivals, Lady days, the feasts of Apostles, Martyrs, &c. I am really weary of this nonsense, which Usher, Prideaux, Smith, and others, who have written on the Paschal question, would have been ashamed to mention as indicative of a difference of religion, while on the contrary they show that the Irish cycle had been derived from Rome, (see *Chap. xv*) and which no learned Protestant of this day would disgrace himself by laying any stress on. The Doctor, while enforcing these fooleries, was not content with bungling in theology; but he must bungle also in history. He says that the monks, brought over by Adamnan, were those of the South of Ireland. Now he ought to have known, that not only the monks but all the clergy and people of the South had received the Roman computation of Easter full seventy years before Adamnan prevailed on the greatest part of the Northerners to agree with them. (See *Chap. xv. §. 6.*)

(30) The Annals of Ulster, Innisfallen, and of the 4 Masters agree in assigning the death of Adamnan to A. D. 703, that is, 704. Smith was therefore wrong (at Bede, *L. v. c. 15.*) in marking it at 702. He reckoned only one year from that in which he supposed that he was on his last embassy to Alfrid; (see above *Not. 25*) but it is plain from Bede's account of his subsequent proceedings, that a longer time must have elapsed between said embassy and Adamnan's death. Instead of the month of September, which the 4 Masters and Colgan have, (*Tr. Th. p. 499.*) Usher at A. 704. (*Ind. Chron.*) has October. This is probably a typographical mistake; for not only in the Irish calendars, but likewise in the Benedictine, the festival of St. Adamnan is marked at the 23d of September.

(31) 4 Masters and Colgan *loc. cit.* Keating says (*History, &c. B. 2. p. 45. ed A. 1723.*) that Adamnan died aged 77 years. It is very probable, that this is a mis-translation instead of 77th

year. According to these statements, Adamnan' must have been born not in 624, (see *Not. 58. to Chap. xviii.*) but in 627 or 628.

(32) See Alcuin's lines, *Not. 56. to Chap. ii.*

(33) See *Not. 59. to Chap. xviii.* (34) *Tr. Th. p. 471.*

(35) See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Adamnan*, and O'Flaherty, *Ogygia Vindicated*, *ch. 10.*

(36) Usher, *p. 702.* and *Ind. Chron. ad A. 704.* Colgan, (*Tr. Th. p. 499.*) calls Conain *Conamal*, and tells us, that his memory was revered on the 11th of September.

§. iv. St Maoldobhorchon, bishop of Kildare, died in 705, on the 19th of February. (37) Nothing further is known, as far as I can discover, concerning this prelate, nor of his predecessors since the time of Aedh Dubh or *black*, about A. D. 638, unless it may be supposed that some persons, who are called only abbots of Kildare, were also bishops, such as Lochen Meann, surnamed the *Wise*, who died in 695, and Forannan, whose death is assigned to 698. (38) The clergy of Kildare is said, but on doubtful authority, to have been violently persecuted by the king Congall Kennmagar, for what cause I do not find mentioned. (39) This is most probably a misstatement founded on the circumstance of a great conflagration, that laid waste Kildare in 709 during that king's reign, and in which we may suppose that many clergymen lost their lives. (40)

In these times Conamail Mac-Cartaig (M'Carthy) was bishop of Emly. He died in 707 and was succeeded by Cellach (Kelly), who held that see until 718. (41) St Caide or Caidin, who was bishop at Hy, died in 711; and his name is in the calendars at 24 October. (42) To the preceding year, 710, is assigned the death of Conain Mac-Failbe the abbot, (43) who was succeeded by Dorben, surnamed the *long*, a descendant of Conall Gulbanus. (14) Dorben governed Hy until 713 in which year he died on the 28th of October. (45) His immediate successor

was, I believe, Dunchad, (46) son of Kenfoelaid, and grandson of the monarch Malcovus or Moelcova, consequently of the favourite line of Conall Gulbanus. (47) Dunchad was superior of a Columbian monastery at Kill-lochuir, a maritime town in the S. E. part of Ulster, (48) before he was raised to the government of the whole order. He was still abbot of Hy, when in the year 716 the holy priest Egbert (49) went thither from Ireland, and at length induced the monks of that establishment to receive the Roman paschal cycle and tonsure. (50) Thenceforth Egbert continued to reside for about 13 years in Hy until 729, when he died at a very advanced age on Easter Sunday, the 24th of April, after he had celebrated the festival in the morning together with the brethren. (51)

From the year 716 we find nothing further with regard to those controversies, as far as the Irish were concerned, either at home or abroad.

(37) *Tr. Th. p.* 629. from the 4 Masters, whose date is 704, *i. e.* 705. Ware observes (*Bishops at Kildare*) that others place his death in 708.

(38) *Tr. Th. ib.* I have added, as usual, a year to the dates. See also Harris (*Bishops at Kildare*) and Archdall at said place. Lochen's festival was kept on the 12th of January or 12th of June, and that of Forannan on the 15th of January,

(39) Keating has this story (for it probably deserves no better name) in his second book, *p.* 46. It cannot agree with what is recorded by old writers as to the prosperous and peaceable reign of Congall. O'Flaherty quotes (*Ogyg. Part 3. cap.* 93.) an old Irish distich, translated by him into Latin, in which his government over Inisfail (Ireland) is represented as a happy one of seven years; "*Cuius Inisfaliae septennis fausta potestas.*" And O'Halloran (*History, &c. Book ix. ch.* 5) observes, that Congall K. is called by Giolla Moduda, a writer who died about 1148, a beneficent prince, during whose time there was neither battle nor contest, adding that he died in peace after a reign of seven years. Keating's story was picked up by that superficial writer Campbell

(*Strictures on the History of Ireland, sect. 6. p. 98*) who, not satisfied with repeating what Keating has, *viz.* that Congall persecuted the church and burned the secular and regular clergy at Kildare, adds that he was a pagan. And why? Because, as he says, “ a deed so atrocious could scarce have been perpetrated by Christian men.” Did, not to go beyond Irish history, Campbell never hear of an Earl of Kildare, who, about the year, 1495, set fire to the cathedral of Cashel for the purpose of burning the archbishop Creagh, whom he supposed to be within it? Nor of an Earl of Inchiquin, who at a later period, after storming said cathedral, put to the sword, amidst heaps of other persons whom he found there, many clergymen dragged from even under the altar? Indeed it is but too well known, that men called Christians, have not scrupled to burn and destroy the clergy. Campbell wished to show that not only Congall but likewise the bulk of the people, at least in Kildare, were then pagans. Now supposing that Congall was guilty of that atrocity, why charge the inhabitants of Kildare as his accomplices? If he ever perpetrated it, he was supported not by them but by an army brought from elsewhere. To imagine that Congall was a pagan is a most ridiculous conceit. We have seen that his ancestors were, for several generations, Christians, and some of them very pious ones. He was a grandson of king Domnald II. (above §. 1.) the prosperous prince who had been blessed by Columbkil. (See *Not. 206. to Chap. xii. and Not. 7. to Chap. xiv.*) Congall was undoubtedly educated in the Christian religion, and to suppose that he apostatized to paganism is a gross absurdity, as if the people of Ireland, and its numerous clergy and monks would have raised a pagan to the throne, or quietly submitted to an avowed infidel at a time when the whole nation was Christian. Had any of our kings of that period been guilty of such apostacy, the Irish annals and histories would teem with accounts of it. They do not contain a word of the kind; and the last insance of paganism, which I find recorded in them, is that of the islanders of Immagh, who were converted by St. Fechin. (See *Chap. xvii. §. 10.*)

(40) This conflagration is assigned by the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 629.*) to A. 708. *i. e.* 709. merely in these words “ *Kildare devastated by fire.*” As it happened during the reign of Con-

gall, some wiseacre might have thought that he was the incendiary.

(41) Ware, *Bishops at Emly*.

(42) *Tr. Th.* p. 499. from the 4 Masters, who have A. 710, the same as 711. Concerning the bishops, that resided in Hy, see *Notes* 234 and 235. to *Chap.* xi.

(43) Usher, p. 702. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. ib.*) have 708 (709).

(44) The 4 Masters, and Colgan, *Tr. Th.* Instead of Dorben, Usher, (p. 702. and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 710.) places, next after Conain Mc. Failbhe, Dunchad, with whom he terminates his list of the abbots of Hy. Colgan follows the 4 Masters, and observes (*AA. SS.* p. 745.) that it is a mistake to make Dunchad the immediate successor of Conain. It seems that Usher did not meet with Dorben's name in the Annals of Ulster, by which he was guided; and consequently he might not have known that he was abbot of Hy. The omission of his name in said Annals can be easily accounted for, as nothing remarkable occurred during his administration. This Dorben was, in all probability, the Dorbeneus, who wrote a copy of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, and added at the end (see Colgan's edition) a request, in which he conjures those, who may wish to transcribe it, diligently to collate their manuscript with that which they took it from, and begs the reader's prayers for himself.

(45) 4 Masters and Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 499. Their date is 713, which must not be changed into 714. For, as O'Flaherty remarks, (*MS. note, ib.*) Dorben's death was according to Tigernach's Annals, on a Saturday, on which day the 28th of October fell in 713. In his *Ogygia vindicated* O'Flaherty says, (*chap.* 10.) that Dorben died in 713. He adds that he ruled Hy only five months. This is in direct opposition to the 4 Masters, and to every other authority I have met with.

(46) The account (*ib.*) of the succession to Hy after Dorben is rather confused. The 4 Masters throw in Foelchus between him and Dunchad. But, as Colgan observes, some of their dates, relative to the accession of Foelchus, are evidently wrong. Besides they have this same Foelchus again as abbot of Hy after Dunchad, who died in 717, and assign his death to 720 (721.) Hence it appears, that their interposing him between Dorben and

Dunchad is founded on some mistake. In a MS. note (*ib.*) probably written by Conry, Dunchad is placed immediately after Dorben's death in 713.

(47) See *Tr. Th.* p. 480. and *AA. SS.* at 24 *Mart.* p. 744, where Colgan has made up some *Acts* of Dunchad.

(48) *AA. SS. ib.* From the description, which Colgan gives of Kill-lochuir as a place frequented by mariners, who considered Dunchad as their patron saint, its lying on the eastern coast, &c. I think it must be the same as Killough in the county of Down.

(49) See *Chap. xviii.* §. 13.

(50) Bede *L. 5. c. 22. al. 23.* To what he has concerning this agreement having taken place in 716 under the abbot Dunchad Usher adds (*p.* 702. and *Ind. Chron. ad A. 716.*) from the Annals of Ulster, that it was entered into on a Saturday the 29th of August. Prideaux (*Connection, &c. Part 2. B. 4.*) sums up the matter in these words; " In the year 716 Ecgbert, a pious and learned
" presbyter of the English nation, after having spent many years
" in his studies in Ireland, which was in that age the prime seat of
" learning in all Christendom, coming from thence to the monas-
" tery of Hy proposed to them anew the Roman way, and having
" better success herein than Adamnan—brought them all over
" to it."

(51) Bede, *ib.* Having stated that Easter fell in that year on the 24th of April, he observes that it was never before celebrated at Hy on the corresponding day of any year. In this he was right; for, according to the old Irish cycle, it could not have been put off as late as the 24th of April. (See Smith's *Dissertation. &c.* No. 9, *App.* to Bede.)

§. v. Dunchad died in 717 on the 25th of May, (52) the day on which his festival was usually kept, although it seems that his memory was revered in some places on the 24th of March. The immediate successor of Dunchad at Hy was, as well as I can find, Foelchuo Mac-Dorbene, who lived until 721. (53) To the year 717 is also assigned a curious circumstance, which has not as yet been sufficiently explained. It is the *expulsion of the family of Ia beyond the Dorsum Britanniae* (Drum-albin) by the

king Nectan. (54) *Ia* is generally supposed to mean the island of Hy; and *king Nectan* was certainly the same as Naiton the Pictish king, who had received the Roman cycle, &c. since 710, and to whom the abbot Ceolfrid had written his learned epistle. (55) For the reign of Naiton, *al. Naitan*, or *Nectan*, began in 710 and continued until 725. (56) But by the *family of Ia* we cannot understand the monks residing in Hy, (57) whereas Nectan had no jurisdiction over that island, as it belonged not to his but to the Scottish kingdom in Britain. (58) Or if by some chance, which by the bye cannot even be guessed at, he had got possession of Hy, how could it be said that he *expelled* its monks *beyond* Drum-albin? In this case he would, instead of expelling them, have brought them over to his own kingdom, which lay to the N. and N. E. of those mountains, and was separated by them from the Scottish, to which Hy was adjacent, lying to the South and South-West. (59) There is not a word in any old document, either Irish or British, of any expulsion, dispersion, or persecution of the resident monks of Hy in those times; and that they remained undisturbed in 717, and until after the reign of Nectan, is evident from the circumstance of Egbert having lived quietly among them from 716 to 729. Therefore the *expulsion of the family of Ia* means nothing more than that Nectan sent out of his kingdom some Columbian monks, *that is*, of the family or order of Hy, and made them cross Drum-albin on their way to the Scottish territories. What was his reason for this proceeding it is difficult to conjecture. It has been supposed that some Columbians, stationed in Pictland, refused to submit to the general orders he had issued for the adoption of the Roman cycle, &c. and that in consequence he expelled them from his kingdom. (60) But why wait until 717 to thus rigorously enforce said orders, which had been published in 710, or, at the latest, early in 711? If

the cause of the expulsion of those monks in 717 was their opposition to the Roman practices, it will follow that they disobeyed not only the king, but likewise their superiors of Hy, who had received them in the preceding year. That such was the case it is difficult to believe; (61) and some other reason must be looked for, why Nectan was displeased with those monks. The probability is that they arraigned his conduct on some matters of a different nature, and that he was dissatisfied with their freedom of remonstrance. (62) Nectan does not appear to have had any dispute with the abbot or monastery, whereas during his reign and after it the abbot continued to exercise his usual ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the countries inhabited by his subjects the Northern Picts. (63) From what has been hitherto stated it is clear, that it is a most absurd mistake to suppose, that the monks expelled by Nectan were those, who inhabited the island of Hy. (64)

(52) 4 Masters and Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 499 and *AA. SS.* p. 745. The year marked by the 4 Masters is 716, which was also that of the Ulster Annals justly changed by Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) into 717. Besides such change being authorized by the usual chronological system followed in both these Annals, there is a particular reason for it in this case; whereas it is known from Bede, &c. that the year, in which the monks of Hy, then governed by Dunchad, received the Roman cycle, &c. was 716, and on the 29th of August. Now, as Dunchad died on a 25th of May, instead of *A.* 716, we must read *A.* 717.

(53) See 4 Masters and *Tr. Th. ib.* and compare with *Not.* 46. The Annals of Ulster (in Johnston's Extracts after *Antiq. Celto Norm.*) after mentioning the change of Easter at *A.* 715 (716) place at said time the accession to Hy of Faolan M'Dorbene (or Foelchus) Thus it would seem, that Dunchad resigned the administration some months before his death, as I find stated in a MS. note to *Tr. Th.* p. 499.

(54) Usher p. 702. and *Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 717, from the Annals of Ulster.

(55) See Bede, *L. 5. 21. al. 22.*

(56) Chalmers, *Caledonia, vol. 1. p. 206.*

(57) Usher seems to have been of that opinion; but he had not sufficiently inquired into the subject.

(58) See *Not. 146 to Chap. xi.*

(59) See *Not. 151. to Chap. xi.*

(60) Of this opinion is Mr. Chalmers, who says, (*Caledon. Vol. 1. p. 397.*) that Nectan expelled many of the Columbians, who officiated among the Northern Picts, and adhered to their ancient practices. Bede observes, (*L. 5. c. 21. al. 22.*) that Nectan, or Naiton, promulgated his command for the observance of the Roman computation of Easter, immediately after he had agreed to it himself, and accordingly in the year 710, or very soon after it. (See Smith's notes, *ib.*)

(61) Bede, who was living in these very times, and is very minute in every thing relative to the reception of the Roman cycle, &c. speaks (*ib.*) in glowing terms of the unanimity, with which it and the Roman tonsure were submitted to by *all* the clergy and *monks* throughout the Pictish provinces, without as much as hinting at any opposition.

(62) Keating states (*B. 2. p. 46.*) that "Nectan expelled from his dominions a convent of monks, who presumed to reprehend his conduct, and by that means excited discontent among his subjects." That he meant the same expulsion as that of the Annals of Ulster is clear from his placing it in the year, in which was fought the battle of Cloch-Mionuire between the Britons and Dalriadans (of Britain), which is assigned in said Annals to A. D. 716. *i. e.* 717. (See Johnston's *Extracts, &c.*)

(63) Bede, who brought down his Ecclesiastical history to A. 731, that is, six years after the death of Nectan, makes mention of this jurisdiction as existing at the time he was writing it. (See *ib. L. 3. c. 4.* and compare with *Not. 234 to Chap. xii.*)

(64) Dr. Ledwich says, (*Antiq. &c. p. 66.*) "by the instigations of Ceolfrid, abbot of Girwy, Naitan, king of the Picts, expelled the Culdees from Hy. This happened A. D. 717." As to his pretended *Culdees*, by whom he meant the monks of Hy, we shall see elsewhere. Had he merely stated that Naitan expelled the monks from Hy, we might consider his assertion as the mistake of one, who had not studied the subject. But his adding

that this was done by the instigations of Ceolfrid shows a peculiar malignity and indifference about truth. Upon what authority could he found this charge? The only account we have of any correspondence between Nectan and Ceolfrid is that of the letter written by the latter, which still exists at full length, and which does not contain a syllable of instigation against the monks of Hy or any other Columbians. Is it because Ceolfrid, in said letter, instructed Nectan as to the Roman cycle, &c. and thereby contributed to his adoption of them? Was this an instigation or instigations to persecution? If Ceolfrid excited the king to punish the monks of Hy, why was his vengeance delayed from 710, in which the letter was received, until 717? Or will the Dr. pretend that it was in the very year 717 that Ceolfrid instigated him? He may, to be sure, invent what stories he thinks fit for his purposes; but he ought, at least, to make them appear not quite improbable. So then in 717, the year marked by the Dr. himself, Ceolfrid prevailed upon Nectan to expell the monks from Hy. Pray, for what? It could not be for the reason meant by our antiquary, viz. their adhesion to the old Irish practices; for, as Ceolfrid well knew, they had exchanged them in 716 for his favourite Roman ones. What then was their crime? Surely the Dr. cannot be so stupid as to think that Ceolfrid and Nectan fell foul of them, because they had come over to their own party. His moans on the downfall of the seminary of Hy, which, he says, expired on this occasion, are absolutely nonsensical. That seminary neither expired at that time, for it flourished for centuries after, nor did it change its tenets, unless the time of celebrating Easter and the form of the tonsure are to be considered as dogmas of religion.

I cannot but here animadvert, although it does not appertain to Irish history, on a similar false assertion of the Doctor, (*ib.*) viz. that Aldhelm, who flourished in the latter part of the seventh century and died early in the eighth, "excited Ina, the West Saxon king, against Gerontius prince of Cornwall, because he and his subjects preserved the faith at first taught them." Upon what foundation he could build this falshood it is difficult to conceive, unless he alluded to the epistle written by Aldhelm to Gerontius, in which he endeavoured to prove that the Britons were wrong in adhering to their Paschal cycle, &c. But what has this to do with the wars between Gerontius and the West Saxons under their king

Ina? Or where can it be found, that Aldhelm excited Ina to carry them on? The Doctor, with unblushing audacity refers to Cressy, who has quite the reverse of his assertion. For Cressy, after giving a translation of Aldhelm's epistle (*B. xix. ch. 17.*) observes, that the Saxons did not use any violence against the Britons; and, speaking (*B. xxi. ch. 10.* the very part of his work pointed out by Ledwich) of the war between Ina and Gerontius, has not a word about Ina's having been urged on by Aldhelm, while, on the contrary, he states that it is not easy to know the cause of the quarrel, and that Gerontius was the aggressor, who, he adds, perhaps thought he might take Ina unawares as being then employed in acts of piety. Of all writers in the world the Dr. should not on this occasion have directed us to Cressy.

§. VI. This would be the place to treat of St. Rudbert or Rupert, bishop of Worms and afterwards of Saltzbourg, who died in 718, were there any reason to believe that he was a native of Ireland. But, as it is certain that he was not, and very probable that he had no Irish connexions, (65) I shall leave an account of him to the ecclesiastical historians of France and Germany.

St. Cele Christus, or Christicola died in 722. (66) He was a native of Ulster, and is said to have belonged to a branch of the Nialls. Having left his own province, he went to a western part of Leinster, called *Hidonchadha*, where he erected an oratory, which from his name has been called *Kill-cele-chriost*. It is said that he travelled with some other persons to Rome. In several Irish calendars his name is marked at the 3d of March with the title of *bishop of Kill-cele-chriost*. He had a brother named Comgall, who was abbot of Both-chonais in Inishowen, and whose memory was revered there on the 4th of September (67)

In these times the archbishop of Armagh was Suibhne or Sweeny, the successor of Flan Febhla, (68) who died in 715 on the 24th of April. (69) Suibhne was son of one Cronnmail, and held the

see for 15 years, as he lived until 730. During his incumbency some distinguished men departed this life at Armagh; in 721 Colman surnamed *Huamachensis*, who wrote some Acts of St. Patrick; (70) in 726 Eochod Mac-Colgan, an anchorite of that city; in 727 Ferdornach, a scribe or writer; and in 728 Dochuma, surnamed Bolgan, an anchorite. (71)

St. Cronan, bishop of Lismore, who was probably the immediate successor of St. Colman, (72) died in 718, and his memory was revered on the first of June. (73) Next after him we find in that see Colman O'Liathain, a celebrated doctor, who died in 726, (74) and, I dare say, on a 25th of July. (75) To the same year 726 is assigned the death of St. Adamnan, bishop of Rathmuighe in Dalriada, (76) a part of the now county of Antrim, and also that of Dachonna, bishop of Connor. (77) In said year died St. Manchen of Leighlin, who was, in all probability, at least abbot there; a St. Colman of Telach-uallen, perhaps Tullihallen, a place in the county of Louth; and a St. Bree, surnamed the *Wise*. (78)

(65) Colgan has (at 27 *Mart.*) from among other Lives of St. Rupert, published by Canisius, a very fabulous one, in which this saint is said to have been baptized in Ireland by St. Patrick, to have gone to the continent with St. Erentrudis, and one Trudbert, whom it calls sister and brother of his, and to have died in 623. It would be very strange that a person, baptized by our Apostle, could have lived until this year; and Colgan's substituting in this case a Patrick junior for the great one, is a pitiful evasion not worth attending to. And who will believe that *Rudbert*, &c. were the names of persons born in Ireland? The Bollandists not only rejected this Life, but observe (at said day) that they would not even mention it, had it not led astray Colgan and Le Cointe in his *Annal. Eccl. Fr.* They have given us two other Lives of St. Rupert, which appear tolerably correct, and in which there is not a word about Ireland, nor of what is said in the faulty one (fol-

lowed on this point by several writers) concerning this saint having been of the royal blood of Ireland as well as of France, to which latter hereally belonged. In the *Acta Bened.* (Sec. 3. Part. 1.) there is a short but very ancient and correct Life, in which neither Ireland, nor its blood royal is even hinted at. Yet I will not deny that St. Rupert might by his maternal line have been connected with some Irish princes; but it will not hence follow that he should be reckoned among the Irish saints. Mabillon (*ib. Elog. Histor.*) shows that he died in 718. The Office of St. Rupert, patched up by Burke, (*Offic. propr.* at 27 March) but which is not used in Ireland, is taken from the fabulous Life and from Colgan's conjectures. It is odd, that among the authorities mentioned at the head of this Office we find the name of Bollandus, *i. e.* the Bollandists, notwithstanding the scornful manner in which they speak of that Life. As to St. Erentrudis, who was a niece, not sister, of St. Rupert, and to Trudbert, whoever he was, I need not tell the reader, that their history has nothing to do with Ireland.

(66) 4 Masters and Colgan (*AA. SS.* at 3 *Mart.*) where he treats of this saint. Their date is 721, *i. e.* 722.

(67) See Colgan, *Acts of Cele-Christus, ib. p.* 454.

(68) See *Chap. xviii. §. 13.*

(69) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Armagh.*

(70) *Tr. Th. p.* 172 and 294. See also *Chap. III. §. 5.*

(71) *Ib. p.* 294. Colgan prefixes *saint* to all their names. I have added a year to each of his dates.

(72) See above §. 1.

(73) *AA. SS. p.* 303. Colgan has from the 4 Masters *A. 717* (718). Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Lismore*) have confounded Cronan of Lismore with Cronan, son of Nethsemon, of whom Colgan treats at 9 February, (*p.* 302. *seqq.*) and who, he thought, was the bishop Cronan that paid a visit to Columbkil in Hy. (See *Not. 182 to Chap. xi.*) He expressly distinguishes him from Cronan of Lismore and for a very just reason, *viz.* that their times were far different. It is therefore strange that Ware, who had the *AA. SS. loc. cit.* before his eyes, and where he found mention made of the son of Nethsemon, could have fallen into such a mistake, which cannot be accounted for except by his having read too cursorily what Colgan has about these Cronans. Archdall

(at *Lismore*) has only a part of Ware's mistake ; for he does not call Cronan of Lismore *son of Nethsemon*, but he says that he died on the 9th of February. Now this day is assigned in the calendars not to his death but to that of the son of Nethsemon.

(74) *AA. SS. p. 149.* and *Ind. Chron. ib. ad A. 725. i. e. 726.*

(75) Colgan, when mentioning the death of Colman O'Liathain, does not give us the day of it, or of his commemoration. Yet he might have easily found either one or the other in the Calendar of Cashel, which he quotes *ib. p. 155.* This calendar has at 22 January Colman Hua Beogna of Lismore, that is, the older Colman, of whom above §. 1. Then at 25 July it has Mocholmoc or Colman O'Liathain a comorban or successor of St. Mochudda (Carthag) of Lismore. Colgan very oddly imagined that these two Colmans were but one person, viz. the Colman of 22 Jan. and that the 25th of July was a second festival, perhaps of translation, &c. in honour of him. I do not know what reason he could have had for thinking so, except that the Colman at 25 July was called *Mocholmoc*, which name was often given to the older Colman. But surely every St. Colman might have been called *Mocholmoc*. (See *Not. 12.*) That in said calendar two distinct Colmans were meant is evident not only from the difference of the days marked, but still more from the former being surnamed *Hua-Beogna*, and the latter *O'Liathain*, the very Colman that died in 726. Whether the 25th of July was his *Natalis*, *i. e.* the anniversary of his death, or a day of commemoration, I cannot decide ; but, considering the usual practice in the calendars, it is more probable that it was the *Natalis*.

(76) *AA. SS. p. 377.* and *Ind. Chron. ib. ad A. 725 (726).* Concerning the see of Rathmuighe, which was very ancient, see *Chap. vii. §. 6. Not. 58.* and *Not. 256. to Chap. x.*

(77) *AA. SS. Ind. Chron. ad A. 725.* Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Connor*) have retained this date, but might have safely changed it into 726.

(78) 4 Masters and Colgan, *ib.*

§. VII. Foelchuo or Faolan Mac-Dorbene, abbot of Hy, who, according to one account, died in 721,

(79) and, according to another, in 724, was succeeded by Killen or Killin, surnamed *fada* or *long*. (80) Concerning this Killen I can find nothing particular, except that he is said to have died in 726. (81) The next abbot, whom we meet with after him, was another Killen, surnamed *Droichtheach*, who lived until about 750.

To the year 727 is affixed the death of Aelchu, abbot of Clonard. (82) It is not improbable that he was also bishop of that place. At least his predecessor Dubdan O'Foclan was, being expressly styled bishop and abbot of Clonard, and who died in 717. (83) In the same year 727 died St. Muredach, bishop of Mayo, and son of Indrect, who is supposed to have been one of the Indrects kings of Connaught in those times. (84)

According to some writers St. Muredach survived St. Gerald called *of Mayo*; but it is more than probable that he died before him. The history of St. Gerald is extremely confused, and interspersed with monstrous fables. (85) This much is certain that he was an Englishman, and superior of the establishment, which Colman, after his return from Lindisfarne, formed at Mayo for the English, who had followed him to Ireland. (86) If Gerald was one of those, who left Lindisfarne together with Colman, (87) he must have been very young at that time; for Colman's departure from that place was in 664, and Gerald lived until 732. Supposing him to have been in 664 only about sixteen years old, it may be admitted that he belonged to that party; but as the persons who accompanied Colman are spoken of as men and actual monks, (88) it is much more probable that Gerald came over to Ireland on some later occasion; whereas the monastery of Mayo continued to be resorted to by English and students for a long time after Colman's death. (89) Gerald is said to have, on his arrival in Ireland, and before he was placed at Mayo, presided over some monks at *Eliteria*,

(90) which, if this be true, was probably a cell belonging to the house of Mayo. According to this statement, he could not have been one of Colman's first English followers, who, as is well known, were *all* fixed by him in said house. At what time he became superior at Mayo is not known; and it probably was not prior to the seventh century. (91) His death is assigned on the best authority to A. D. 732, (92) and, according to several concurrent accounts, to the 13th of March. (93) In some Irish documents St. Gerald is called *bishop*; but it is very doubtful whether he was entitled to this appellation. (94)

(79) 4 Masters, as above *Not.* 53.

(80) It is stated in the Annals of Ulster (Johnston's *Extracts.*) that Killin-fada succeeded Faolan Mac Derbene in 723 *i. e.* 724.

(81) The 4 Masters and Colgan *Tr. Th.* p. 499. Their date 725 may, as usual, be supposed the same at 726.

(82) *AA. SS.* p. 407.

(83) *Ib.* I have added a year to the dates thus given.

(84) *AA. SS.* p. 605. The 4 Masters assign Muredach's death to 726, *i. e.* 727. Archdall (at *Mayo*) without any authority, instead of *Bishop*, calls him *abbot*.

(85) Colgan has published (at 13 *Mart.*) a Life of St. Gerald from a MS. of the monastery of the Island of all saints in Lough-ree, the author of which he thought was perhaps Augustin Magraidin. But it is clear from some genuine tracts written by Magraidin, he could not be the author of this barbarous stuff. The Bollandists, in their observations (at said day) on St. Gerald, justly declare it to be full of nonsense and intolerable. Besides many fooleries it abounds in anachronisms.

(86) See *Chap.* XVIII. §. 2.

(87) That he was one of them is stated in the so called Life of St. Gerald, and hence Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 26.) places him among them. But he omits the ridiculous fable of Gerald having been abbot of Winchester, as if there were Columbians in that city, and of his having brought along with him, in Colman's suite, three brothers of his, and three thousand other worthy Englishmen.

The latter part of this nonsense has been copied by Archdall (at *Mayo*.) Now we know from Bede (see *Chap.* xviii. §. 2.) that Colman was followed by only about thirty Englishmen to Ireland.

(88) See Bede, *L.* 4. c. 4.

(89) See Bede, *ib.* and above *Chap.* xviii. §. 2 *Not.* 13.

(90) *Life*, *cap.* 7. Colgan observes (*AA.* SS. p. 603.) that there was in the diocese of Tuam, to which that of Mayo has been annexed, a chapel called *Kill-an-elitheir*, that is the cell of the pilgrim or foreigner, and that this might have been what in the *Life* is called *Eliteria*. It was perhaps a cell depending on Mayo, as was probably also a church in same diocese called *Tech-Sasson*, the house of Saxons or Englishmen.

(91) If we could place any confidence in the *Life*, Gerald would have been abbot of Mayo before the death of Adamnan; for it states (*cap.* 15.) that he was, when presiding there, visited by him. But, even admitting that such a visit took place, it will not follow that he was abbot before the 7th century; for Adamnan was in Ireland as late as the year 703 (see above §. 3.) during which he might have called upon Gerald. Colgan remarks (*AA.* SS. p. 604.) that Gerald's name does not appear among those of the persons, who attended the synod of 697, (see *Chap.* xviii. §. 14.) although that of Egbert, likewise an Englishman, does. His object was to show, that Gerald was then dead; but, as he was undoubtedly alive at that time and for many years after, Colgan ought to have concluded that Gerald was not as yet an abbot or much distinguished in the year 697.

(92) The *Annals of Ulster*, in which he is called *Geralt pontifex Saxonum Campi Heo* (Magh-Heo), place his death in 731, *i. e.* 732, to which year it is affixed also by Tigernach in these words; "Pontifex Muighe-heo Saxonum Garailt obiit." It is singular that Usher, having quoted these authorities, (*Ind. Chron. ad A.* 697.) has preferred to them that of the lying *Life* of Gerald, in which we are told that after his death Adamnan of Hy governed the church of Mayo constantly and *indefatigably* for seven years, until returning to Hy he died there himself. Hence Usher argued that, as Adamnan died in 704, Gerald's death ought to be assigned to 697. But how could he have believed, that Adamnan totally neglected the government of Hy and of the whole Columbian order for seven years, and confine

himself to the monastery of Mayo? Or did he not recollect that Adamnan spent a considerable part of that period in Northumberland, and afterwards in Hy striving to bring over his monks to the Roman cycle, &c. (above §. 3.) and accordingly could not have been *indefatigably* employed at Mayo? Colgan, who scrupled to doubt of what the Life states, followed Usher, adding an argument, which proves nothing more than that Gerald was not abbot of Mayo in 697. (See *Not. prec.*) As to Archdall's bungling (at Mayo) concerning Gerald having not died, but succeeded Colman in 697 (See *Not. 16 to Chap. xviii.*) and then placing Adamnan after him, is too slovenly to be honoured with animadversion. The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 604.*) have Gerald's death at A. 726 (727); but their authority is not equal to that of Tigernach or of the Ulster annals. The Bollandists, perceiving that it was ridiculous to make Adamnan of Hy successor of Gerald, suspect that he might have been confounded with another Adamnan. But, as the monastery of Mayo was in those times purely English, it is not easy to believe that any of its abbots was then an Irishman, as an Adamnan would have been. And it is useless to endeavour to prop up any part of that absurd fable.

(93) 4 Masters, Calendars, &c. (*ap. AA. SS. p. 604.*)

(94) Some calendars, quoted by Colgan (*ib.*) give him the title of bishop; and we have just seen (*Not. 92.*) that he has been called *pontifex*. Yet in the Life, notwithstanding the great things said of him, he is styled merely *abbot*. The 4 Masters say no more of him than *St. Gerald of Mayo*. According to their statements he could scarcely have been a bishop; for they place his death in 727, the very year to which they assign that of St. Muredach, whom they expressly call *bishop of Mayo*. Surely there were not two bishops there at the same time. Bede, speaking of the monastery of Mayo, as it was circumstanced when he was writing his history, and accordingly down to 731, says (*L. 4. c. 4.*) that the English monks lived there under a canonical or regular abbot. He has nothing about their having among them a bishop, although, in all probability, Gerald was their abbot at the time of his making this observation. I am inclined to think, that his having been called *pontifex*, pontiff of the English, gave rise to the supposition of his having been a bishop. But why did not Tigernach or the compilers of the

Ulster annals plainly call him *episcopus*? The title, *pontifex*, has been often used in an equivocal manner, and sometimes in the same sense as *president* (See Spelman, *Gloss.* and Ducange, at *Pontifex* and *Pontificium.*) It may be, that, as the English were strangers in Ireland, the abbot of Mayo enjoyed some particular privileges as protector of his countrymen.

§. VIII. A holy virgin, named Segretia, is mentioned as having been sister of St. Gerald, and hence some modern writers have concluded that she presided over a nunnery at Mayo. But we have not sufficient authority for either of these statements. (95) That there was a St. Segretia or rather Segnetia in those times, somewhere in Ireland, I do not mean to deny; and we find some other holy women, who were distinguished in the early part of the eighth century, such as St. Samthanna abbess of Clonebrone (96) in the now county of Longford; St. Sebdanna abbess of Kildare, who died in 727, and the next abbess after her St. Affrica, who lived until 739, (97) to which year is assigned also the death of a St. Conchenna daughter of one Kellaigh Chuallan. (98) As scarcely any thing further is, as far as I can discover, known concerning them, an attempt at unravelling their history would be useless.

Suibhne, archbishop of Armagh, having died on the 21st of June in 730 (99) was succeeded by Congus, who held the see for 20 years. He was a native of a place or district called Kinell-Anmire, (100) probably somewhere in Ulster. Congus was a man of learning, (101) and, when archbishop, wrote a poem, in which he exhorted Aedh or Aidus Ollan, king of Ireland, whose confessor he was, to punish Aedh Rony, king of Ulster, for having sacrilegiously attacked and pillaged some churches of the diocese of Armagh. (102)

St. Foeldovar, bishop of Clogher, died in 732 on the 29th of June. (103) He is the first prelate of that ancient see whose times are well known next

after St. Tigernach. (104) St. Tola, bishop of Clonard, died in 734 on the 30th of March, the day on which his anniversary was commemorated. (105) This saint was of the illustrious family of the Galengi, (106) and son of one Dunchad. He led for many years the life of a hermit at a place called from him *Disert-Tola*, and situated either in the southern part of the ancient Meath, or northern part of ancient Munster, and consequently in the now King's county. (107) Afterwards he was raised to the see of Clonard, but in what year is not recorded. It has been said that he was bishop also of Kildare. That this is a mistake may be safely concluded from as much as is known of his transactions. (108) In these times we find a bishop in the small island of Rechrán (Rachlinor Raghlin) off the coast of Antrim, Flann son of Kellach. He died in 735, and his memory was revered on the 17th of July. (109) During this period an Irish bishop, named Cumian, who at a very advanced stage of life had retired from Ireland to Bobbio, where he spent his last 17 years in the monastic state, and in a most exemplary manner died there on a 19th of August, aged 95 years and 4 months. He was buried at Bobbio during the reign of the Lombard king Luitprand, which lasted somewhat more than 31 years until 744. This king had such a veneration for Cumian, that he got his tomb adorned with precious stones. It is not known to what part of Ireland he belonged. (110)

(95) It is said in the Life of St. Gerald (*cap.* 15.) that Segretia his sister died, together with one hundred of her nuns, of the great pestilence, *viz.* that of 664; but it is not stated in what place, and her death is mentioned as having occurred while he was at Eliteria, and before he went to Mayo. How could a sister of Gerald have been an abbess before A. 664, or is it to be believed that he was superior of any establishment in Ireland at a time prior to his having set a foot in this country? Colgan observes (*Not. ad loc. p.* 603.) that he could discover nothing re-

lative to this Segretia, unless she was the same as St. Segnetia of a place called *Domnach-Keine*, whose *Natalis* was marked in some calendars at 18 December. Yet afterwards (*p.* 605.) partly in complaisance to Gerald's Life, and partly through conjecture, he makes mention of St. Segretia or Segnetia, with her 100 virgins, as having died at Mayo on an 18th December. He forgot that a little before he had told us that St. Segnetia belonged to *Domnach-Keine*. On those notable grounds Harris has made up a nunnery founded at Mayo in the seventh century by St. Segretia, and has been followed by Archdall.

(96) See *AA. SS.* *p.* 347.

(97) *Tr. Th.* *p.* 629. I have added a year to its dates. In the Ulster annals the death of St. Affrica or Afreca of Kildare is assigned to to A. 744 (745.)

(98) *AA. SS.* *p.* 607.

(99) *Tr. Th.* *p.* 294. and Ware, *Bishops at Armagh*.

(100) Ware (*ib.*) has understood the *Kinell-Anmire* of *Tr. Th.* as the name of a man, from whom Congus was descended, or as Harris has it, leaving out *Kinell*, from whose stock he was sprung. But the words, "*De Kinell Anmire oriundus fuit*," seem to point rather to a district than to a man; and there were several tracts in Ireland, whose names began with *Kinell*. It is true that its original meaning was progeny or clan; but it came to be used for the territories, in which such clans lived *ex. c.* *Kinell-Conail*, *Kinell Enda*, &c. in like manner as the Irish word *Clann* (children, family, &c.) whence *Claneboys*, *Clanrickard*, &c. *Kinell-Anmire* may certainly be explained by *Clan of Anmire*, and I will not object to the supposition that Congus was a member of that clan. But who said *Anmire* was I cannot tell, unless perhaps was meant *Anmiraus* formerly monarch of Ireland.

(101) Congus is called (*Tr. Th. ib.*) a scribe, a title given in Ireland, as Colgan observes (*ib.* and *p.* 631.) to men of letters, professors, and particularly to authors. See also Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 17.

(102) *Tr. Th.* *p.* 294. Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Armagh and Writers*.

(103) 4 Masters and *AA. SS. p. 742.* Their date is 731, *i. e.* 732.

(104) We have seen (*Not. 5. to Chap. XII.*) that with regard to old times, no attention is due to the reigistry of Clogher, which has been followed by Ware.

(105) Colgan treating of St. Tola (at 30 March *p. 793.*) quotes the 4 Masters, who assign his death to 733 (734). As to the day of it, which was omitted by them, he does not (*ib.*) expressly mark it, only observing, that his memory was revered on the 30th of March; but elsewhere (*AA. SS. p. 407.*) we read, according to his printed text, that Tola died on the 3d of March. This must be a typographical error for 30; whereas Colgan states that he has taken from the calendars of all the obitual days, the *Natalis* of the several saints, whom he names in this part of the *AA.* Now all the calendars, referred to by him at *p. 793,* have Tola's name only at the 30th of March, and it is plain that Colgan considered it as his *Natalis.* This mistake of the printer (one of the thousands, which have greatly injured Colgan's works,) led astray Ware, (*Bishops at Meath*) who accordingly assigned Tola's death to the 3d of March. Besides this mistake Ware fell into another, for which Colgan is not to blame, although he professed to follow him; for, instead of 733, which Colgan has every where for the death of Tola, he, or his printer, has given us 732.

(106) The family of the Galengi inhabited, I suppose, some of the districts called Galenga or Gallen. There was a Gallen or Galian, which comprized a very great part of the Queen's county and of the counties of Carlow and Kildare. Considering the situation of the place, in which, as will be just seen, St. Tola commenced his career, it is not improbable that he was a native of that territory.

(107) Colgan observes, that the Calendar of Cashel places Disert-Tola in Meath, while, according to every other authority, it was in upper Dalcassia, that is, the northern part of Munster. He justly remarks that it lay perhaps at the boundary of both provinces. In former times Meath and Munster met each other in what is now called the King's county, which has been made up of districts that belonged to these provinces. That Disert-Tola was in the now barony of Garrycastle in said county may, I think,

be deduced from the circumstance, related by the 4 Masters at *A. D.* 1034, of Carten lord of Dealbhna having been killed by some of his subjects when entering the church of Disert-Tola. This Dealbhna was, in all probability, the one sur-named *Eathra*, the M'Coghlan's country, or barony of Garrycastle. (See Harris, *Antiq. ch.* 7. and Seward at *Dealbhna.*)

(108) In St. Tola's *Acts* at 30 March, in which Colgan collected every thing that he could find concerning him, Kildare is not even mentioned. In the passage of the 4 Masters relative to him, there quoted at full length, he is called bishop only of Clonard. The calendar of Cashel has "*St. Tola of Disert-Tola;*" the martyrology of Donegall, "*St Tola bishop and anchoret, of Disert-Tola.*" But in no calendar whatsoever is he said to have belonged to Kildare. Yet at *p.* 407. we find *and of Kildare, et de Kill-dara*, added to the words, *bishop of Clonard.* It is plain that *Kill-dara* has slipped in, instead of *Disert-Tola.* Hence proceeded the mistake of Ware and Harris, who (*Bishops at Meath and Kildare*) make him bishop not only of Clonard, but likewise of Kildare. To show still further that they were mistaken, I may add that in the very minute catalogue, which Colgan has, (*Tr. Th. p.* 629.) of the bishops, abbots, &c. of Kildare, from the beginning down to the 13th century, no St. Tola is reckoned among them.

(109) *Tr. Th. p.* 509. The year there marked from the 4 Masters is 734. *i. e.* 735.

(110) Colgan has this bishop Cumian at 12 January. His reason for treating of him at said day was his having conjectured that he might have been Cumian of Antrim, whose name is in the Irish calendars at said day, and whose death is assigned to *A.* 658. For this conjecture he has not even the appearance of an argument, nor is it consistent with Cumian's having died at Bobbio on a 19th of August, and during the reign of Luitprand, which did not begin until many years after 658. He observes that among all the St. Cumians, bishops or otherwise, not one of them appears in the Irish calendars at 19 August. This is not to be wondered at, whereas the Cumian of Bobbio died far away from Ireland, and all that is known of him is contained in the following epitaph, which our old hagiologists probably never heard of. and of which I have given the substance.

Hic sacra beati membra Cumiani solvuntur,
 Cujus caelum penetrans anima cum Angelis gaudet.
 Iste fuit magnus dignitate, genere, forma.
 Hunc mittit Scotia fines ad Italicos senem ;
 Locatur et Bobio, Domini constrictus amore,
 Ubi venerandi dogma Columbani servando
 Vigilans, ieiunans, indefessus sedule orans,
 Olympiades quatuor, uniusque circulo anni,
 Sic vixit feliciter, ut felix modo credatur.
 Mitis, prudens, pius patribus pacificus cunctis.
 Huic aetatis anni fuerunt novies deni,
 Lustrum quoque unum, mensesque quatuor simul.
 Ac pater egregiè potens intercessor existe
 Pro gloriosissimo Luitprando rege, qui tuum
 Pretioso lapide tumbam decoravit devotus.
 Sic ut manifestum alium ubi tegitur corpus
 — est hic dominus Cumianus episcopus
 Quartodecimo Calend. Septemb. fecit Joannes Magister.

Colgan would fain refer the words, *Quartodecimo Calend. Septemb.* not to the death of Cumian, but to the day on which John Magister worked at the epitaph. This would be a strange mode of explaining the days marked on such monuments, nor would it have occurred to Colgan, did he not think it odd that Cumian's name is not in the Irish calendars at 19 August. Mabillon, touching incidentally on Cumian, (*Annal. &c.* at *A.* 722.) understood the 14 *Calend. Sept.* as relative to his death, observing at the same time that in the calendar of Bobbio his festival was assigned not to that day *i. e.* 19 August, but to the 9th of June. His adding that Cumian spent more than 20 years in that monastery is, I think, a mistake founded on his having reckoned the four Olympiads as each consisting of five years, a mode of computing, which he had erroneously followed in making up the age of St. Columbanus. (See *Not.* 69 to *Chap.* XIII.)

§. ix. Flahertach, monarch of Ireland, who, as we have seen, (111) retired in 734 to a monastery in Armagh, was succeeded by Aedh or Hugh IV. sur-named Ollain, son of the king Fergall. He reigned

for nine years until he was killed in the battle of Kells A. D. 743, fighting against Domnald, who was then raised to the throne. This Domnald, the third monarch of his name, was son of Murdach a great grandson of Colman prince of Meath, who was a son of the monarch Diermit I. Having reigned 20 years, Domnald went on a pilgrimage to Hy, where he died late in 763. His successor was Niell Fras-sach, or the *cloudy*, a brother of Aedh Ollain, who after a reign of seven years retired to Hy, became a monk there, and lived until 778. The next monarch was Donnchad, or Donagh, a son (born in 733) of Domnald III. He ascended the throne in 770, and held it for 27 years. His reign is remarkable for its having been that, during which the Danes began to infest the coasts of Scotland and Ireland. (112)

The Church history of Ireland during these reigns presents us with a much smaller number of persons distinguished by sanctity or learning, and of interesting facts, than we have met with in former periods. Yet notwithstanding the scanty accounts, that remain of those times, owing either to a neglect in recording transactions or to the destruction and loss of documents, it is certain that ecclesiastical discipline and learning of every sort, such as was cultivated in the eighth century, continued to flourish in this country. Detailed accounts of many holy and learned men of this period cannot be given; but there is no doubt of such, and far from few, persons having adorned it.

A St. Manchin, abbot of Tuaim-gréne (Tomgrany in the county of Clare) died in 735 (736). (113) Aractac, who, although called only abbot of Ferns, was perhaps bishop there, died in 738. (114) To A. D. 742 is assigned the death of St. Cormac bishop of Trim. (115) He is said to have been of the royal house of the Nialls; and his name appears in various calendars at the 17th of February as the anniversary of his death. (116) Three brothers of

his are spoken of; Rumond, a very wise man and deeply skilled in history and antiquities, who died in 743; Baitellach, abbot of Trim, whose death is marked at A. D. 752; and Ossan a priest, the year of whose death is not known. St. Coman, or Comman, author of a Monastic rule, which was extensively followed in Connaught, died in 743, or according to another account in 746. (117) I find him called bishop of Roscommon, (118) where an episcopal see existed during the middle ages; and, as that place, in all appearance, got its name from this St. Coman (119) it is highly probable that he was its first bishop. (120) His memory was revered on the 26th of December. (121) In these times there was a bishop, and apparently the first, at Fore, St. Suarle or Suarlech, who, having succeeded the abbot Dubdaboren in 736, was afterwards raised to the episcopal rank and lived until the 27th of March, A. D. 746. (122)

(111) Above §. 1.

(112) O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. Part. III. cap. 93*. See also Ware, *Antiq. cap. 4*. Their accounts as to those kings agree in substance, except that Ware reckons the reign of Donnchad from the year 778, in which Niell Frassach died in Hy, while O'Flaherty makes it begin in 770, the year of said king's withdrawing to that island. And hence instead of 27 years, which O'Flaherty has for his reign, Ware counts only 19. I must here caution the reader against a typographical error in the margin (*ib.*) of the English translation of Ware, in which, instead of 797, the year of Donnchad's death, we find 787. The dates of the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 448.*) relative to all those kings are different from O'Flaherty's; but we may be certain that his are the most correct.

(113) *AA. SS. p. 332*.

(114) *Ib. p. 223*. I have changed the date 737 of the 4 Masters into 738. In the 3d *Index, ib.* Arectach is called *bishop* of Ferns. This may have been merely a mistake of the compiler.

(115) Colgan at 17 February, (*p. 361.*) where he treats of this

saint, calls him Cormac *junior*, as if there had been an older Cormac bishop of Trim in the fifth century. That this is a mistake has been shown already (*Chap. VIII. §. 12.*) The 4 Masters, quoted by Colgan place Cormac's death in 741 (742).

(116) Although in said calendars Cormac, *bishop of Trim*, is expressly mentioned at 17 February, Colgan, in consequence of his supposing that there was an older Cormac also bishop there, has some doubts as to which of them this date belonged. But, as he was mistaken on that point, these doubts are unfounded. At said day the calendars have indeed another Cormac, who was not bishop of Trim, but archbishop of Armagh. (See *Chap. VIII. §. 12.*)

(117) The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 791.*) have *A. 742* (743). Ware (*Writers at Coman*) quotes the Annals of Boyle for *A. 746.*

(118) *AA. SS. p. 405.*

(119) We have seen (*Not. 146 to Chap. XII.*) that there is no sufficient reason to admit, that there was a St. Coman at Roscommon in the sixth century, as some writers have supposed.

(120) Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 405.*) calls Coman not only bishop, but likewise founder of the church of Roscommon.

(121) *Ib. and p. 791.*

(122) *AA. SS. p. 772 at 27 Mart.* The date from the 4 Masters is 745, *i. e.* 746.

§. x. Albuin, *alias* Witta or Wittan, one of the fellow labourers of St. Boniface in Germany, and who in 741 was appointed by him bishop of Bura-burg near Fritzlar in Hesse, (123) is said to have been a native of Ireland. (124) The only objection I find to this position is, that, if his original name was *Witta*, he would seem to have been rather an Englishman. But it may be conjectured, that his real name was *Albuin*, which, to please the German ears, was changed into the corresponding Saxon *Witta*, *white*. (125) Be this as it may, scarcely any thing else is known concerning him, except that he died on a 26th of October, and has been called the apostle of Thuringia. (126) It is

certain that there were at that period Irish missionaries preaching the Gospel in Germany together with St. Boniface. One of them was the celebrated Virgilius, who afterwards became bishop of Saltzburg, and whose real name was most probably *Feargil*, or perhaps *Feargal*. (127) To what part of Ireland he belonged, or of what family he was, I cannot find any account, except its being said that he was of noble extraction. (128) Having greatly distinguished himself by his piety and learning, (129) he was raised to the priesthood, and, apparently soon after, set out for the continent as a missionary. He had arrived in France before the year 746, (130) where he was most graciously received by Pepin, son of Charles Martel, and as yet only mayor of the palace. (131) He is said to have remained with Pepin, who was greatly attached to him, for two years, at Carisiacum, a princely residence near Compeigne, on the Oise, and thence to have proceeded to Bavaria then governed by the duke Otilo or Odilo, to whom he was strongly recommended by Pepin. This was probably about the year 745. Virgilius was in Bavaria when his disputes began with St. Boniface, whose jurisdiction then extended over that country, as well as over many other parts of Germany. The first instance of them occurs in 746, occasioned by a theological question, to which the ignorance of a priest gave rise. This priest, not understanding Latin, used in administering baptism to say these words; “Baptizo te in nomine *Patria, et Filia, et Spiritua Sancta*” instead of *Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*. Boniface, being informed of it, ordered Virgilius and Sidonius, a companion of his and probably also an Irishman, (132) to rebaptize such persons as that priest had undertaken to baptize. They refused to obey, justly maintaining that the baptisms performed by him were valid, and, to protect themselves against any exercise of Boni-

face's power, gave a full account of the whole matter in a letter which they wrote to Pope Zachary.

(123) See *Epistol. Bonifac.* No. 131, 132, and Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L. 42. §. 22.*

(124) Trithemius (*De viris illustribus Ord. Ben. &c.*) states, that he had been a monk in Ireland, and that thence, leaving his sweet native country, he passed over to Germany, where he converted numbers of pagans, and became bishop, &c. Arnold Wion (*Lign. Vits.*) calls Albuin an Irishman, and as Trithemius also says in one place, a monk of Hy, who went to Germany, &c. Hence several other authors, among whom Serarius (*Ber. Mogunt. L. 3.*) Usher (*Preface to Ep. Hib. Syll.*) Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 610.*) Ware and Harris (*Writers at Albuin*) have considered him as undoubtedly a native of Ireland.

(125) Even admitting that the original name was *Vitta, Witt* or *Wittan*, it might have been an Irish name, although not meaning *white* in the Irish language. His English companions, finding that in their tongue it was like *white*, might have latinized it into *Albinus*.

(126) See *AA. SS. p. 610.*

(127) The Irish *Fear*, sometimes contracted into *Fer*, has in latinizing of names been not seldom changed into *Vir*. For *Fear* in Irish signifies *man*, as *Vir* does in Latin. Thus an abbot of Hy, whose name is constantly written in Irish *Fergna*, is called by Adamnan *Virgnous* through, as Colgan observes (*AA. SS. p. 451.*) a Latin inflexion. In like manner *Virgilius*, which I find (*ib. p. 800*) given also to an abbot of Aghaboe in the 8th century, and (*ib. p. 107*) to one of Tirdaglas in the 10th, was no other than *Feargil*, or probably *Feargal, Fergal*, now *Ferral*. That the *Virgilius*, who was in Germany during the time of St. Boniface, was the same as the one, who was afterwards raised to the see of Saltzburg cannot, with any sufficient degree of probability, be called in question. His having disagreed with him on some points, in which by the bye *Virgilius* was right, and his being denounced by him to Pope Zachary, is no proof that he was not the holy and learned *Virgilius*, who, after that Pope's death, was considered worthy of being promoted to the episcopal order. Fleury, however, treats of them as two distinct *Virgils*; but Mabillon (at the *Life of St.*

Virgil, *AA. Ben. Sec. 3. part 2.* and *Annal. Ben.* at *A. 747* and *756.*) makes them the same person, and so does Basnage in his edition of Canisius, (*Ant. Lect. Tom. 3. part 2. p. 273.*) I scarcely need add, that Baronius, Usher, Ware, and a crowd of other writers were of the same opinion. Yet Pagi (*Critica &c. ad A. D. 746.*) has endeavoured to show, that the Virgil, with whom Boniface had some disputes, was different from the great bishop of Saltzburg. But, as will be soon seen, his arguments are far from conclusive.

(128) A Life of St. Virgilius has been published by Canisius (*Tom. 3. part 2. Basnage's ed*) and afterwards by Messingham (*Florileg, &c.*) and Mabillon (*Act. Ben. Sec. 3. part 2.* It was written in the 12th century, and consists of two parts; the first biographical, but short, meagre, and inaccurate; the second on miracles wrought at his tomb in various times. This Life begins with these words: *Beatissimus igitur Virgilius in Hibernia insula de nobili ortus prosapia,*" &c. The account given in it of his transactions prior to his being placed on the see of Saltzburg is very imperfect, and that part of his history must be collected from other documents.

(129) All accounts agree, that besides being very religious he was exceedingly learned. In the Life it is said that he might have been considered the most learned among the learned men of his time and climate, meaning, I suppose, the western world. By Bruschius he is styled *vir pietate et doctrina clarus.* He is spoken of in like manner by Hundius and other German writers.

(130) Pagi, *Critica, &c. ad A. 746.*

(131) Some writers have said that Virgilius, on his arrival in France, was received by King Pepin. But this must be understood in a loose sense, inasmuch as Pepin, from being mayor of the palace, was afterwards raised to the throne in 752. Pagi (*loc. cit.*) and Mabillon (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 756.*) took care to style Pepin only *mayor of the palace* at the time of Virgilius' reception at his court. According to the unchronological manner, in which his arrival in France and his subsequent proceedings until he was consecrated bishop of Saltzburg are related in the Life, it would seem as if he had not been in that country until after 760. Not only Ware and Harris, (*Writers at Virgil*) but likewise Fleury, (*L. 44. §. 3.*) in consequence of following said Life, fell into a great

mistake on this point. Besides calling Pepin *king* at the time of his first receiving Virgilius, they supposed that the saint was not in the continent more than about four years prior to 766, or 767, to each of which years his consecration at Saltzburg has been most erroneously assigned. It will be seen lower down, that he was a bishop many years earlier. But from what is said in the *Life*, and which they copied from it, concerning Virgilius having gone from Pepin's court to Saltzburg in the time of Otilo, duke of Bavaria, these writers ought to have guarded against that mistake; for, as Pagi (*ib.*) observes, Otilo died in 748.

(132) Mabillon says, (*Annals, &c.* at *A.* 747) that Sidonius had perhaps come from Ireland with Virgilius. This is a very probable conjecture; for *Sidonius*, latinized from *Sedna*, frequently occurs as the name of distinguished Irishmen in those ages. Where did Harris find, (*Writers at Virgil*) that this Sidonius, the fellow labourer of Virgilius, was archbishop of Bavaria? It is plain that he was only a priest, and so he is titled in a letter of Pope Zachary, written in 748.

§. XI. The Pope was astonished at the proceeding of Boniface, and immediately wrote to him, expressing the pain he felt at his having issued an order for the rebaptizing of those persons. He cautions him never to act in that manner again, whereas, although the priest's Latin was bad, the baptisms performed by him were valid, and unattended with any circumstances that could authorize the rebaptization of those, whom he had baptized. (133) It seems that Boniface was hurt at Virgilius' having written to the Pope, and consequently treated him with harshness. It has been said, but I suspect without foundation, that Virgilius went on this occasion to Rome. (134) It is certain that he was in Bavaria in 747 and the following year. For in one or other of these years, I believe the former, Boniface denounced him to the Pope, alleging various charges, some of which cannot be easily guessed at. (135) The first was that he used to speak ill of Boniface, because, said Boniface, I have shown that he erred

on Catholic doctrine. But on what point or points Virgilius erred, we are not informed. Another charge was that, conversing with the duke Otilo, he used to sow seeds of hatred between him and Boniface. To these vague accusations he adds, what he must have picked up from false report, that Virgilius said that he was *authorized* (136) by the Pope to obtain the diocese of a deceased bishop, one of the four whom Boniface had ordained in that country. But these are trifles, compared with the horrible crime, of which Virgilius was guilty, by maintaining that there was another world and other men under the earth, that is, under the part of the earth trodden by Boniface. Zachary in his answer, written in 748, passing over the two first charges, denies that he had empowered Virgilius to obtain a diocese, and says that, in case it be proved that he held the doctrine of there being another world and other men under the earth, (137) a synod should be convened, and Virgilius expelled from the church. He adds, that he was then about sending a letter to the duke (Otilo) concerning Virgilius, for the purpose of citing him to appear before himself, and, if convicted of error, of condemning him according to the canons. Then he tells Boniface, that he did not forget what he had written to him (on some other occasion) concerning Sidonius and the *aforesaid* Virgilius. (138) What complaint Boniface had made against them is not stated. Perhaps it was that they were not as obedient to him as he would have wished. Zachary says that he had written a threatening letter to them; and subjoins that Boniface will be believed preferably to them, and that, as he observed above (with regard to Virgilius), he will summon them to appear before the Apostolic see. Whether either Virgilius or Sidonius were actually summoned to attend at Rome, or went thither, or which of the parties was believed in preference to the other, we are not informed; but matters must have been compromised, and a recon-

ciliation have taken place, whereas henceforth nothing whatsoever can be discovered relative to those disputes. (139) Virgilius was abbot of St. Peter's monastery at Saltzburgh before the death of Duke Otilo, (140) which occurred in 748, and seems to have continued in that situation, until he was appointed bishop of said city by Pope Stephen the second and the king Pepin in 756. (141)

(133) This letter of Pope Zachary is at *No. 134.* of the *Epist. Bonifac.* and may be seen in the *Bibl. Patr. of Lyons, Tom. 13.* Usher has it in *Ep. Hib. Syll. No. 16* It begins thus; "Virgilius et Sidonius, *religiosi viri*, apud *Baioariorum* provinciam degentes, suis nos litteris visitarunt."

(134) Pagi holds (at *A. 746*) that Virgilius, *i. e.* the one, whom he distinguishes from the bishop of Saltzburg, went to Rome in said year. His only argument is that in a letter, of which more will be seen directly, of Zachary to Boniface, written in 748, a charge against Virgilius is mentioned, viz. that he said "quod a nobis esset *absolutus*—diocesim obtinere. Pagi explains *absolutus* as signifying *dismissed*; whence he concluded that Virgilius had been at Rome. I think it more probable that *absolutus* must in that passage be understood as meaning *empowered* or *authorized*, according to an acceptation introduced in the middle ages. Thus we find *absolutio* used for *power, liberty, licence*; and *absolutionem facere* for granting power or faculties. It was with reference to this occupation, that Zachary made use of the phrase *absolutus*; for it seems clear from what we read in the same letter a few lines higher up, that he had not as yet seen Virgilius. Alluding to charges brought against him by Boniface, he says that he does not know whether said Virgilius was called a priest, *nescimus si dicatur presbyter*. How could this be, had Zachary been acquainted with Virgilius at Rome? In a former letter (see *Not. prec.*) he called him a *religiosus vir*, that is, a man charged with religious functions, such as he might have been without being a priest, for instance, were he only a deacon. At the time, at least, when Zachary wrote the latter, Virgilius was abbot of the monastery of St. Peter at Saltzburg; but Boniface had not informed the Pope of his rank or situation. I must not dissemble

that also Mabillon thought (*Annal. Ben. ad. A. 747.*) that Virgilius *i. e.* he who afterwards became bishop, went to Rome and returned thence to Bavaria in said year 747. He likewise must have been led astray by the word, *absolutus*.

(135) These charges are known only from Zachary's answer to Boniface *No. 140. ap. Epist. Bonifac.* and 17. in Usher's *Sylloge*. Mabillon supposed (*Annal. &c. ad A. 756.*) that Boniface was displeased with Virgilius, because he had come to Bavaria with recommendations from Pepin, and not by order of Boniface himself, and that he was taken great notice of by the duke Otilo, to which he adds that perhaps Virgilius was not very submissive to him. All this may be true, and joined with the opposition of Virgilius on the baptismal question is fully sufficient to explain why Boniface became so angry with him.

(136) See *Not. 134.*

(137) It is universally admitted that the opinion maintained by Virgilius was no other than that relative to the Antipodes, an opinion founded on the sphericity of the earth, and which in our days even school-boys are acquainted with. It was new to Boniface; for in those times geographical and philosophical learning was not as much cultivated in other parts of the West as in Ireland. His mode of stating that opinion might have misled a Pope even more learned than Zachary, and induced him to think, that Virgilius held that there was a second species of men inhabiting another world distinct from the earth. That Virgilius entertained no such extravagant notion is clear from there not having been any further proceedings on this subject; a circumstance which cannot be accounted for except on this principle, that Virgilius communicated a correct statement of his opinion to Zachary, who accordingly found it to be harmless.

(138) "*Pro Sidonio autem et Virgilio supradicto presbyteris, quod scripsit sanctitas tua, agnovimus.*" It is odd that here he calls not only Sidonius but likewise Virgil a priest, although some lines before he had said, that he did not know whether that same Virgilius was called one. (See *Not. 134.*) Unless there be some error in the text, the reason of this discrepancy must be that in a letter of Boniface concerning Sidonius and Virgilius jointly, and which was different from that in which he brought the above mentioned charge against Virgilius in particular, he gave them the title of *priests*, which he omitted in the other, when com-

plaining of Virgilius alone. By Virgilius Zachary meant throughout the whole letter one and the same person, as is evident from the word *supradicto*.

(139) One of Pagi's arguments to show that the Virgilius, who was accused by Boniface, was different from St. Virgilius of Saltzburg, is, that, in the saint's Life no mention is made of these disputes. But surely he must have known that in works of that kind, particularly such as were made up in the dark ages, silence was usually observed with regard to quarrels between holy men. In fact, the so called Lives of saints, written in those times, are in general panegyric discourses rather than biographical tracts, and every thing is omitted that might throw the least reflection on the conduct of the saint at any time of his life. And as to that of St. Virgilius, Pagi was well aware that it is very imperfect. Among many other circumstances, it has nothing about Virgilius having been abbot at Saltzburg for many years before he was made bishop. It is odd that Pagi, who allows that both his Virgils were in Bavaria in 746, and thenceforth during the disputes with Boniface, did not consider that the Virgilius engaged in them, was, as appears from Zachary's letter of 748, the confidential friend of duke Otilo. Now Pagi himself states that Virgilius, who became bishop of Salzburg, was the one who had been recommended to him by Pepin, and who was afterwards a great favourite. According to his hypothesis we should admit that both the Virgils were greatly esteemed by the duke and quite intimate with him. What necessity is there for such suppositions, unsupported by any thing we find in Pope Zachary's letters, or by the authority of any old document? Pagi seemed to think, that the Virgilius, who was accused by Boniface, was an obscure person of little note; but if he had well examined the letter of 748, he would have found that he was considered at Otilo's court as a man of high consequence.

(140) Mabillon, *Annal. B. ad A. 756*.

(141) Mabillon (*ib.*) shows that this is the true date of Virgilius' appointment to that see, and observes that he was the immediate successor of John, who died in said year 756. Pagi contends (at *A. 746*) that he was bishop of Saltzburg as early as about this year, and it is on this supposition that he chiefly, and

indeed solely, (for his other arguments are good for nothing) grounds his assertion that the bishop was different from the Virgilius, who had disputes with St. Boniface. This should certainly be allowed, were it true that his episcopacy began about 746, whereas it is self-evident that the person accused by Boniface, and suspected of error by Zachary in 748, was not a bishop. Pagi's only argument for making Virgilius a bishop so early is founded on a very ancient epitaph on him, which he met with in Mabillon's *Analecta*, Tom. 4. In it we read, among other lines ;

“ Quique regebat ovans praesentis culmina sedis
Ferre *quater-denos* caris cum fratribus annos.”

Pagi understands the almost forty, *quater-denos*, years here mentioned, as all relative to the episcopal incumbency of Virgilius at Saltzburg. Now, as he died 785, Pagi places the commencement of it in about 746. But Mabillon, who has published said epitaph not only in the *Analecta*, but likewise in the *Annal. B.* (at A. 785) has drawn no such conclusion from it ; for, as above observed, he assigns that commencement to A. 756. And did Pagi imagine, that the old breviaries, *ex. c.* that of Passau, and various writers, where stating that Virgilius was appointed bishop by Stephen the second, and on the postulation of Pepin, when king of the whole French monarchy, were all wrong ? Stephen's pontificate did not begin until 752, the very year in which Pepin was crowned king. To return to the epitaph, the fact is that Pagi was mistaken in his interpretation of it ; for the quoted lines can very well, and, unless equally good documents are to be all rejected, must be explained as relative not only to the years, during which Virgilius was bishop of Saltzburg, but likewise to the previous ones while he governed St. Peter's monastery. Thus it is true, that he was invested with ecclesiastical authority in that city during near forty years, there being every reason to think that he was abbot of St. Peter's as early as 746. As to the opposite extreme of those, who have put off the episcopacy of Virgilius until 766 or 767, it is scarcely worth mentioning ; and let it suffice to observe that Pope Stephen II. by whom he had been instituted, was dead since 757. Harris (*Writers at Virgilius*) fell into a monstrous blunder as to the dates of some of his transactions. Not content with following Ware's

mistake in assigning his consecration as bishop of Saltzburg to 767, he adds, among other inaccuracies, that it was during his episcopacy that he had his controversies with Boniface. Poor Harris did not know, that Boniface suffered martyrdom in 755, and accordingly was dead before even the real date (756) of the episcopacy of Virgilius. Ware himself, although not chargeable with this huge mistake, was very inconsistent in, on one side, supposing that Virgilius had not left Ireland until about 763, (see *Not.* 131) and, on the other, in saying that he and Sidonius wrote a letter to Pope Zachary against Boniface. It is true, as we have seen, that they wrote to Zachary; but this very circumstance ought to have taught Ware, that Virgilius was in the Continent long before 763, whereas Zachary died in 752. There is a ridiculous story, mentioned by Usher, (*Ep. Hib. Syll. Not. ad No.* 16) of Virgilius having been a bishop before he left Ireland, and of his having gone over to Germany at the same time with St. Kilian of Wurtzburg. It is too absurd to merit refutation; and it is well known that St. Kilian was dead since 689. (See *Chap.* XVIII. §. 10.)

§. XII. It is said that Virgilius, although named to that see, and exercising episcopal jurisdiction, deferred his consecration for almost two years, until at length, urged by the other bishops of the province and the clergy and people of his diocese, he submitted to it; and that in the mean time Dobda, or Dobdagreus, a bishop who had accompanied him from Ireland, exercised the necessary episcopal functions in his stead. (142) Some writers have supposed that Dobda was a Greek; but this is, I believe, a mistake originating in the name *Dobda-greus* having been changed by a copyist into *Dobda Grecus* or *Graecus*. (143) According to some accounts, Dobda was placed as bishop at Chiem (Chiempsee in upper Bavaria) by the duke Otilo, and established there a school, which was frequented by a great number of students. (144) Of the further proceedings of St. Virgilius we shall see more hereafter; but chronological order does not allow a continuation of his history in this place. About the same time that he

arrived in Bavaria we find another distinguished Irishman in that country, St. Alto, who has been called a companion of his. (145) He is stated to have been of a very illustrious family, and to have arrived in Bavaria about 743. (146) There he lived for some years as a hermit in a forest about midway between Augsburg and Munich. The fame of his sanctity reached the ears of Pepin, to whom that country was subject, and induced him to make him a grant of a part of the forest, about the year 750, for the purpose of erecting a church and monastery. This grant was very probably made through the interference of St. Virgilius, for whom Pepin, both when mayor of the palace and when king, entertained the highest regard. Alto immediately set about clearing the ground, and, assisted by the people of the neighbourhood, succeeded in completing a monastery and church, which was dedicated by St. Boniface. This monastery was, from Alto's name, called *Alto-munster*, afterwards corrupted into *Alt-munster*. The memory of this holy man was revered on the 9th of February, the anniversary of his death, the year of which is not known. Some tracts have been attributed to him, but on authority not worth attending to. (147) Among other Irish missionaries of this period in Bavaria is reckoned Declan, who is said to have died at Frisingen on, it seems, a first of December. (148)

(142) These particulars are related in the Life of St. Virgilius, and in one of St. Rupert. In the former the bishop, that officiated instead of Virgilius, is called *Dobda*; in the latter, *Dobdagreus*. He is represented as having come from Ireland together with Virgilius; and, if it be true that he got a bishopric from the duke Otilo, this may be admitted, whereas Otilo died in 748.

(143) Hundius in his *Catalogue of the bishops of Saltzburg*, has *Dobda*, or as he calls him, *Dobdan*, a Greek. From him Usher took what he has on this point, (*Ep. Hib. Syll. Not. ad No. 16.*) and from Usher others have picked it up. *Dobda* would have been a very odd name for a native of Greece, but it was

common in Ireland, being the same as *Dubda*, of which many instances occur in old times particularly as a part of compound appellations. We have already met with *Dubda-borend* abbot of Fore, and *Dubdan O'Foelain* bishop of Clonard. There was a *Dubda-lethe* archbishop of Armagh in the latter end of the eighth century, a *Dubda-lethe*, abbot of Killskire, &c. A person, not accustomed to Irish names, might have easily changed *Dobda-greus* into *Dobda-graecus*; and hence most probably was derived the notion of that bishop having been a Greek. That there were formerly some Greek ecclesiastics in Ireland is clear from there having been, as Usher (*ib.*) observes, a Greek church at Trim, and which was so called as late as his times; but there is not sufficient proof to show that *Dobda* was one of them. Dr. Ledwich, having made mention (*Antiq. p. 172.*) of *Dobda* or *Dobdan* as a Greek, adds to what Usher touched upon; and as if to outstrip him in learning! that *Virgilius* had learned the *doctrine of the Antipodes*, &c. from *Dobdan* and other lettered Greeks and Orientals. Then he says that *Virgilius* must have read *Plutarch*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Proclus*, and *Stobacus*. Yet many a one has held the doctrine, as he terms it, of *Antipodes* without having read *Plutarch*, &c. Next he observes that this “demonstrates the attachment of the Irish to the Greek school and *fathers* above the Roman.” Pray, were *Plutarch*, *Diogenes Laertius*, &c. fathers of the Church? Or had the question concerning the *Antipodes* any thing to do with theology? But the Doctor, when he gets upon his hobby horse of Greeks and Orientals, knows nobounds. He was not aware that *Pope Zachary*, who was so much attached to *Boniface*, whom the Dr. would call a Romanist, and who said he would believe him preferably to *Virgilius*, was himself a Greek. How could it happen that he had not some partiality for an Irishman, for a member of that nation, which preferred the Greek schools to the Roman? To be serious, there was no difference in those days between said schools either theological or philosophical, except that the Greeks were, in general, more skilled in the philosophy of the times. The Irish collected information from whatever quarter it could be found in; they studied the works of both Greeks and Latins in every department of knowledge; and it is certain that they were at that period very well versed in Greek learning, and undoubtedly much more so than any other people of Western Europe.

(144) Hundius, *loc. cit.* If Dobda was named to that see by Otilo, he must have been there as early as 748. But Hundius' chronology is perhaps as incorrect on this point as on that relative to Virgilius, whom also he makes bishop of Saltzburg in Otilo's time, adding that he was consecrated in 767, to which year he assigns likewise the opening of Dobda's school and apparently his appointment to Chiem.

(145) In the Acts of St. Alto, which Colgan has endeavoured to make up at 9 February, Brunner is quoted as stating (*Annal. Boior.*) that Alto had accompanied Virgilius, "*ex eiusdem comitatu.*" This was perhaps founded merely on the circumstance of Alto's having been in Bavaria at least as early as Virgilius.

(146) Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A.* 743. Colgan observes (*AA. SS. p.* 302.) that *Alto* was rather a usual name in Ireland, as appears from old genealogies. St. Brendan of Clonfert was grandson of one Alto, and accordingly was surnamed by Adamnan *Mocu-Alti.*

(147) Dempster, besides striving to make Alto a Scotchman, because he is said to have been born in *Scotia*, as if the *Scotia* of those times were not Ireland, has forged the names of certain books as written by him, which, observes Colgan, nobody else has a word about.

(148) See *AA. SS. p.* 302. and Usher, *Ep. Hib. Syll. Not. ad No.* 16.

§. XIII. To the year 747 (149) are assigned the deaths of the following distinguished and pious ecclesiastics; Moelimarchan, bishop of Ectrum; (150) Nuad or Nuadat, abbot of Clones; Cuangus, surnamed *Mac-dall*, a man of eminent sanctity and learning, and abbot of Liethmore, where his festival was celebrated, together with that of the founder St. Pulcherius, on the 13th of March; (151) Colman surnamed *Britannicus*, apparently from his having spent some time in Britain or having been a British Scot, son of one Foilan, and abbot of Slane; Fursey or Fursa, abbot of Lecan, now Leckin in Westmeath; Losclag, surnamed *Wise*; Eochod of Killtoma, somewhere in said district; (152) Keledulass of

Devenish ; and Macoge of Lismore, who was perhaps bishop of that see.

In the following year 748, and on the third of July, is said to have died Killen Droichtheach, abbot of Hy. (153) He was succeeded by Failbe, the second abbot of that name, concerning whom I find nothing particular, except that his death is assigned to the 10th of March A. D. 755 ; that he was then in the 87th year of his age ; and that he was succeeded by Sleben, son of Congal, of the race of Conall Gulbanus. (154)

Congus, archbishop of Armagh, having governed the see for 20 years, (155) was on his death in 750 succeeded by Kele-Petrus, a native of Hi-Bressail, now Clanbrassil in the county of Armagh, whose incumbency lasted until 758, when he died and had for successor Ferdachrich son of one Suibne. (156) Flahertach, who had been king of Ireland, and became a monk at Armagh, died there in 761. (157) In the same year died Tola, abbot, and perhaps bishop, of Ardraccan ; as also Folachtach, abbot of Birr ; Loarn, abbot of Clonard ; Kellbil, abbot of Cluain-bronich ; (158) and Alild, abbot of Mungret ; concerning all of whom nothing further is known.

In these times flourished St. Melle or Mella, the mother of two holy men, Cannech, a priest, and Tigernach, an abbot. (159) Having lost her husband, she determined on leading a religious and retired life. Tigernach had just erected a monastery, close to the lake Melge (Lough-Melve in the county of Leitrim), which he made over to her, proceeding himself to another place. Melle here collected a number of pious females, whom she governed as abbess for many years. There is no account of the precise time of her death ; but it appears to have been prior, by some years, to 787. She is mentioned twice in the Calendars, viz. at the 9th and 31st of March, under the name of *St. Melle of Doire-Melle*,

that is, the oak grove of Melle, by which appellation that nunnery has been distinguished.

(149) 4 Masters, and Colgan *Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.* Their date is 746, *i. e.* 747.

(150) Colgan's text has *Episcopus Ectrumensis*. I cannot find a place called *Ectrum*. It is very probable that *Ectrumensis* is an erratum for *Endrumensis* or *Aendrumensis*, and that Antrim was the see of this bishop.

(151) Colgan gives a short account of St. Congus at 13 March, *p.* 607.

(152) See Archdall at *Kiltoma*.

(153) The 4 Masters, and *Tr. Th.* (*p.* 500) have 747 (748). Smith (*Append. to Life of St. Columba*) refers to the Annals of Ulster as placing this Killen's death in 751. In Johnston's Extracts from said annals I do not find even his name mentioned.

(154) 4 Masters and *Tr. Th. ib.* Their date 754 (755) for Failbe's death does not agree with the Annals of Ulster, which, as they appear in Johnston, make mention of Suibhne as abbot in 753 (754). It is also to be observed, that according to his reading there would be no room for the abbot Sleben, whom the 4 Masters and Colgan make the immediate successor of Failbe and next before Suibhne. I suspect that Johnston mistook the text of said Annals, and that he confounded Sleben with his successor Suibhne. Thus, instead of *Suibhne*, as abbot in 754, we ought to read *Sleben*.

(155) See above, §. 8.

(156) 4 Masters, and *Tr. Th. p.* 294. I have added, as also Ware has done, a year to their dates.

(157) *Ib.* The year there marked is 760, *i. e.* 761.

(158) In the Topographical Index to *AA. SS. Cluain-bronach* is marked as the same place with Clonbrone in the county of Longford. But *Cluain-bronach* must have been different from it, whereas at Clonbrone there was only a nunnery. *Cluain-bronach* was probably the same as *Cluainbraoin* near the town of Louth, where the memory of a St. Dichuli was held in veneration. (See *Tr. Th. p.* 115.) Archdall would have done better, had he assigned Kellbil to this place rather than to Clonbrone, where he has him in a list of abbesses. It may perhaps be

said, that Colgan does not expressly call him an abbot ; but, as he uses the word, *abbot*, just before, when naming Loarn, it is difficult to suppose that this title was not meant as applicable also to Kellbil. In like manner we find in the passage, where those persons are mentioned together (*Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.*) as having died in 760 (761), that Tola is not called either abbot or bishop ; yet elsewhere (*ib. p. 793.*) Colgan gives him the title of *antistes* of Ardbraccan.

(159) Colgan has a short and imperfect account of St. Mella at 31 March. He thinks that St. Cannech, her son, was the same as the Cannech, whose name is in the Calendars at said day.

§. XIV. Ferdachrich, who, as we have seen, became archbishop of Armagh in 758, held that see for about ten years, and dying in 768, seemingly in the month of May, (160) was succeeded by Foendelach, or Foennelach, (161) the son of one Moenach. Sleben, abbot of Hy, died in 763 ; and his memory was revered on the 2d of March. His successor was Suibhne the second, who governed the Columbian order until 768, or, according to some, 772, the year of his death. This Suibhne's name is in the calendars at 22 June. (162) He had been in Ireland on, as may be supposed, a visitation of the Columbian monasteries in 767. (163) St. Aedgen, bishop of Fore, died in 767 (164) after which I do not find any bishop named from that place until about 100 years later. St. Himelin, a native of Ireland, who is said to have been a near relative of St. Rumold of Mechlin, is supposed to have died during this period and the reign of Pepin, which ended in 768. (165) Himelin was returning from Rome, when being much fatigued and very thirsty he stopped to rest a while at Vissenack, a village near Thenac (Tillemont) in Brabant. It is related that having met a servant maid of the curate of that place, who was bringing water from a neighbouring fountain, he asked her for a drink of it, which she refused to give him, because her master had en-

joined her not to let any one put his lips to the vessel on account of a pestilence then raging in that vicinage. At length, however, being earnestly requested by Himelin, who assured her that her master would not be displeased, she allowed him to take a drink. On her returning home and placing the vessel before the curate, he found that, instead of water, it contained wine. Astonished at this prodigy, and being informed by the servant maid of the person she had met with, he immediately ran in search of Himelin, who was continuing his journey. Having overtaken him, and knowing him to be a saint, he induced him after much solicitation to stop at his house and take some refreshment. When it was time to retire to sleep, Himelin refused to lie on a comfortable bed prepared for him, and stretched himself on some bare straw in a barn, where being oppressed by illness he remained for two days, and, having received the rites of the Church from his host, expired on the third. He was buried at Vissenack, where his remains were, and probably are to this day, held in great veneration. The anniversary of his death is marked in various calendars at 10 March, and without any ecclesiastical title annexed to his name, (166) whence it would seem that he was only a layman. Yet in one account of this saint I find him called a priest. (167) St. Mono, who is styled the martyr of Nassonia might be supposed to have been killed during the reign of Pepin. He went from Ireland (the then Scotia) to Arduenna, the forest of the Ardennes, but at what precise time I do not find recorded. He lived there alone for a long time; yet it is said that he was a disciple of Saints Remacle and John Agnus, bishops of Maestricht, the former of whom spent the last years of his life in the monastery of Stevelo in the Ardennes. He erected a church at Nassonia (as it is called in Latin) a place two miles distant from the monastery of St. Hubert, in the

diocese of Liege. He was killed by robbers on an 18th of October, and buried in his own church, to which after his death king Pepin assigned tithes. John Agnus placed there a community of clergymen, who were afterwards called canons. (168) But, if it be true that St. Mono was a disciple of St. Remacle, perhaps at Stavelo, he must have been killed before the reign of Pepin, which began in 752. For St. Remacle died several years before the end of the seventh century; and it is difficult to think, that a disciple of his could have reached the times of king Pepin. Perhaps Pepin the king has been confounded with his grandfather Pepin de Herstal mayor of the palace, who died in 714.

(160) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Armagh*. Their saying that Ferdachrich died in May is, I believe, founded only on Colgan's stating, (*Tr. Th. p.* 294.) that more would be seen concerning him at 18 and 31 May. This is a matter of little consequence, and it is more important to observe that Colgan, following the 4 Masters, assigns his death to A. D. 771 (772). Ware took his calculation from the catalogue of the Psalter of Cashel, (*ib. p.* 292.) which allows only ten years for the incumbency of Ferdachrich, the counting of which from 758 brings us to 768. Its authority is certainly the more respectable of the two; and from it also we know that Ferdachrich was really archbishop of Armagh, although the Ulster annals and the 4 Masters call him merely *abbot*.

(161) Ware and Harris from the catalogue of the Psalter of Cashel. In that of the 4 Masters and Colgan, instead of Foendelach, the next marked after Ferdachrich is Cudisniscus, whom the Psalter places third in succession after Foendelach. Of the confusion, that occurs as to the succession at Armagh for several years henceforth, we shall see hereafter.

(162) 4 Masters and Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 500. I have added, as usual, a year to their date 762 for Sleben and 767 for Suibhne. The Annals of Ulster in Johnston's Extracts assign the death of Suibhne to 771 (772).

(163) Ulster Annals *ap.* Johnston.

(164) *Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.* It has 766, *i. e.* 767.

(165) In one of the short accounts of St. Himelin, published by Colgan at 10 March, it is said that he flourished in the times of Pepin, when king of France. As the death of Himelin followed very soon after he was supposed to flourish, that is, after he was known in Brabant, it may be fairly concluded that it occurred during the reign of Pepin. Molanus, however, states that he lived until that of Charlemagne.

(166) In said calendars he is called simply *Confessor*, for instance in the *Martyrol. Anglic.* which at 10 Mart. has; “*Depositio S. Himelini Confessoris, qui in Hibernia natus,*” &c. Ferrarius merely says; *Erat autem natione Hibernus, S. Rumoldo episcopo Propinquus*; without any allusion to his having been in holy orders.

(167) One of the little tracts, called by Colgan *Lives of St. Himelin*, begins with these words; “*Beatus Himelinus confessor et sacerdos Deo dignus, &c.*” It may be seen also in the *Bollandists* at 10 March.

(168) Molanus, *Natales sanctorum Belgii* at 18 October. It is very strange that in Ware’s *Annals* (at *the reign of king John, ch. 4.*) Mono is spoken of, as if he flourished in the 13th century. Surely the king Pepin lived some centuries before that time. As Ware refers to Molanus, it is impossible that he could have affixed his account of St. Mono to that period; but it seems that those, who collected his posthumous papers, having found it among them, and not knowing where to place it, assigned it at random to the reign of king John. There is extant an old *Life of St. Mono*; but I have not been able to meet with it. In *Butler’s Lives of saints* (at 18 October) St. Mono is said to have lived in the 7th century, and to have been a Scotchman. The former position is, I believe, right; but the latter must be qualified according to the acceptation of the name *Scotus*, which in those times generally signified *Irishman*. As to there having been a St. Mono’s church in Scotland, this is of no consequence; for in that country there were churches also of Columba, St. Kieran, &c. who were not Scotchmen, as now understood.

§. xv. St. Rumold, commonly called of *Mechlin*, was distinguished in these times. That he was born in Ireland is usually admitted, and there seems to be

no doubt that he was a bishop before he left his country. (169) It is a mistake to say, that he was bishop of Dublin; for that city had not as yet bishops in those days; but, as has been already more than once observed, some foreigners, not acquainted with Irish history, were wont in latter times to give to some of our bishops, whose sees were not known, the title of *bishop* or *archbishop of Dublin*, for instance, in the cases of St. Livinus, St. Disibod, &c. (170) According to certain vague accounts Rumold was the son of an Irish prince or king, and heir to his father's principality. (171) Be this as it may, he embraced the ecclesiastical state, and after some time was raised to the episcopal rank. Being struck with a wish to visit the tombs of Apostles and Martyrs he set out for Rome, and travelling through England and France preached on various occasions during the course of his journey. At Rome he spent the greatest part of his time in holy places amidst the remains of saints, and became inflamed with an ardent thirst for martyrdom. Having been, as is said, admonished in a vision to return to the West, he left Rome with the Pope's benediction, and arriving at Mechlin was most kindly received by Count Ado. This Count, who was married to a lady named Eliza and had as yet no children, requested the prayers of St. Rumold that God might please to grant him one. The Countess was in due time delivered of a son, who was baptized under the name of Libertus, and afterwards became distinguished for sanctity. In gratitude for this favour Ado granted to Rumold, for the erection of a monastery, a place called *Ulmus*, from the number of elms growing there. The saint, being now settled in that country, was indefatigable in preaching the Gospel, not only at Mechlin but likewise throughout the neighbouring districts, and with such great success that he has been justly styled the Apostle of the Mechlinians. While sedulously engaged in this good work, two assassins, one of

whom he had reprov'd as guilty of adultery, conspired against him, (172) and put him to death on the 24th of June, A. D. 775. (173) To conceal their crime, they threw his body into a river; but it was soon discovered and honourably interred by Count Ado in a church or chapel, named from St. Stephen, which Rumold had erected at Ulmus. In process of time it was removed to a church in Mechlin, dedicated to his memory, long since and still the cathedral and metropolitan church of that city, where it is preserved in a splendid shrine. Although St. Rumold was killed on the 24th of June, yet, on account of that being St. John the Baptist's day, his festival has been affixed to the first of July. Many miracles are said to have been wrought at his tomb; and it is unnecessary to enlarge on the great veneration in which his memory has been held.

(169) I have not been able to meet with the Acts of St. Rumold written by Hugh Ward, a learned Irish Franciscan of Louvain, and published after his death by his confrere Sirin in 1662. Could I have the perusal of them, I should hope to find something, that would help to clear away the rubbish, that appears in some accounts of this saint. The lessons of his Office at the first of July, compiled by Burke (*Offic. Propr. &c.*) consist in great part of silly fables, picked up here and there, some of which may be seen in Harris' account of St. Rumold at *Bishops of Dublin*. These lessons are much less correct than those of the Office, taken from the breviary of St. John Lateran, which is read in Ireland. The tract, called the *Life of St. Rumold*, and published in the enlarged edition of Surius (*Cologne, A. 1618*) at 1 July, is, as far as it goes, apparently rather exact. I say, *as far as it goes*, because it is a mere panegyrical discourse, which had been pronounced on the festival of the saint by an abbot Theodoric of the monastery of St. Trudo or St. Tron, who was living in the year 1100. It omits many circumstances relative to the history of St. Rumold, such as, for instance, his having been a bishop, although it is universally allowed that he was one. As to his having been a native of Ire-

land, Theodoric is very explicit ; for, although he calls the saint's country *Scotia*, he tells us that it was the island *Scotia*, separated by the sea from Britain, the island in which there are no serpents ; and, to make the matter still plainer, he adds the well known words of Solinus descriptive of Ireland. The Martyrology of Mechlin brings St. Rumold from that part of *Scotia*, which is now called *Ireland*, subjoining that he had been archbishop of Dublin ; and hence as well as from other documents Molanus justly argued against some persons, who taking advantage of the name *Scotia* strove to make him a native of the now Scotland, that he was an Irishman and a Scot of the original *Scotia*. The words of said martyrology have been copied into the Office of the Lateran breviary, with this only difference that, instead of *archbishop*, it has *bishop*. But we shall soon see, that Rumold was neither one nor the other of *Dublin*. The opinion of his having been a native of Ireland was so universally admitted, that the learned Pope, Benedict xiv. in a letter written to the Catholic bishops of Ireland, (August 15, 1741) reckons him among the great Irish saints, such as Columbanus, Kilian, Virgilius, &c. who either propagated the Catholic faith in foreign countries, or illustrated it by their blood. (See Burke's *Hib. Dom.* p. 21.) It is worth observing, that this letter was written many years after the Bollandist Sollerius (at *St Rumold's Acts*) threw out some conjectures to show, as that Pope was certainly aware of, that St. Rumold was an Anglo-saxon who had embraced the monastic state at Mayo, and that having heard of the progress of St. Willibrord, &c. in Belgium, he went to that country, and thence, to be qualified for the mission, to Rome, where he was consecrated bishop ; that he then returned to Belgium, &c. This hypothesis may appear rather ingenious ; but how is it to be reconciled with the constant tradition of the church of Mechlin and the testimony of every older writer that has treated of this saint ? It is mentioned, but not adopted, in *the Gallia Christiana, Tom. 5. ad Ecclesia Mechliniensis*.

(170) Ware has judiciously omitted those pretended bishops of Dublin, prior to the eleventh century ; but Harris has foisted them into his additions. I must here observe that some modern writers are not sufficiently cautious in distinguishing Ware's original work from Harris' interpolations. Thus I find in a note at *St. Rumold* in *Butler's Lives of Saints* (1 July) Ware's *Bishops*

referred to for an account of this saint. Now Ware has not given any account whatsoever of him; and, instead of Ware's name, that of Harris should have appeared in said note. We have just seen, that the martyrology of Mechlin places St. Rumold at Dublin. To this first mistake has been added another, viz. that he succeeded there one Gualafer, (meaning perhaps Gallagher) by whom he is said to have been baptized. Molanus has this story, and from him Burke (*Office, &c.*) and Harris (*Bishops at Dublin*) have borrowed it. In the Lateran Office there is no mention of this bishop Gualafer, &c. Nor is there any thing in this Office of what Burke has concerning St. Rumold having been consecrated in the *cathedral of Dublin* by Cuthbert archbishop of Canterbury! What cathedral could there have been at that period in Dublin? or who has ever heard of an archbishop of Canterbury coming over to consecrate bishops in Ireland?

(171) Molanus says that old documents of the church of Mechlin make him son of a king David, meaning, I suppose, *Dathy*, an Irish name, which by persons writing in Latin has been sometimes changed into *David*. Burke (*ib.*) tells us, that this David was king of Dublin, and that his queen was Cecilia, a daughter of a king of Cashel. This is all very fine; but Theodoric and the Lateran breviary, omitting the names of St. Rumold's parents, merely state that he was of the royal house of Ireland and by right of succession heir to a throne.

(172) Theodoric states, that their motive was to get the money, which they thought the saint possessed of, and adds that they had been attendants of his. Probably they supposed that he must have had some money about him towards forwarding the object of his missions.

(173) This is the year assigned for the martyrdom of St. Rumold by Molanus, Usher, Pagi, &c.

§. XVI. During this period we meet with a bishop at Mayo, St. Aidan, who died in 769, (174) and after whom we do not find another there for some centuries. Whether a Ronan, called of Lismore, who is said to have died in 763, was bishop or not, there does not appear any sufficient authority for determining. (175) If he was bishop of Lismore,

he is the last who appears there, as such, for more than 200 years, although it cannot be doubted that a regular succession was kept up in that distinguished see. To *A. D.* 775 is assigned the death of Fulcharta or Fulartach, bishop of Clonard, (176) who in some Irish calendars is stated to have been the same as St. Fulartach, son of Brec of an illustrious family of Ulster, and who had lived as a hermit at a place, called from him *Disert-Fulartach*, in Hifalgia, now Ophaly in the county of Kildare. This is indeed very probable, although some have made a distinction between them, allowing, however, that both of them belonged to the eighth century. (177) According to said calendars the memory of St. Fulartach, one and the same, was revered on the 29th of March. Senchai, bishop of Emly, died in 778; (178) and in the following year St. Algnied, bishop of Ardbraccan, whose name is marked in some calendars at 8 March. (179) Ferdornach, whom I find reckoned among the bishops of Tuam, is said to have died in 781. (180) To 783 is affixed the death of two bishops of Kildare, one after another, Lomtul and Snedbran. (181) In these times there was a bishop at Cluain-dolcain (Clondalkin) near Dublin, St. Fergusill, concerning whom nothing further is known except that he died in 785, and that his festival was kept on the 10th of March. (182) To the same year is assigned the death of three eminent abbots, Murgal of Clonmacnois, Virgilius of Aghabo, and Fethach of Louth, Slane, and Duleek. (183)

(174) *AA. SS.* p. 606. The date of the 4 Masters is 768 (769).

(175) Ware and Harris have Ronan, (*Bishops at Lismore*) but without letting us know where they found him, or giving us any proof of his having been a bishop.

(176) Ware (*Bishops of Clonard at Meath*) has omitted this Fulartach of the eighth century; but the 4 Masters and Colgan, (*AA. SS.* p. 787.) who are followed by Harris, make express

mention of him, placing his death in 774 (775). He was, I believe, led astray by the list of Finnian's successors at Clonard, given in *AA. SS.* p. 406. where the bishop Fulartach is placed next after Senach, who died in 588, and omitted where he ought to be, viz. at A. 775. This is plainly one of the innumerable mistakes that appear in Colgan's printed text. Ware, being not aware of it, has Fulartach immediately after Senach, leaving him out elsewhere. Harris took care to avoid this mistake, and, instead of mentioning Fulartach next after Senach, brought him down to his real times, viz. the eighth century.

(177) The 4 Masters, *ap. AA. SS.* at 29 *March*, p. 787, where a short account is given of Fulartach son of Brec, assign his death (for their words cannot be referred to any thing else) to A. 755 (756) while they place that of the bishop of Clonard in 775. I am inclined to think, that on this point their authority is inferior to that of the old calendars.

(178) Ware, *Bishops at Emly.*

(179) *AA. SS.* p. 568. The 4 Masters have his death at 778, *i. e.* 779.

(180) Ware in his general treatise on the bishops of Ireland has Ferdornach at *Tuam*, but not so in his older tract on the archbishops of Cashel and Tuam. Where he met with him I cannot tell. Colgan seems to have known nothing about him, as appears from *Tr. Th.* p. 308. where, endeavouring to make out as many ancient bishops of Tuam as he could, he makes no mention of Ferdornach.

(181) 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th.* p. 629. I have changed their date 782 into 783. At the same year they have the death of Murdach *abbot* of Kildare, whence we see that there were abbots at Kildare different from its bishops.

(182) *AA. SS.* p. 577. The date of the 4 Masters is 784 (785). Before this saint's time there was a monastery at Clondalkin.

(183) *Ib.* p. 800. and *Ind. Chron.*

CHAPTER XX.

History of St. Fergal, or Virgilius, resumed and finished—Clemens and Albinus, Irishmen, arrive in France—Albinus sent as Ambassador from the Emperor Charlemagne to the Pope, a different person from Alcuin—Monastery of Verden established in Saxony for the Scots or Irish—Patto, an Irishman, second bishop of Verden—Irish extend their missions to Iceland—St. Sedulius said to be bishop of Dublin, and to have died in A. D. 786—Colga, Coelchu or Colcu, the wise, presides over the school of Cluain-mac-Nois—corresponds with Alcuin—St. Moelruan bishop of Tallagh—Succession of Archbishops of Armagh, and of other Irish bishops—First invasion of Ireland by the Danes—St. Findan—visits France, Italy and Switzerland—his great sanctity—is adopted as their patron by the monks of Rhignau—Succession of Donnchad and other Irish monarchs—Irish Clergy obtain exemption from attending the kings on military expeditions—Fothad lecturer of Armagh—Aengus the Hagiologist—his Festilogium—he is called Ceile-De—Became abbot of Clonenagh—and was raised to the episcopal rank—Various works of his—Succession of archbishops in Armagh—and abbots in Hy—Death of St. Blathmaic, martyred in Hy by the Danes—Deaths of various holy and distinguished persons in Ireland—Dungal, an Irishman—his two Epistles to Charlemagne—writes against Claudius, a Spaniard, bishop of Turin, who had removed the images and crosses from all the churches in his Diocese—Claudius bishop of Turin supposed by some learned men to be an Irishman—Gildas—Deaths of bishops of various sees in Ireland—Metropolitan rights of the see of Armagh extended all over Ireland—Deaths of several learned and holy men.

SECT. I.

ST. Virgilius, bishop of Saltzburg, (1) soon after his being in possession of the see, consecrated a basilic in that city in honour of St. Stephen, in which he placed an abbot and monks taken from the monastery and church of St. Peter, which was still considered as the cathedral. (2) Some time after he repaired this monastery, of which he had been abbot, and enlarged the cell of St. Maximilian, which had been built by St. Rupert the first bishop of Saltzburg. He established another cell at Ottinga, which was endowed by Count Gunther, at whose expense it had been erected. But his chief work in this respect was a great basilic, which he got constructed and dedicated in the name of St. Rupert, which, having removed that saint's remains to it, he constituted the cathedral. This holy bishop did not confine himself to accommodating his flock with places of worship, but likewise, as became a true pastor, was assiduous in preaching, instructing, and propagating the Gospel. Karastus, a son of Boruth, the Sclavonian duke of Carinthia, and Chetimar a nephew of Boruth were in those times detained as hostages in Bavaria, where, at his request, they were baptized and educated as Christians. On the death of Boruth, Karastus became duke of that country, and, having died in the third year of his rule, was succeeded by Chetimar, who was very religious and had with him as instructor Majoranus a priest, who had been ordained by St. Virgilius. Chetimar had a great respect for the monastery (St. Peter's) of Saltzburg, owing, in all appearance, to his having studied there in his earlier days, under the direction of its learned and holy abbot, and used to make some presents to it every year as tokens of a sort of homage. Some time after he was raised to the dukedom of Carinthia he requested Virgilius, then bishop, to visit his territories and confirm his subjects in the

faith. It being then out of his power to comply with the duke's wish, he sent to that country Modestus, a bishop, together with some priests, a deacon, and other inferior clerks, authorizing him to consecrate churches, perform ordinations, &c. Modestus spent the remainder of his life in Carinthia, and after his death St. Virgilius was again requested by Chetimar to proceed thither. But in consequence of intestine troubles, by which the dutchy was agitated, he was prevented from visiting it, and sent, in his stead, Latinus a priest, who was soon after, owing to civil broils, obliged to leave it. The saint, however, kept a fixed eye on Carinthia, and during the administration both of Chetimar and of his successor Watune supplied it with priests and other clergymen. Thus the Carinthian church was established, and St. Virgilius has been justly called the Apostle of that province.

Towards the end of his life the good bishop undertook a general visitation of his vast diocese, for the purpose of eradicating whatever remnants there might be of idolatry, and of strengthening his flock in the belief and observance of the Christian religion. He was every where welcomed and received with the greatest attention by crowds of all descriptions, and during his progress consecrated churches, ordained clergymen, &c. In this visitation was comprized Carinthia, through which he proceeded as far as the frontiers of the Huns, where the Drave joins the Danube. Perceiving that his dissolution was near at hand, St. Virgilius returned to Saltzburg, where, having celebrated the sacred mysteries, and being seized with a gentle illness, he breathed his last on the 27th of November, *A. D.* 785. (3) Some tracts have been attributed to him; (4) but whether he was an author or not, he has been most highly celebrated for learning. Nor was he less esteemed for his piety and fulfilment of his pastoral duties; (5)

and it is stated that many miracles have taken place at his tomb in Saltzburg. (6)

(1) See *Chap. XIX. §. 11.*

(2) Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 756.* He says that Virgilius consecrated the basilic of St. Stephen in the first year of his ordination. This would have occurred after the 15th of June, the day of his ordination or consecration, in 756, or, if it be true that he deferred his consecration for some time, (see *Chap. XIX. §. 12.*) in a later year.

(3) Mabillon, (*ib. ad A. 785.*) and Pagi (*Critica, &c. ad A. 785.*) have proved from certain Annals of Ratisbon and other documents, that this was the real year of the saint's death. Therefore Fleury was mistaken (*Hist. Eccl. L. 44. §. 3.*) in assigning it to 780, which date he took from the *Life of St. Virgil*, according to one edition; for another has *A. 784.* But both these dates are wrong.

(4) Ware (*Writers at Virgilius*) makes mention of a *Discourse on the Antipodes*, but does not tell us where it exists. He adds that Virgilius is the reputed author of a Glossary quoted by Melchior Goldast.

(5) Alcuin, in his encomium on St. Virgilius (*Poem. No. 231.*) has among other lines;

“ Egregius praesul meritis et moribus almus,
 Protulit in lucem quem mater Hibernia primum,
 Instituit, docuit, nutritiv—————
 Sed Peregrina petens —————
 Vir pius et prudens, nulli pietate secundus.”

(6) The second part of his *Life* contains an account of a great number of these miracles.

§. II. About the year 772, as far as I am able to judge, two very celebrated Irishmen, Clemens and Albinus, as he is usually called, arrived in France. For it appears from good authority, that they were in that country not only prior to the arrival of Alcuin, but likewise a short time after

Charles, known by the name of *Charlemagne*, became sole sovereign of the whole French monarchy, as he did in the latter end of 771 by the death of his brother Carloman. The whole matter is stated in a very clear manner by a writer of the ninth century, who relating the transactions of Charlemagne (7) has the following narrative at the very beginning of his work. “When the illustrious Charles “*began to reign alone* in the western parts of the “world, and literature was every where almost forgotten, it happened that two Scots of Ireland came “over with some British merchants to the shores “of France, men incomparably skilled in human “learning and in the holy scriptures. As they produced no merchandise for sale, they used to cry “out to the crowds flocking to purchase; *If any “one is desirous of wisdom, let him come to us and “receive it; for we have it to sell.* Their reason “for saying that they had it for sale was that, perceiving the people inclined to deal in saleable articles and not to take any thing gratuitously, they “might rouse them to the acquisition of wisdom, as “well as of objects for which they should give value; “or, as the sequel showed, that by speaking in that “manner they might excite their wonder and astonishment. They repeated this declaration so often that an account of them was conveyed either “by their admirers, or by those who thought them “insane, to the king Charles, who, being a lover “and very desirous of wisdom, had them conducted “with all expedition before him, and asked them if “they truly possessed wisdom, as had been reported “to him. They answered, that they did, and were “ready in the name of the Lord to communicate it “to such as would seek for it worthily. On his inquiring of them what compensation they would “expect for it, they replied that they required nothing more than convenient situations, ingenious “minds, and, as being in a foreign country, to be

“supplied with food and raiment. Charles, having
 “heard their proposals, and replete with joy, kept
 “them both with himself for a short time. After
 “some interval, when obliged to proceed on a mili-
 “tary expedition, (8) he ordered one of them whose
 “name was *Clemens*, to remain in France, entrust-
 “ing to his care a great number of boys not only of
 “the highest noblesse, but likewise of the middling
 “and low ranks of society, all of whom were, by
 “his orders, provided with victuals and suitable ha-
 “bitations. The other, *by name Albinus*, (9) he
 “directed to Italy, and assigned to him the monas-
 “tery of St. Augustin near Pavia, that such per-
 “sons, as chose to do so, might there resort to him
 “for instruction. On hearing how graciously the
 “most religious king Charles used to treat wise men,
 “Albinus (10) an Englishman took shipping and
 “went over to him,” &c. (11)

(7) This writer was a monk of St. Gall in Switzerland, and hence he is commonly called *Monachus Sangallensis*. His two books, *De gestis Caroli M.* are in Canisius' *Antiq. Lect. Tom. 2. Part 3.* Basnage's ed. They were addressed to Charles the fat, and consequently written between 884 and 888. Melchior Goldastus, Usher, and many others, have supposed that he was the celebrated Notker Balbulus. This, however, is not quite certain. Mabillon, a great judge in matters of this kind, calls him (*ex. c. Annal. B. Tom. 2. p. 67.*) the *anonymous* monk of St. Gall, and Muratori (*Annali di Italia*) designates him merely by the title of *Monaco di S. Gallo*, the monk of St. Gall, for instance at A. 781. But this question does not affect the antiquity or authority of this work.

(8) From what will be seen lower down it appears most probable that this was one of his expeditions against the Saxons, either that of 775, or the one of 776.

(9) The words, *nomine Albinus*, (by name Albinus) are in the printed text of the monk of St. Gall, as edited by Canisius, but are omitted in Duchesne's edition among the *Rerum Francicarum Scriptores*. Colgan in his long dissertation on Clemens (at 20

March) which comprizes also an account of his companion, says that they are wanting in various MSS. He contends that the real name of said companion was not *Albinus* but *John*; and so he is called by Vincentius Bellovacensis and some others, whose authority is not worth attending to, as appears from their joining with Clemens also Alcuin and even Rabanus Maurus. And there is good reason to think, that they mistook John Scotus Erigena, who lived many years later, for the companion of Clemens, whom they accordingly called *John*. Or might it be that the companion of Clemens had both names? Buchanan (*Rer. Scot. L. 5. Rex 65.*) calls him *Johannes Albinus*, and would fain make him a Scotchman on account of the surname *Albinus*. He might as well have pronounced Alcuin a Scotchman, as he also assumed the name *Albinus*. If, as indeed I think highly probable, Clemens's companion was called *Albinus*, this might have been either his original name, or, if a surname, given to him on account of his fair hair or complexion. Perhaps his Irish name was *Finnbarr*, *Finan*, or *Finian*, which, by retaining its signification, was latinized into *Albinus*. As to the name *John*, prefixed by Buchanan to *Albinus*, I suspect that he took it from Hector Boethius, or some one of those writers, who followed Vincentius Bellovacensis. Not content with representing *Albinus* as a British Scot, he thrusts in also Clemens as such, notwithstanding the positive assertion of the monk of St. Gall, the oldest and best authority, that he and his companion were Scots of Ireland. On these and other pretensions in favour of the British Scots J. P. Murray has justly remarked, (*De Britannia atque Hibernia sec. a vi. ad x. litterarum domicilio, in N. Commentar. Soc. R. Gotting. Tom. 2.*) that Buchanan went quite too far; "Sed nimia Scotiae suae aperte tribuit eximius vates, cum istam litterarum elegantiam, cumque *Albinum* illi tribuerit."

To return to the words, *nomine Albinus*, it is very probable that they were not in the original text of the monk; for several writers, when copying his narrative, have them not, while they closely follow the remainder of his text. (See their passages *ap. Colgan on Clemens, &c.*) Muratori observes, (*Annali, &c. at A. 781. and Antiq. Ital. medii aevi, Tom. III. Dissert. 43.*) that the name of Clemens's companion is not precisely known, whence it is clear that he did not consider said words as written by the monk.

But, allowing them to be an interpolation, it does not follow that they are wrong; for the person, who inserted them, might have known from other sources that *Albinus* was the name of the companion of Clemens. He did not confound him with Alcuin, who also was named *Albinus*, and who appears immediately after in the text as clearly distinct from the other *Albinus*.

(10) He was the celebrated Alcuin, who took the more classical appellation of *Flaccus Albinus*, not, as some have called him, *Albinus Flaccus*. (See Mabillon, *Annal. &c. Tom. 2. p. 186.*) In what the author adds about the manner of Alcuin's having become acquainted with the king Charles, and his having been a disciple of Bede, there are some mistakes, which it is not my business to correct.

(11) Brucker (*Hist. Phil. Tom. 3. p. 586.*) took it into his head to reject as fabulous a great part of this narrative. There are certainly some fables in the additions made to it by Vincentius Bellocensis, Hector Boethius, Arnold Wion, &c. and by those who talk of the University of Paris as founded by Clemens. But taking it as given by the monk of St. Gall, I can perceive nothing fabulous or inconsistent, nor does Brucker give us any proof of his assertion. Perhaps he thought there was something ridiculous in the cry of those two learned men that they had wisdom to sell, as if the stiff and guarded style of our days, were observed at all times and by all nations. They alluded to the traffick that was going on between the merchants and the assembled people, and, not having any usual article of commerce, announced that what they had to dispose of was wisdom. We find very many expressions of a similar kind in the Scriptures, particularly in *Proverbs*, which exhibit wisdom as the most valuable of commodities, and in which people are invited to partake of it. Clemens and his companion were well acquainted with such phrases, and seem to have had an eye to them in their manner of addressing the crowd. Yet Brucker does not deny that these persons came to France, and states (*ib. p. 629.*) that Clemens was of great help to Alcuin, and that he was diligent and skilful in establishing the schools of France and Italy. Tiraboschi goes much farther than Brucker; for he endeavours to prove, (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana, Tom. 3. L. 3. cap. 1.*) that the whole business is a fable, and that there were no such persons in existence. He had laid down a po-

sition that no teachers were sent by Charles to instruct the Italians, who, he says, were not then in need of foreigners for that purpose. But, whether they were or not, might not the king have given literary situations to foreigners in Lombardy as well as in France, where nobody denies that he did? Many a foreigner have I known teaching in Italy at a period of its enjoying high literary splendour; and I myself have had the honour of holding a Professor's chair in that very city of Pavia, where Tiraboschi would not allow that a Scotchman, as he calls him, (for he seems not to have known that the Irish were called Scots) taught in the eighth century. He opposes Gatti, who in his history of the University of Pavia adhered to the monk's narrative, abuses Denina for having said that Charles placed two *Irishmen* over schools in Italy and France, and expresses his surprize that this was admitted by Muratori. But, if such a man as Muratori allowed it, Tiraboschi, who was vastly his inferior on points connected with the history of the middle ages, need not have been ashamed to acknowledge it; and it is but too true that literature was in a very low state at that period in Italy, and for a hundred years prior to it, as is avowed and lamented in the letters of Pope Agatho and the synod of Rome written in 680 to the emperor Constantine. (See Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L.* 40. §. 7.) The literary glory of Italy, both ancient and modern, is founded on so solid a basis, that a native of that beautiful country and land of genius may, without any disparagement to it, confess that it has had, like many other parts of the world, its days of darkness, owing to the irruptions of barbarians, by whom both they and Italy have been desolated. And it is a childish vanity to strive to uphold a nation's character of any sort at the expense of historical truth. Muratori was not guilty of it; for he allows and proves, (*Antiq. Ital. &c. Tom. III. Dissert. 43.*) that in Italy learning had greatly declined in the time we are now treating of. It might be expected, that Tiraboschi would have adduced some proof of his assertion; but he gives us none except his saying that it would have been a strange thing to offer to sell learning to persons who came to buy merchandize. This I have already explained. He adds, that the whole matter depends on the authority of the monk, to whom, however he gratuitously pays the compliment of not having invented it. Who then was the inventor? Tiraboschi ought to have perceived, that

this supposition strikes against himself; for in this case the history of the two Irishmen must have been spoken of before it was related by the monk. Is it to be imagined, that he would have announced, within about 70 years after the death of Charlemagne, as facts, circumstances, which there were persons still alive to show the falshood of, if not true? Or, that he would have related them, if doubtful, to a sovereign the great grandson of Charlemagne? Or that he would have ventured to be so particular as to state that the teacher sent to Pavia got the grant of the monastery of St. Augustin? He must have known, that every monk of that celebrated establishment, which has existed for ages, could have contradicted him unless the matter were universally acknowledged. Tiraboschi objects, that the monk of St. Gall is the only writer of those times, who has left an account of those proceedings. Be it so; but did he suppose that writers were as numerous in that period, or as minute in recording facts, as they are at present? Many facts are received as historical upon authority much less contemporary and explicit than that of the monk of St. Gall. Besides, as will be seen, he is not the only writer of those days, who has furnished us with some account, at least, of Clemens. Some other desultory doubts will be considered lower down.

§. 3. From this account it is plain that these two Irishmen were in France before Alcuin (the English Albinus) waited on King Charles in that country, and consequently prior to 781. (12) But as their arrival is stated to have occurred when Charles began to reign alone, we may justly conclude that it was earlier by eight or nine years. An Albinus, a favourite of Charles, is mentioned as one of the ambassadors, whom he sent to Pope Adrian in 773, and who was undoubtedly different from Alcuin, with whom Charles was not yet acquainted. (13) It is probable that he was the Irish Albinus, who as well as Clemens appear, from the manner in which the king treated them, to have become great favourites of his. And following this supposition, it may also be conjectured, that he continued as an inmate in the palace until he was sent on that embassy. (14)

But, whether the companion of Clemens was the ambassador or not, he could not have been placed at Pavia until either the latter end of 774, or after said year, it being that in which Charles got possession of that city. (15) Concerning his subsequent transactions nothing further, that can be depended upon, is known, except that he taught at Pavia, (16) but how long we have no account of. It has been said, that he died there; and some writings have been attributed to him, which, however, cannot at present be distinctly pointed out. (17)

It is stated that, when Charles returned from his expeditions, he ordered the boys, whom he had left under the care of Clemens, to appear before him, and had them examined in their classical studies. Finding that those of the inferior orders had made wonderful progress, while the nobles had made none at all, he solemnly declared that he would have no consideration for the difference of ranks, and that nobility alone should not be a road to preferment, whereas he was determined to grant favours and places solely according to learning and merit without distinction of persons. (18) Where Clemens kept his school, is not ascertained, although some writers have said that it was at Paris, and others would fain make us believe that he was the founder or first teacher of its university (19) The history of Clemens has been greatly confused by the name of *Claudius* being prefixed by certain late authors (20) to his real name, and by his having been strangely confounded with Clemens, a bishop of Auxerre, who was dead many years before he arrived in France. (21) He was alive and still teaching in the year 802, (22) and perhaps survived Charlemagne, as indeed must have been the case, if, as appears very probable, he was the Clemens who drew up a Life of that sovereign. (23) There are extant under his name some grammatical collections, but whether they have been printed or not I am not able to tell.

(24) Several other tracts have been attributed to him, but most, if not all, of them, without foundation. (25)

(12) This was, as Mabillon shows, (*Annal. &c. ad A. 781.*) the year, in which Alcuin first stopped in France. Charles had met him in Italy, and took such a liking for him, that he induced him to promise that he would call upon him on his return from that country. Alcuin did so, and soon after his arrival in France got from the king a grant of two abbies. Some years later he proceeded to England, where he remained until 792, or the beginning of 793, when he returned to France and there spent the remainder of his life. It is therefore a mistake to suppose, as several writers have done, that Alcuin was not settled in France before 792. It was, I believe, in consequence of this mistake that Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigned the arrival there of Clemens and Albinus to *A. D.* 791, thinking that it was not long prior to that of Alcuin.

(13) See Mabillon, (*Annal. &c. ad. 773.* Anastasius Bibliothecarius, from whom we have an account of this embassy, says of Albinus that he was *deliciosus ipsius regis*, that is, a favourite and one whom the king was very fond of.

(14) The monk of St. Gall says, as we have seen, that Charles kept the two learned Irishmen with himself for a short time. Supposing that their arrival in France was in 772, and perhaps late in that year, they were probably living with him until some time in 773.

(15) Muratori, making mention (*Annali, &c. at A. 781*) of the arrival of Clemen's companion at Pavia, does not mark the year of it, merely observing that it was after 744. It was very probably almost immediately after said year, as Charles in his zeal for promoting literature may be supposed to have lost no time in supplying his new subjects of Lombardy with a good school. Add that Albinus is stated to have been sent to Pavia just at the time that Charles was setting out on a military expedition. Now among his various expeditions we find one in 775, and another in 776, both against the Saxons. It may be objected to what I have said concerning Clemens and Albinus having arrived in France as early as about 772, that their arrival must have been later, whereas the

monk of St. Gall seems to place Albinus' departure for Pavia just after the *short* time that he and Clemens had spent with the king in his residence, and accordingly, as Albinus did not go to Pavia until about 775, ought to be assigned to about 774. But we are not bound to understand the monk's words, as if he meant to say that they remained in the palace until the very time that Albinus was ordered to proceed to Pavia. He states indeed that it was subsequent to that of their living with the king, but does not tell us that it was immediately so; and there is nothing to prevent our supposing, that they had left the palace, and were teaching somewhere in France, two or three years prior to the departure of Albinus for Pavia.

(16) Muratori (*ib.*) merely says, that under this able master learning began to revive at Pavia. The story of his having been the founder of the celebrated university of that city is not worth the trouble of inquiring into. Muratori was wrong in making him and Clemens Benedictine monks. They certainly were not so before they arrived in France, for there were no Benedictines then in Ireland; nor does it appear, that they were monks at all. Albinus might have become a Benedictine after he got the grant of the monastery of St. Augustin, so called, instead of its former title, *St Peter*, from its containing the remains of the great bishop of Hippo. But whether he did or not we are not able to ascertain.

(17) Ware (*Writers at Albinus*) ascribes to him some epistles as extant. I wish he had told us where they are to be found. He was also inclined to make him the author of certain *Rhetorical precepts*, which Buchanan says he saw under the name of his *John Albinus*. (See *Not.* 9.) If Buchanan and Ware meant the treatise or dialogue on Rhetoric published among the works of Alcuin, it is clear that they were mistaken; for said treatise was undoubtedly written by the English Albinus, that is, Alcuin himself. As to an Epistle said by Hoveden (*Annal. ad A.* 792) and other English authors to have been written by an Albinus against the second Council of Nice concerning image worship, the Irish Albinus had nothing to do with it; and it is plain that Hoveden, &c. meant Alcuin; for they state that it was written in England, and that Albinus, its author, brought it thence to the king Charles. By the bye I may remark, that no such epistle was written by Alcuin; (see Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A.* 792.) but it is

probable, that Hoveden, &c. mistook the Caroline books on the question of images, in the composition of which Alcuin was perhaps concerned, (Mabillon, *ib. ad A. 794.*) for an Epistle, which they supposed to have been drawn up by him in England.

(18) See in the monk's *De Gestis*, &c. just after the above narrative.

(19) Colgan has (at 20 March) collected on these points a heap of rubbish, which is now exploded by every man of learning. The monk of St. Gall has nothing about the place, in which Clemens taught. But Vincentius Bellovacensis and others have added that it was Paris, as if that city had been the usual residence of the king Charles, whereas it is well known that it was not. And as to the foundation of the university, it is laughable to observe, with what ardour it has been disputed whether the so called founder were Clemens or Alcuin. That the latter was not is a clear case; for it has been proved not only by Du Chesne, the editor of his works, but likewise by Mabillon, (*ad A. 802*) that he never taught at Paris. Whether Clemens had a school there or not, is of little consequence; but this much is well known, that there was no such thing as a university there in those times, nor even the embryo of one until about the end of the eleventh century. (See the *Encyclopédie* at *Université*.)

(20) Ware observes, (*Writers at Clemens*) that, as well as he could discover, Bale (not *Bede* according to a shameful error in the English translation, which Harris has avoided) was the first who prefixed *Claudius* to the name of Clemens. A Claudius, of whom we shall see elsewhere, flourished during the reign of Lewis le Debonnaire, and has been reckoned by Vincentius Bellovacensis and some followers of his as one of four pretended founders of the university of Paris. These writers have not Clemens among said founders, although some of them on other occasions say that he taught at Paris. Other authors of this notable stamp, looking for those founders, mention Clemens without naming Claudius. To patch up the business, it occurred to somebody, that Clemens and Claudius might be considered as one and the same person; and thus, sometime in the 16th century, the learned Irishman appeared under the double name of *Claudius Clemens*. Upon these blunders Tiraboschi built up an argument, which he thought of great weight. He urges that certain writers call the Irish

teacher *Claudius Clemens*; now, as he shows, Claudius was a different person; *ergo* there was no such man as Clemens. This is really bad logic; as if the mistakes and confused conjectures of such late authors could overturn the assertions of one of the ninth century. If the monk of St. Gall had prefixed the name *Claudius* to *Clemens*, such a mode of reasoning would be allowable; but whereas he has not done so, why fling out against his authority the nonsense of persons that lived hundreds of years later? Then, adds Tiraboschi, these writers, when treating of Clemens, contradict each other. Well, and where is the harm of it? Surely there can be nothing more illogical than to conclude from the contradictions of modern writers, that persons, whom they treat of inaccurately, never existed. Were such a critical rule admitted, what history would be safe, even that of the distinguished men of Greece and Rome? Had Tiraboschi been able to prove, which indeed he has not attempted, that the monk contradicted himself or any other writer of his times, there would be a fair field for disputation; or if those, who maintain that Clemens and his companion were Irishmen and taught in France and Italy, founded their positions merely on such late and confused authority as that of Vincentius Bellocensis, &c. his objections would be worth listening to. But as this is not the main authority resorted to on the question, such exceptions are quite nugatory and out of place; nor will any sort of quibbling avail against the monk's narrative until, what can never be done, it shall be proved that he was not author of it. Yet we may observe that it would be very extraordinary, that, besides Vincentius, a multitude of writers, among whom Wyon, Gaguin, Claude Roberti, should have said so much about Clemens and his comrade, if they had not been in France during the reign of Charlemagne.

(21) Colgan (at 20 March) has endeavoured to support the fable of our Clemens having become bishop of Auxerre; but Ware and Harris, (*loc. cit.*) have cautioned the reader against it, and indeed justly; for, not to quote other authors, Mabillon (*Annal. &c. Tom. 2. p. 63.*) makes it clear, that Clemens of Auxerre died about 738.

(22) In an ancient catalogue of the abbots of Fulda, quoted by Brower (*Notes to the poems of Rabanus*) we read that Ratgar, who was one of them, on the occasion of sending Rabanus and

Hatto to Tours there to study under Alcuin, directed others, among whom Modestus and Candidus, to Clemens the Scot for the purpose of being instructed in Grammar, that is, in classic branches of learning then comprized under that name. Ratgar became abbot of Fulda in 802, and just after his accession sent those students to France. (See Mabillon, *Annal. &c. ad A.* 802.) To a loose question of Tiraboschi, *Who was Clemens?* we may now answer, that, although we do not know who were his father and mother, he was the learned Irish Scot mentioned by the monk of St. Gall, and whose reputation was so great that young men were sent from Germany to his school.

(23) Wolfgang Lazius in his Commentaries on the Roman commonwealth quotes this Life by Clemens. See Usher, Preface to *Ep. Hib. Syll.* and Ware at *Clemens*.

(24) Usher (*ib.*) observes, that they are quoted by Melchior Goldast.

(25) Possevin and others, who are followed by Colgan, have, in consequence of confounding Clemens with Claudius, made him the author of various works, which have been usually ascribed to the latter. It is odd that Colgan refers even to Ware for several of them as if written by Clemens, although Ware had distinguished him from Claudius. It may be, however, that, owing to said confusion, Claudius has been supposed the author of some tracts, written perhaps by Clemens.

§. iv. After the same king Charles had founded the new bishoprics of Minden and Verden in the old Saxony, *A. D.* 786, as is usually supposed, (26) a monastery was established for the Scots, that is, at least chiefly, the Irish, at a place near Verden, called *Amarbaric*, over whom was placed Patto a countryman of theirs. (27) Patto is stated to have become bishop of Verden after the death of its first bishop St. Suibert, and was succeeded at Amarbaric by Tanco, also a Scot and, in all probability, an Irish one, who likewise was raised to that see as its third bishop. (28) After him are mentioned Cortilla or Nortyla, and three others as abbots of Amarbaric, under the last of whom, Harruch of the same

nation, that monastery is said to have been destroyed. (29)

Prior to these times, and most probably much earlier, the Irish had extended their missions even to Iceland, which they called *Thule*, or *Tyle*, and which, it seems, they had a knowledge of as far back as the fifth century. (30) Whether it was inhabited at that early period it is difficult to determine; (31) but it is certain, that it contained inhabitants long before the time assigned by some writers for its first population. (32) At whatsoever time Irish missionaries first visited that island, there can be no doubt of some of them having been there in the eighth century, (33) and it may be justly laid down, that this mission was kept up until the arrival of the Norwegians, who by expelling the Irish clergy put a stop to it. (34) If religious men from Ireland had got in those days as far as Iceland, we are not to wonder at finding others of them settled in the Orkneys and the Shetland isles. (35) I cannot discover any particular account of such of them as were the chiefs of these northern missions, or who might have been distinguished for peculiar sanctity or learning; but nothing can more strongly prove the zeal of the Irish clergy of those times, for the conversion of infidels, than their proceeding so far northward for the purpose of disseminating the saving truths of the Gospel.

(26) Fleury, *L.* 44. §. 20. The Bollandists (at *St. Patto* 30 *Mart.*) quote a chronicle of Verden, which assigns the foundation of that see to 786. Its first bishop was Suibert or Suitbert, who is said to have been an Englishman, and must not be confounded with St. Willebrord's companion the bishop Suitbert, who died in 713.

(27) Colgan, treating of *Patto* (at 30 *March*) maintains that he was an Irish Scot. This is very probable, although in the accounts given of him, chiefly by Albert Crantz, (*Hist. Eccl. Saxoniae*) he is called simply *Scotus natione*. But as the Irish

were more generally known in those times by the name *Scoti* than their colonists of Britain, the probability is in favour of Colgan's opinion. N. Britain was not then, nor for a very long time later, called *Scotia*; and accordingly, when we find a Scot or Scots spoken of by old writers, it is to be presumed that they meant natives of Ireland, unless something be added to indicate that such persons were British Scots. Bede was very particular in this respect; for wherever he touches upon the affairs of these Scots, he designates them as the *Scots, who inhabit Britain*. (See *ex. c. Hist. &c. L. 1. c. 34* and *L. 5. c. 23*.) The English families settled in Ireland from the reign of Henry II. were during many generations called *English*; but who, on finding a person of that period called an *Englishman*, would not conceive that he was a native of England, unless it were added that he was an Englishman of Ireland. Colgan adduces an argument, which, if uncontradicted, would leave no doubt as to Patto having been an Irishman. Having found that he was said to have been abbot of Amarbaric *in his own country* before he went to Germany, he observes that there was no such place either in Ireland or Scotland, and that, instead of *Amarbaric*, we ought to read *Armagh*. On this the Bollandists (at *St. Suibert, 30 April*) remark, that Amarbaric seems to have been rather near Verden, and that a monastery was founded there for the Scots, of which Patto was abbot, before he succeeded, as is said, Suibert in the see of Verden. According to this supposition it is a mistake to place Amarbaric in the country, whence Patto came. Mabillon is still more explicit on this point. He says, (*Annal &c. at A. 796*) that the monastery of Amarbaric, not far from Verden, was founded by Suibert, who placed Patto over it, and that, after a succession of five or six abbots, it ceased to exist. Mabillon gives to the monks of that establishment the general name of *Scots*, by which the Irish were then universally understood. But this does not prevent our supposing, that some British Scots might have belonged to it, as well as to the many other monasteries founded in those times throughout Germany by or for the Scoto-Irish, who considered the British Scots as their kinsmen, and were well disposed to receive them into their institutions. Whoever is tolerably acquainted with the state of the British Scots of that period, the narrow limits within which they were confined,

their wars against the Picts, - the want of religious establishments on a large scale, must immediately perceive, that those swarms of learned and pious men, called *Scots*, who flockēd to the Continent in those times and during a long subsequent period, could not, generally speaking, have come from the small part of N. Britain then possessēd by the Irish colonists, and that, at least, the great majority of them were the old Scots or Irish. When Walafrid Strabo, who lived early in the ninth century, observes, (*Vit. S. Galli L. 2. c. 46.*) that the custom of visiting foreign countries was become a sort of second nature to the Scots, he plainly means the natives of Ireland; for he introduces one of them, who had been left sick in St. Gall's monastery, and who was still alive in his time, as imploring the saint, who appeared to him in a dream, to relieve him as being a countryman of his. And, wherever else in said work Walafrid makes mention of Scots, he alludes to no others than the Irish, as, for instance, *L. 1. c. 20.* where St. Gallus, whom he every where represents as a native of Ireland, is spoken of as *de gente Scotorum*. (See also his Preface.) At the period we are now treating of, the Northumbrian kingdom comprized a very great part, and the best, of modern Scotland; and accordingly, as the inhabitants were not then Scots, it cannot be pretended that many of the eminent men, called *Scots*, who resorted to the Continent, might have been supplied from that country after having been educated in the schools of Mailros, &c. in said kingdom. The Picts were still distinct from the Scots; and, besides their having had no learned men among them, except foreigners, chiefly Irish, (see Pinkerton, *Pref. to Vit. Antiq. SS. &c.*) no one will imagine, that their country might have furnished some of those numberless persons, whose fame, under the name of *Scots*, resounded all over Western Europe. Will it be said that the Scots of Argyle and some neighbouring districts were alone numerous and enlightened enough to send out such crowds of learned and holy men? But what schools had they? Except Hy, which, as often observed, was an Irish school, they had none, I mean a respectable one; nor is there a trace of any such school in the territory of the British Scots until much later times. There were indeed some small monasteries or cells; but no mention occurs of any learned establishment. (See Chalmers, *Caledonia, Vol. 1. chap.* on the

Introduction of Christianity.) Those Scots were welcome to the school of Hy, which, we may be sure, was frequented by several of them; but is it to be supposed, that all the so called Scots, who visited England, France, Germany, &c. had been educated at Hy, or that the Irish Scots, belonging to that house, and who, by the bye, were the far greater number, all staid at home, while none but the British ones went to foreign parts? If Hy were the only establishment, whence the travelling Scots of either nation derived their learning, it should have been ten times as large as it was, considering the multitudes of them that emigrated. The truth, however, is that a very considerable portion of these missionaries, &c. had studied in Ireland, which abounded in great schools, such as Armagh, Bangor, which sent out Columbanus, Gallus, and their companions; Lismore, whence St. Cataldus; Clonard, Clonmacnois, Ross, (co. Cork,) Emly, Kildare, Clonenagh, &c. &c. Neither St. Fursey and his companions, nor St. Livinus and others, whom it would be tedious to enumerate, had been members of the monastery of Hy. Next it is to be recollected that the great missionaries, who had really belonged to it, were Irishmen, such as Aidan, Finan, and Colman of Lindisfarne. In those times the British Scots were too much engaged in striving to extend their frontiers, and too poor to apply much to learning; and it was not until after they got possession of the Pictish kingdom in 843, that they set about establishing religious houses and schools on a somewhat extended scale. The Scottish establishment at Dunkeld was not begun until 849; that of Brechin was very late in the 10th century; and the schools of Dumblane and Abernethy, although perhaps earlier, were not formed until a late part of the period comprized between 843 and 1097. (See Chalmers, *ib. chap. on the Ecclesiastical history of said period.*)

I have been induced to enlarge on this subject, in consequence of having observed, that several continental writers, some of whom were otherwise very learned men, seem to have supposed, that such Scots as distinguished themselves in foreign countries during the seventh, and down to the eleventh or twelfth century, were generally from North Britain, unless some circumstance or indication may happen to occur, which points out Ireland as the land of their birth. Such distinguishing marks do indeed constantly

occur; and hence we find that other writers frequently remind the reader, that such and such Scots were from the old Scotia, that is, Irish Scots. Molanus, Philip Ferrarius, Sirmond, Fleury, and many more, particularly German authors, were very careful on this point, while the writers, above alluded to, leave the name *Scot*, or *Scots*, as they found it in old documents, without cautioning the reader that the persons so denominated were really Irish. And hence it has come to pass that some late authors of a minor class, writing in the modern languages of Europe, and copying from the Latin works of said writers, are wont to translate *Scoti*, not adverting to its old signification, *Scotchmen*, *Ecossois*, *Scozzesi*, &c. so as convey to the uninformed an idea that they were uniformly natives of N. Britain. But had the true state of the British Scots in the seventh, eighth, and thence to, at least, the eleventh century, been generally known, the name *Scoti*, applied to persons during that long period, would be presumed to mean *Irishmen*, in case there do not appear some special reasons, founded on the context, &c. to show that they were British Scots. If the Bollandists had been well acquainted with the history of these Scots, they need not have been as scrupulous, as we sometimes find them, in their doubts of whether this or that Scot of, *ex. c.*, the eighth century, were from Ireland or the modern Scotland. What I have hitherto stated on these points will help to elucidate the history of several eminent Irishmen, whom we shall meet with in our progress.

(28) The Bollandists (at *St. Suibert*, 30 April) suspect that Patto was not bishop of Verden, and that the immediate successor of Suibert was Tanco.

(29) See Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 796.*) There is no distinct account of the precise times of those abbots or of such of them as became bishops of Verden. What Colgan has about them at *St. Patto* (30 Mart.) is, as to the chronological part, very incorrect; and it will be sufficient to observe, that all of them flourished after A. D. 786.

(30) See *Chap. VIII. §. 8. Not. 91.* This is not the place to enter into the celebrated question concerning the Thule so often mentioned by Grecian and Roman writers; but it is certain that Iceland was the island which the Irish called *Thyle* or *Inis Thyle*, *i. e.* the island of Thyle. Not only our old historians are unanimous on

this point, (see Colgan *AA. SS.* p. 242.) but the geographer Dicuill is particularly explicit with regard to it, as, for instance, in what he says concerning the length of the summer days in Thyle, his denying that it was surrounded with ice, and his observing that the frozen sea was one day's sail more to the North.

(31) Playfair (*Geography*, Vol. III. p. 144) says, that Iceland was inhabited as early as the 5th century; but from what is stated (see above *Chap.* VIII. *ib.*) of St. Ailbe's intention to proceed thither for the purpose of leading a life unknown to the world, it may perhaps be conjectured that it was then destitute of inhabitants. This, however, is at most conjectural; for St. Ailbe might, notwithstanding its containing some inhabitants, have found places enough in the island, where he could have remained quite sequestered from them.

(32) The Icelandic historian, Arngrim Jonas, pretends that it was not inhabited until *A. D.* 874, when it was occupied by the Norwegians. Independently of historical documents, which prove the contrary, it is difficult to suppose that, while so many small islands of the Northern ocean were peopled long before that time, Iceland should have remained uninhabited, particularly as its climate was formerly much more temperate than it has become in the course of ages, and its soil was then much better and more fruitful than at present, besides the advantage of a passage to it not being impeded by ice. It was the Thule of the Romans, as there is good reason to believe, and was certainly inhabited at a far earlier period. But, setting aside this controversy, Arngrim himself supplies us with a proof, that it was peopled prior to the arrival of the Norwegians; for he acknowledges the well known fact, that the Norwegians found there sacred utensils, which had been left by Irish Christians, whom, he says, the ancient Icelanders called *Papa* or *Papas*. Pray, who were those old Icelanders, that were able to give some account of the Irish *Papas*? He must have meant the Norwegian settlers of 874. But, if they were the first inhabitants of the island, what could they have known of said *Papas*? Had he told us that they discovered the name *Papa* or *Papas*, by means of some inscriptions found there, or had he made mention of the Irish books left by the *Papas* in Iceland, he would have been more consistent with himself. His saying that they were probably fishermen is a poor evasion; for, if

so, why should they have left those sacred utensils in an uninhabited country? Unless he supposed that said Papas perished there; but then he tells us that the Norwegians found no traces of any habitation whatsoever. How could this have been, if the Papas had, on landing there, remained for some time in the island, as they surely must have intended to do? Otherwise why bring on shore articles necessary for the celebration of divine service? Passing by these inconsistencies of Arngrim, another Icelandic writer, Ara Multiseius has (*Sched. de Islandia, cap. 2.*) a clear account of the whole matter. Having observed that, when Ingolfr, the Norwegian, arrived in Iceland, it was in great part covered with forests, he adds, "that there were then Christians " there, whom the Norwegians call *Papas*, and that they afterwards quitted the country, because they did not like to live with " heathens, and left behind them Irish books, bells, and staves. " Thence it was easy to perceive that they were Irishmen." On this statement we may observe, that the Irish, who were settled there at the time of the Norwegians taking possession of the island, did not, in all probability, leave it voluntarily, but were expelled by those same pagan Norwegians; for otherwise they would have taken along with them their books, &c. Nearly in the same manner are these circumstances stated in the book, called *Land-nama-boc* (*ap. Johnston, Ant. Celto-Scand. p. 14.*) in which we read; "Before Iceland was inhabited by the Norwegians, " there were men there whom the Norwegians call *Papas*, " and who professed the Christian religion, and are thought to " have come by sea from the West; for there were left by them " Irish books, bells and crooked staves, and several other things " were found which seemed to indicate that they were West-men. " These articles were found in Papeya towards the East and in " Papyli." See also Von Troil, (*On Iceland, Letter IV.*) As to the crooked staves, they were of that kind, which the ancient Irish had a particular veneration for, viz. those, which had belonged to holy bishops, abbots, &c. and which used to be adorned with gold, precious stones, &c. Such was the famous staff of St. Patrick, that of St. Mura, and many others, which were considered as most valuable relics, so that it was usual, even until a late period, to swear by them.

According to the above accounts, those Irishmen, who had

lived in Iceland, were called *Papa* or *Papas*, by the Norwegians. This might seem to have been a name invented by the old Norwegians for them, because they were in communion with the Pope. But it is more probable, that it was that, which was used by themselves, signifying *clergymen*. Instances occur in our history of not only bishops but abbots being called *Papa*. (See *Not.* 214. to *Chap.* x.) In a note to *Ara* (*p.* 13.) those *Papas* are stated to have been ecclesiastics. The districts or places in Iceland, bearing the names *Papeya* and *Papyli*, afford a strong proof of this supposition; for it is sufficiently clear, that they were so called from having been inhabited by the Irish *Papas* before the arrival of the Norwegians. It is thus that, as Barry, (*History of the Orkneys*, *p.* 115.) following Pinkerton, thinks with great appearance of truth, the persons called *Papae*, whom the Scandinavians found in the Orkney Islands on their arrival in the ninth century, were the Irish clergymen settled there, who, as they spoke a different language, and were of an appearance and manners different from those of the other inhabitants of said islands, might have been considered by the Scandinavians as a distinct nation. Besides other indications, he observes that many places in these islands were called *Papay* or *Paplay*, which, considering their retired and pleasant situation, and the venerable ruins which some of them contain, seem to have been residences of clergymen. There are two whole islands known by that name, *Papay Stronsay* and *Papay Westray*, which are remarkable for ruins, and bear strong marks of having been clerical or monastic property.

(33) Dicuill, who has been mentioned already, says in his book, (*De mensura provinciarum orbis terrae*) that *thirty* years, prior to the time of writing it, he had got an account of *Thyle* (Iceland) from some clergymen, who had returned from it after having spent there from the first of February to the first of August. (See *Usher*, *p.* 868.) Dicuill flourished in the late part of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century. (Ware, *Writers*, at *Dicuill*.) *Usher* places him (*p.* 729.) among the writers of the seventh; but as he was living at the time of the Northmannic, or as they are commonly called, Danish piracies, on account of which, he says, (see *Ware*, *Antiq.* *cap.* 24.) *several small islands about our island of Ireland have not at present as much as*

an anchoret in them, he must be assigned to the period, after which said piracies began off the Irish coasts, and which was somewhat later than 790. The date of Dicuill's work is now well known; for Mr. Walckenaer has published it together with *Récherches Géographiques et Phisiques* on it, Paris, 1814. According to his copy, Dicuill dates his work in 825. Accordingly the thirtieth previous year, in which he had conversed with the clergymen returned from Iceland, will bring us back to about 795. Nor is there any the least hint or any other reason to make us think, that they were the first missionaries, who had gone from Ireland to that country. It seems that the clergymen, who used to be sent on that mission, were occasionally relieved by others from Ireland after a certain period of service.

(34) See *Not.* 32.

(35) As to the Orkneys see *ib.* We have observed already, (*Chap.* xi. §. 14.) that Irish missionaries are said to have been in those islands as early as the times of Columbkil. Dicuill states, that in the Hethlandic, that is, the Shetland isles, there were living Irish hermits since about 100 years prior to the time of his writing. (See Usher, *p.* 729.)

§. v. St. Sedulius, abbot, and, according to some, bishop at Ath-eliath, now called Dublin, is said to have died in 786. (36) If he was really a bishop, he is the only one that Dublin can lay claim to before the eleventh century; (37) and it is clear, that it was not a regular episcopal see until said century. This, however, does not prevent our admitting, that Sedulius was raised to the episcopal rank, in the same manner as many abbots, distinguished for their merit, used to be in Ireland without attaching permanent sees to their places of residence, and as his neighbour and contemporary, Ferguill, was at Clondalkin. (38) Nothing further is known concerning this St. Sedulius, than that he was the son of one Luat, and departed this life on the 12th of February. A very learned and holy man, Colga, *alias* Coelchu, Colcu, (in Latin *Colcus*) surnamed the *Wise*, presided in these times over the great school of Clonmacnois.

(39) He was of the family of the Hua-Dunechda, and had, it seems, studied at that school. Through his great application, particularly to the Epistles of St. Paul, whom he venerated as his patron, he acquired such a degree of ecclesiastical knowledge that he was looked upon as the most learned man in Ireland, and was styled the *Scribe* or doctor of *all the Scots*. His piety was equally great, and accordingly he was raised to the priesthood. At what time he began to teach at Clonmacnois, we are not informed; but he remained there until his death in 792, on, it seems, the 20th February, the day at which his name is marked in the calendars. He left some tracts, one of which, of a devotional kind, has been preserved.

(40) This distinguished man was undoubtedly the lecturer and blessed master Colcu, with whom Alcuin carried on a correspondence, and who had an extraordinary respect for him, as appears from one of his letters to Colcu, which is still extant. (41)

After giving him some news relating to the state of the continent, he styles him *most holy father*, and calls himself *his son*. (42) He then mentions one Joseph as an humble servant of Colcu, who, as well as all his other friends then living in France, was serving God in a state of prosperity.

(43) Next he tells him that an unfortunate quarrel had broke out between king Charles and the Mercian king Offa, and that it was said that he himself was to be sent to England for the purpose of negociating a peace between them, as in fact he was in 790, not long after his writing this letter. (44) He requests Colcu's prayers, that God may protect him, whether he should go or not, and laments that he had not received any letter from him for a considerable time.

Alcuin adds an account of some presents, which he had forwarded to him, such as oil, then a scarce article, to be distributed among the bishops; a certain sum of money, partly from the king Charles, and partly from himself, for the brethren (of Clonmacnois); another sum, not so large, from them also, and from

another person, for the Southern brethren of *Baldhunninega*; (45) and some small sums for certain anchorets; requesting that all those persons may pray for himself and for king Charles.

(36) The date of the 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 315.*) is 785, *i. e.* 786.

(37) The 4 Masters call Sedulius only *abbot*; but the *Martyr. Tamloct.* and Marian Gorman give him the title of *bishop*. Ware (*Bishops of Dublin*) omits him, whereas, according to the old documents of that church, Donat, who lived in the 11th century, was its first bishop. Yet Harris has admitted him, as well as others for whom there is much less foundation. Burke (*Office of St. Rumoldus*) goes still further, telling us, what it would be hard to guess where he found, that Pope Stephen III. on St. Rumoldus' resigning into his hands the see of Dublin, made it over to Sedulius. This is a patched up story, not worth refutation; for how can it be proved, that St. Rumold ever held said see? (See *Chap. XIX. §. 15.*)

(38) See *ib. §. 16.* It is not improbable, that Sedulius' promotion was in consequence of the death of Férugill in 785, as it was requisite that there should be a bishop somewhere in that neighbourhood to exercise the necessary episcopal functions. Perhaps both of them were only *chorepiscopi*.

(39) Colgan has the Acts of St. Colga at 20 Feb. *p. 378. seqq.*

(40) Colgan had a copy of it under the title of *Scuap chrabhaigh, Scopa devotionis, or Sweeping brush of devotion*. He represents it as a collection of most fervent prayers, breathing extraordinary piety. Ware (*Writers*) has overlooked Colga, but Harris has not.

(41) This letter was published by Usher from two very ancient MSS. of the Cottonian library, in the *Ep. Hib. Syll. No. 18.*, and thence republished by Colgan among the Acts of St. Colga or Colcu. It is headed, "*Albini magistri ad Colcum lectorem in Scotia*"; then comes the address, "*Benedicto Magistro et pio patri Colcu, Alcuine humilis Levita salutem.*" Harris (*Writers, p. 51.*) fell into a monstrous mistake in attributing this letter to the Irishman, called Albin, the companion of Clemens, of whom we have treated above. He might have learned not only from the address of it, but likewise from Usher and Colgan, to whom he strangely refers the reader, that it was written by Alcuin.

(42) It is not to be concluded from these and other similar expressions in the letter, that Alcuin had studied under Colcu. For it does not appear, that he had ever been in Ireland. But, as the reputation of both of them was very great, they had heard of each other, and entered into a correspondence. A person might call another *Master*, or *Doctor*, and himself *his son*, without having been under his direction. Mabillon concludes (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 790*) from the highly respectful manner, in which Colcu is addressed and spoken of by Alcuin, that he must have been a very distinguished man. He then conjectures, that he was perhaps a teacher in Hy. Had he looked into Colgan's *AA. SS.* a work, which he seems to have been little acquainted with, he would have easily found, that Colcu belonged to Clonmacnois. On this point Mabillon imitated some older Benedictine writers, who, when at a loss with regard to the places, whence some celebrated Irishmen had come, usually recur to Hy, as if that were the greatest of all the Irish schools. Now, from at least the times of Adamnan, it was far from being so, and, although it did not cease to flourish, seems to have been much inferior to some in Ireland, particularly those of Armagh, Clonmacnois, Lismore, Bangor, and Clonard.

(43) This Joseph, who is mentioned in Alcuin's works, (see *Letter 67.*) had been a scholar of Colcu, as appears from a letter written to him by Alcuin, which Usher found in the MSS. whence he took that to Colcu. (See *Ep. Hib. Recens ad. No. 18.*) In it Alcuin says to him; “ *Your master Colcu is well.*” Alcuin had got this information from Ireland, and most probably through a letter from Colcu himself. His adding *your* to the word *master*, plainly shows that he meant more than giving the title of master, in general, to Colcu, and that Joseph had studied under him. Hence it may be justly inferred, that Joseph was an Irishman. Colgan enumerates (*AA. SS. p. 381.*) several persons of said name distinguished at that period in Ireland. It was probably through that Joseph, or some of the other friends of Colcu spoken of by Alcuin, who also appear to have been personally acquainted with him, and consequently are to be presumed natives of Ireland, that an epistolary intercourse took place between those two great men.

(44) See Mabillon, *Annal. &c. ad. A. 790.* Accordingly the letter was written about two years prior to the death of Colcu

which occurred in 792. For the date, 791, marked by Colgan from the 4 Masters, must, following the usual rule, be considered the same as 792.

(45) In Colgan's edition, among other errata, this name is spelled *Balthuminega*, and, in a note, *Baldhunnega*, both which have been copied by Harris (*Writers*, p. 51.). Colgan conjectured that it ought to read *Bailechuinnig*, so as to mean a town or place of St. Cannech, perhaps Kilkenny or Aghaboe. But, besides the great difference between *Baldhuinega* and *Bailechuinnig*, or rather *Bailecannich*, as Colgan in framing this new name should have spelled it, Alcuin's calling the brethren of that place *southern* ought naturally to be understood as referring to a part of Ireland more to the south of Clonmacnois than is either Aghaboe or Kilkenny. I can scarcely doubt that *Baldhuninega*, *the town or place Dhuninega*, was the same as Lismore, the old Irish name of which was Dunsginne, (see *Not.* 195. to *Chap.* xiv.) or *Dunsginna*. A copyist, unacquainted with the Irish language, might have easily made a mistake in writing this name. Lismore was greatly resorted to by English students; (see *Chap.* xiv. §. 14. *Not.* 197.) and it is probable, that Alcuin's reason for sending money to that establishment was to show his gratitude for the attention, with which his countrymen were treated there.

§. VI. St. Moelruan, abbot and bishop at Tallaght, or Tallagh, about five miles from Dublin, who died on the 7th of July A. D. 788, (46) is also to be reckoned among the learned men of those times, and was one, and probably the first, of the authors of the celebrated martyrology called *Tamlactense*, or of 'Tallaght.' (47) Concerning his transactions I can find nothing further except that he governed his monastery according to the primitive rules of monastic discipline, and had for several years among his monks the great hagiologist Aengus.

Suibhne the second, abbot of Hy, who died either in 768 or 772, (48) was succeeded by Bressal, son of one Segen, whose administration lasted until 797, the year of his death. (49) During it died at Hy, in 787, Artgal, son of Cathald, who had been king of

Connaught. Resigning his crown in 779 he became a monk, and in the following year retired to Hy, where he piously spent the remainder of his life. (50)

In these times there seem to have been various contests for the see of Armagh. Foendelach, who is said to have become archbishop in 768, (51) is stated to have held it only three years, although we are told that he lived until 795. (52) Next after him is mentioned Dubdalethe, whose incumbency lasted fifteen years, (53) and accordingly, reckoning from 771, the year of his accession, ended in 786. Next after him are mentioned Arectac, who ruled only one year, (54) and Cudiniscus who held the see four years and consequently until 791. (55) He was succeeded by Conmach, to whom are assigned fourteen years. (56) As to the succession in other Irish sees there is a deplorable vacuum in the history of this period, with scarcely any exception, saving that of Emly. Cuan, who was bishop there, and in all probability the immediate successor of Senchai, died in 784 or 786; (57) and next after him we find in that see Sectabrat, who lived until 819. (58) Instead of a succession of bishops in some of our distinguished sees we are furnished with that of abbots in said places, for instance at Ferns and Kildare, (59) although it is difficult to think that the line of bishops was interrupted. (60)

(46) 4 Masters, *ap. AA. SS. p. 583*. I have added a year to their date 587. They call him *bishop*, as does also Colgan, (*ib. p. 741.*) although elsewhere he gives him only the title of *abbot*.

(47) The title of this work, which Colgan represents as excellent, and the most copious he ever met with of that kind written in any country, is *Martyrologium Aengusii filii Hua-obhlenii et Moelruani*. Aengus, of whom hereafter, lived for some years in the monastery of Tallaght under Moelruan. As they both belonged to that place, Colgan has, with good reason, called it *Tamlactense*. (See *AA. SS. p. 5. and 581.*) It might have been

composed jointly by both of them, or what seems more probable, had been first undertaken by Moelruan, and continued by Aengus, who, from his name being placed first, seems to have written the greater part of it. He adds that a *Martyrologium Tam-lactense* is mentioned by an old Scholiast on the *Festilogium* of Marian Gorman, and that there is every appearance of its having been the same as that entitled, *Aengus*, &c. Concerning it more will be seen lower down.

(48) See *Chap. xix. §. 14. Not. 162.*

(49) See *Tr. Th. p. 500.* Smith in his catalogue of the abbots of Hy (*Append. to Life of St. Col.*) inserts, between Suibhne and Bressal, a St. Muredach as abbot, because he found him called by the 4 Masters *prior* of Hy. He ought to have known that the priors of Hy were different from the abbots. The office of prior, which is kept up to this very day in large monasteries, is inferior to that of abbot. It is like that of a vice-president. Muredach died in 778.

(50) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. ib.* I have added a year to their dates.

(51) See *Chap. xix. §. 14. and ib. Not. 160. 161.*

(52) The Psalter of Cashel (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 292.*) allows three years for the incumbency of Foendelach. But the 4 Masters (*ib. p. 294.*) who, instead of him, make Cudiniscus the immediate successor of Ferdachrich, assign his death to A. 794 (795) after observing that he had a contest concerning the see, first with Dubdalethe and afterwards with Gormgal.

(53) Ware (*Bishops at Armagh*) from the catalogue of the Psalter of Cashel.

(54) See said catalogue *ap. Tr. Th. p. 292.* Ware has Affiat or Arectac. But in the now mentioned catalogue there is no Affiat. The Ulster annals and the 4 Masters call him *bishop* of Armagh, and state that he died on the same night with Arectac Hua-Foelain *abbot* of Armagh, in 793 (794.) According to this account, Arectac was not bishop, unless we should suppose that, having held the see for some time, he was pushed out by Affiat, and reduced to the situation of abbot. As to his dying in 794, it does not agree with the Psalter, which allows him only one year's incumbency, and consequently terminating in 787, except we are to admit a similar supposition, *viz.* that he was deprived of the see

some years before his death. It is, however, useless to endeavour to reconcile these jarring accounts, and I shall leave the whole matter as it is given in said Psalter.

(55) It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the disagreement with regard to the order of succession, the Ulster annals and the 4 Masters assign the death of Cudiniscus to *A. D.* 790, *i. e.* 791, the very year to which the above catalogue leads us for the close of his incumbency. Harris in his additions to Ware (at *Cudiniscus*) has a strange jumble of dates. Although he says with Ware, that the Annals of Ulster place his death in 791, he assigns his accession to 794, and his demise to 798. Where he found these dates, nobody, I believe, would be able to tell.

(56) Catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel.

(57) Ware, *Bishops at Emly*. For Senchai see *Chap.* xix. §. 16.

(58) Ware, *ib.*

(59) For the series of abbots there and elsewhere see Archdall. It will not be expected that I should transcribe them. It sometimes happens, as often remarked, that the same persons are sometimes called *abbots* and sometimes *bishops*; but it is not to be thence presumed that every one, who is called abbot, *ex. c.* of Ferns, were also bishops there. We have seen (*Not.* 180 to *Chap.* xix.) an *abbot* of Kildare clearly distinguished from two *bishops* of said place, who died in the same year with him. Our annalists were usually attentive to give the title *bishop* to such abbots, as were really both abbots and bishops.

(60) I suspect, however, that such an interruption might have occurred in less distinguished sees or places, owing to the singular practice in Ireland of raising persons to the episcopacy here and there without confining such promotions to old established sees, or places where there had been bishops in former days. The appointment of a bishop in a new spot might have prevented the regular continuation of others in a contiguous place, which had bishops before. For instance, there were some bishops at Cork in the seventh and eighth centuries. Yet after Selbac, who died in 773, we do not meet with another there until about the middle of the tenth. The succession might have been interrupted in consequence of the episcopal dignity being conferred on some abbots in the neighbourhood.

§ VII. The year 795 is stated by some writers to have been that, in which the Scandinavian freebooters, vulgarly called Danes, first infested the coasts of Ireland, and particularly the small island of Rechrann or Raghlin, which they laid waste. (61) To that year I first assigned the death of an abbot of Rechrann, St. Feradach, son of Segen, (62) which might have been occasioned by the proceedings of those marauders. Inis-patrick, now Holmpatrick, was plundered and devastated by them in 798. (63) In one of those early piratical expeditions, and probably the first of them, a sister of St. Findan was carried off by a party of those Northmen, who had landed somewhere on the coast of Leinster. For Findan was a native of that province, (64) and it was there that his father, who was a military man in the service of a Leinster prince, resided. (65) On being sent by his father to the Danes for the purpose of redeeming his sister, he was near being detained as a prisoner; but, as some of the party remonstrated on the unfairness of thus treating a person who had come on such an errand, he was allowed to return home. Some time after, through the treachery of certain enemies of his, he was inveigled to go on an excursion near the sea, whence, it appears, his habitation was not far distant, and there fell into the hands of some of those Norman pirates, and, after various vicissitudes, was taken to the Orkneys. Having stopped near one of its uninhabited islands, several of the pirates landed there and allowed Findan to accompany them. Here he seized an opportunity of slipping away from his Norman companions, and concealed himself under a rock, until the vessel sailed from that place. Thinking that there was an inhabited country not far distant, and having examined every outlet for three days, living on herbs and water, he determined on entrusting himself to Providence, and promised that, if God should preserve him, he

would renounce all worldly pursuits, and spend the remainder of his life in holy pilgrimage. He then committed himself to the waves, and swam until he reached land, on reconnoitring which he saw houses and fires at no great distance from the shore. This country was probably some part of Caithness in North Britain. (66) After two days he met some persons, who conducted him to the bishop of a neighbouring town, by whom he was very kindly received. This bishop had [studied in Ireland, understood the Irish language, and kept Findan with him for two years. Findan, however, wishing to proceed on his intended pilgrimage, left that place with the bishop's permission, and taking with him some companions passed over to France, visited St. Martin's of Tours, and, travelling on foot, at length arrived at Rome. Having remained there for some time, he went to Switzerland, and stopping there spent four years in a clerical state with a nobleman, (67) on the expiration of which his superior in the monastery of Rhinaugia or Rhingaw, (68) got him made a monk in the 51st year of his age. The time assigned for Findan's monastic profession is *A. D.* 800, a date, which does not agree with that marked by some authors for the first Danish attacks on the coasts of Ireland, but which, however, we have not sufficient authority to set aside. (69) After five years of monastic observance in the community, he became a recluse in a cell adjoining the church and monastery, where he remained for 22 years, practising the most extraordinary austerities, particularly as to fasting. These were, in all probability, the last years of his life, and accordingly his death ought to be assigned to *A. D.* 827 (70) Some remarkable circumstances are related as having occurred to this saint on the festivals of St. Patrick, (71) St. Brigid, St. Columba (Columbkil), and St. Aidan (of Lindisfarne); and

certain Irish sentences, which he heard in visions on these occasions, are repeated in his Life. The sanctity of Findan was reputed to be so very great, that the monks of Rhingaw, although the monastery was not founded by him, adopted him as their patron (72) ; and his memory is revered there on the 15th of November. (73)

(61) Ware, (*Antiq. cap. 24.*) referring to the Annals of Ulster. Usher has (*Ind. Chron.*) these Danish depredations at *A. 795*, but does say that they were the first. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 510.*) assign a devastation of Rechrann to *A. 790* (791.) This date would, in the supposition that the Danes attacked other parts of the Irish coasts in the same year, agree with the history of St. Findan, of which a little lower down, better than that of the Ulster annals. O'Flaherty follows Ware, (see *Ogygia, Part 3. cap. 93. at king Donnchad.*) Usher was mistaken in adding to the devastation of Rechrann in 795 that of the greatest part of Ireland; a statement, which he took from a vague passage of Carodoc of Lancarvan. (See *Pr. p. 958.*) It is clear from what Ware has collected on this part of our history, that the Danes did not penetrate into the interior of Ireland until several years later.

(62) Four Masters and *Tr. Th. p. 510.*

(63) The Ulster annals (*ap. Johnston, App. &c.*) have; *A. 797* (798) *Inis-patrick wasted by the Gáls.*

(64) In his Life he is called a Scot, and a citizen of the province of Leinster, "*Findan genere Scottus, civis provinciae Lagenensis.*" This Life may be seen in Melchior Goldast's *Rerum Alemannicarum Scriptores, Tom. 1. p. 318. seqq.* or, according to another edition, *Tom. 1. p. 203. seqq.* Although imperfect, it contains a very good account of this saint's transactions, and is written in a clear, sensible, and rational manner. The author lived not long after Findan, for he mentions a person still alive in the monastery of Fore (*in Fovariensi monasteris*), to whom the saint had related a vision that he had. (See *cap. 8.*) This person must have seen Findan in Switzerland, but afterwards returned to Ireland. And it appears that the author was also an Irishman, although, at the time of his writing, a monk in Switzerland. Besides his seeming to hint, that he had been in the mo-

nastery of Fore, he quotes several Irish passages. But I find no reason for making him, as Ware does, (*Writers* at 9th century) a companion of Findan.

(65) Colgan, who was much inclined to make our saints sons of kings, calls (*AA. SS. p. 355.*) Findan, or as he spells the name, *Fintan*, an Irish prince. Ware (*ib.*) says that he was the son of a Leinster prince. This is a strange assertion for an author, who refers the reader to the *Life* published by Goldast. In it we find quite the reverse; for not only is Findan called a *citizen* of Leinster, but his father is represented as a military man, *miles*, under a prince of that province, who was at variance with another Leinster prince. Which of them was his master, or whether he belonged to North or South Leinster, we are not informed.

(66) There are some small islands in the southern Orkneys, or in the frith of Pentland, which may also be comprized under the general name of *Orcades* (Orkneys), from one of which a good swimmer might make his way to the mainland of Scotland. Or the land, which Findan arrived at, might have been one of the larger islands. Yet from other circumstances it seems more probable, that the tract alluded to was in Caithness.

(67) In the *Life* it is said, that he remained four years with a nobleman *in clericatu*. Does this mean that Findan acted as chaplain to a nobleman? If so, he was already a priest. But I think that the passage ought to be understood of his leading a clerical life, preparatory to holy orders, or to the monastic profession, while residing with that nobleman.

(68) Rhingaw, *alias* Rheinau, is an abbey near the town of said name in the district of Thorgaw in Switzerland. Ware (*Writers*, at 9th century) was wrong in making Findan the founder of it. He was only one of its first monks. The founder was, according to Goldast, the Count Wolfchard of Kyburg, who was, in all appearance, that nobleman, under whom Findan spent four years, and, perhaps, the same as the person called its senior or superior. Mabillon, (*Annal. &c. ad A. 800.*) admitting that Wolfchard was the founder, states that its first abbots were Wichramn, Wolvin, and Antwart, under one or other of whom, he says, was placed Findan.

(69) This difficulty has been noticed by J. P. Murray, *De Britan. atque Hibern. &c. Nov. Comm. R. S. Goetting. Tom. 2.* and

De Coloniis Scandicis, ib. Tom. 3. The number of years, that intervened between Findan's being carried off by the Danes and his becoming a monk in 800, leads us to an earlier date than 795. Not to reckon the time that passed from his seizure to his escape from the Orkneys, he spent two years with the good bishop before he set out for France. For his journey through that country and Italy to Rome, his delay in said city, and his journey thence to Switzerland, another year, at the least, must be allowed. Add the four years, which he passed with the worthy nobleman previous to his monastic profession, and it will be found, that, supposing the date 800 to be correct, Findan was captured before 795, and that the Danes began to infest the Irish coasts earlier than is stated in the annals of Ulster. Now there are very good reasons for believing, that said date is correct. The writer of the *Life* was almost contemporary with Findan; (see *Not. 64.*) he lived in the monastery of Rhingaw, and had access to its documents, among which there was undoubtedly a precise account of the holy man's transactions, time of profession, &c. and accordingly ought to be considered as a very credible witness on these points. The only evasion, that may be guessed at against the truth of the date 800, is, that a transcriber might have mistaken it for some other. But of this some proof should be adduced; and I do not find that any one has undertaken to do so. Said date is followed by Mabillon (*Annal. ad 800.*); and it is somewhat odd that Ware, who had Fintan's *Life* before his eyes, did not hesitate to lay down the year 795 as that of the commencement of the Danish aggressions on our coasts; and that Usher, who also had said *Life*, has affixed (*Ind. Chron.*) Findan's captivity to that year. I am strongly of opinion that Ireland was annoyed by the Scandinavians some years earlier, although the annals of Innisfallen assign their first appearance on our coasts to said year 795; and we have seen (*Not. 61.*) that the 4 Masters bring them to Rechrann in 791. If that, or even 792 was the year in which Findan was taken, no difficulty will remain as to what we read of his further proceedings, and his having become a monk as early as *A. D.* 800.

(70) See Mabillon, *Annal. at A.* 827.

(71) What will Dr. Ledwich say, on hearing that the festival of St. Patrick was kept at Rhingaw in the *beginning* of the ninth

century. Will he still maintain, that he had not been heard of until the *middle* of it?

(72) The author of the Life calls him *our patron*.

(73) *AA. SS. p. 355.*

§. VIII. Donnchad, king of all Ireland, having reigned 27 years, (74) and left an example of great piety and repentance, (75) died in 797, (76) and was succeeded by Aidus, *alias* Aedan, *alias* Hugh, surnamed *Ordnidhe*, a son of the king Niell Frassach. This Aidus was the fifth monarch of that name. (77) During his reign, which lasted 22 years, the ravages by the Scandinavians became more frequent and dreadful. In 798 they attacked the coasts of Ulster, (78) and in 802 set fire to the monastery of Hy, (79) on which occasion many of the monks were consumed in the flames. They again entered Hy in 806; and such was the extent of their fury that the number of its members was reduced to 64. (80) In 807 they effected a landing in Ireland, and penetrating as far as Roscommon destroyed it, and laid waste the surrounding country. (81) But in 812 they were defeated with great slaughter by the Irish, and forced to fly and return to their own country. (82) About 815, or, as some say, 818, the famous Norwegian Turgesius, of whom more will be seen hereafter, made his first invasion of Ireland. (83) The king Aidus Ordnidhe, having become a great penitent, (84) lived until 819, (85) and had for successor Conquovar, a son of king Donnchad, who is said to have reigned fourteen years. (86) The next king was Niell Calne, son of Aidus Ordnidhe, who after a reign of thirteen years was drowned in the river Calluin, (87) when 55 years of age, in 846. (88) He was succeeded by Mel-seachlain, whose name has been latinized into *Malachias*, a nephew of king Conquovar by his brother Malronius. His reign lasted sixteen years and some months; and his death is assigned to A. D. 863.

(89) After him reigned Aidus, or Aedan, VI. surnamed *Finnliath*, and son of king Niell Calne. He held the throne for sixteen years, until his death in the monastery of Druin-iniscluinn (Drumshallon) A. 879. (90) His successor was Flan Sinna, son of the king Melseachlain, who reigned for about 37 years, and accordingly until 916. (91)

(74) See *Chap. xix. §. 9.*

(75) Four Masters, and *Tr. Th. p. 448.*

(76) Ware (*Antiq. cap. 4.*) and O'Flaherty (*Ogygia, Part III. cap. 93.*) Ware says that, according to some accounts, he was killed in battle fighting against Aidus or Aedan, his successor, a circumstance not mentioned either by the 4 Masters or O'Flaherty. Ware adds as certain, that two sons of Donnchad were afterwards killed contending for the monarchy against the said Aidus.

(77) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 448.*) calls him Aidus the sixth, in consequence of his having added a unit to the number of every king of that name, beginning with Aidus, son of Anmireus, in the sixth century, whom he calls Aidus the *second*, while by others he is called the *first*.

(78) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 24.* He says that in 798 they infested Ulster; but this must be understood as relative to the coast, and to partial landings; for from what follows it appears, that there was no general landing, and that they did not advance far into Ireland until 807.

(79) Annals of Ulster, *ap. Johnston at A. 801 (802)*, and 4 Masters (in *Tr. Th. p. 500.*) who mention an earlier conflagration of Hy in 797 (798).

(80) Annals of Ulster, *ib. ad A. 805 (806).* Smith (*App. to Life of St. C.*) says, that in this havock 68 monks were killed by those foreigners (Gâls).

(81) Ware *Antiq. cap. 24.* and Annals of Ulster, *ib.*

(82) Eginhard, who is quoted by Usher (*p. 731.*), has at *A. 812*; "Classis Nordmannorum Hiberniam Scotorum insulam aggressa, commissoque cum Scotis praelio, parte non modica Nordmannorum interfecta, turpiter fugiendo domum reversa est." The same date and account are given by the chroniclers Rhegino and Hermannus Contractus. See Ware, *ib.* who adds, that,

according to the Irish histories, the Danes were about these times defeated in two engagements. One of them was, in all appearance, fought in 811, at which the Ulster Annals, calling it 810, mark, a slaughter of the Gâls in Ulster.

(83) Ware *ib.* O'Flaherty (*Ogygia, Part. III. cap. 93.*) says, that Turgesius arrived in 815, and that thenceforth the so called Danes began to be settled in Ireland. Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigns his arrival to 818; for thus his words must be understood, whereas elsewhere (*p. 860*) reckoning the 30 years of the tyranny of Turgesius he makes *A. 848* the last of them. But the date 815, or about it, suppose the beginning of 816, is probably more correct; and Usher seems to have had no other reason for marking 818, than his having read in Giraldus Cambrensis that Turgesius devastated Ireland for *about 30 years*, which Usher explained as *exactly 30 years*. Then finding that, in all probability, the last year of that persecution was 848, he reckoned back merely to 818. Yet the *about 30 years* of Giraldus may be well supposed to have been really 32 or 33; and Ware and O'Flaherty had, we may be sure, some good reasons for the date 815. For, although Ware mentions 818 as given, by some (meaning, I think, Usher), yet he first lays down 815, or about it.

(84) See *Tr. Th. p. 448.*

(85) Ware *Antiq. cap. 4.* and O'Flaherty, *loc. cit.* Ware adds, that, according to some, he lived until 820.

(86) O'Flaherty, *ib.* Ware allows him only 12 years, and places his death in 832, while O'Flaherty assigns it to 833.

(87) This river, which flows near Armagh, is now called *Callen*, The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 448.*) say that, from having been drowned in it Niell was surnamed *Calne*.

(88) O'Flaherty, *ib.* Ware agrees with him as to this king's death in 846.

(89) Ware (*Ant. cap. 4.*) has *A. 862*. He observes, that Mel-seachlain was buried at Clonmacnois.

(90) Ware, having placed the accession of Aidus VI. in 862, says that he reigned almost 17 years, and thus comes to the same point with O'Flaherty in assigning his death to *A. 879*. He was mistaken as to the situation of Druim-iniscluinn, where the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 448.*) tell us that this king died. It was not in Tirconnel, as he says, but in Conall-murtheimhne, and in the

now county of Louth, about three miles from Drogheda. (See *Tr. Th. p. 174.* and Archdall at *Drumshallon.*) Owing to the name *Conall* appearing in the denomination of those two territories, they have sometimes been confounded together.

(91) O'Flaherty (*ib.*) gives this king 37 years; Ware (*Ant. cap. 4.*) has 36 years, six months, and five days, adding that he died at Talten (famous for its sports) aged 68. Yet he affixes his death, as well as O'Flaherty, to *A. D. 916.*

§. ix. During the reign of Aidus Ordnidhe, and in the year 800, the Irish clergy obtained a privilege of the greatest importance. The practice, so fatal to ecclesiastical discipline, of compelling bishops and abbots to attend kings in their military expeditions had crept into Ireland. Aidus having, on occasion of a quarrel with the people of Leinster, laid waste that province, was determined to proceed still further against them, and for that purpose raised in that year a great army from all the other parts of Ireland, and of all descriptions, not excepting even the clergy. Among others he was accompanied by Conmach, archbishop of Armagh, and Fothadius a most learned and holy lecturer and writer of said city, celebrated for his knowledge of the Canons, on which account he was called *Fothadius de Canonibus*. The army being arrived at the frontiers of Leinster and Meath, the clergy began to complain of their being forced to perform military duty, and applied to the king for an exemption from it. He answered, that he would agree to whatever should be decided on this point by Fothadius, who accordingly drew up a statement, in which he maintained that the clergy ought not to be charged with a service so unbecoming their profession, and which produced the wished for effect. (92)

Fothadius is said to have presented a copy of this tract to the hagiologist Aengus, from whom he had received on this occasion a copy of one of his works,

viz. the *Festilogium*, which he had just completed. This celebrated man, who, as we have seen, had spent some years with St. Moelruan of Tallaght, (93) was of an illustrious family descended from the ancient princes of Dalaradia in Ulster. His father was Aengavan, the son of Hoblen; and accordingly Aengus has been usually distinguished from others of that name by the addition of the surname *son of Hua-Hoblen*. He embraced the monastic state in the monastery of Clonenagh (Queen's county) under the holy abbot Moelatgen, (94) and made great progress in piety and learning. He was wont to spend a great part of his time in a lonesome spot not far distant from Clonenagh, and which from him has been called *Disert Aengus*, where he occupied himself in reading the psalms and in constant prayer. His reputation for sanctity becoming very great, he wished to withdraw from the scene of it and to hide himself in some place, where he was not known. Having heard of the strict and exemplary manner, in which St. Moelruan governed his monastery, he determined on placing himself under his direction, and set out for Tallaght.

(92) See the 4 Masters, at *A.* 799 (800) *ap. AA. SS. p. 583*, and Harris, *Writers at Fothadius*.

(93) Above §. 6. Colgan has the *Acts of St. Aengus* at xi. March.

(94) According to the 4 Masters, (*ap. AA. SS. p. 582.*) Moelatgen died in 767 (768) and his memory was revered on the 21st of October.

§. x. When arrived there he concealed his name and whatever clerical rank he had been raised to, and requested to be received as a novice. (95) It is said that he was employed for seven years in the most laborious avocations, such as reaping, threshing, &c. His humility and the austerity of his life were so remarkable, that he was called *Cele-De* or *Ceilc-De*,

that is, a servant or companion of God. (96) At length his rank and acquirements were discovered by Moelruan in consequence of his having assisted one of the school boys of the monastery in preparing his task, at which he had been either dull or negligent, and who was afraid of being punished by Moelruan. The boy hid himself in the barn, where Aengus was working, who, taking compassion on him, helped him so well that he was enabled to go through his task to the great satisfaction of his master, (97) who, surprized at this change, pressed the boy to tell him how it had come to pass, and, although Aengus had cautioned him to be silent, compelled him to relate the whole circumstance. Moelruan, who had hitherto considered Aengus as an illiterate rustic, flew to the barn and embracing him complained of his having so long concealed his character, and expressed his deep regret for the humble and abject manner, in which he had been hitherto treated. Aengus, throwing himself at his feet, begged pardon for what he had done. Henceforth he was held by him in the greatest consideration; and it is probable that he remained at Tallaght until Moelruan's death in 788. He became afterwards abbot, apparently, of Clonenagh or of Disert-Aengus, or probably of both places, (98) after he had returned thither from Tallaght. Aengus was raised also to the episcopal rank, without leaving the monastery or monasteries, which he governed. (99) He died on a Friday, the eleventh of March, but in what year is not recorded, (100) and was buried at Clonenagh.

Several works are attributed to this saint. He is named as one of the authors of the very copious Martyrology of Tallaght, (101) which, it seems, he began to labour at jointly with St. Moelruan after he was recognized by him. Whether he finished his part of it during Moelruan's life time it is difficult to ascertain; but the present text of this martyrology

shows, that it has been augmented by some later writer or writers. Besides its containing the festivals of Aengus himself and of Moelruan, it has those of other holy persons down to the close of the ninth century. (102) From that large work, as far as it went in his time, Aengus is stated to have extracted his *Festilogium*, a small calendar written in Irish verse, in which he mentions at each day only some principal saints, and which he used for his private devotion with regard to them. (103) He composed another work on the saints of Ireland, divided into five small books; 1. containing the names of 345 bishops, 299 priests and abbots, and 78 deacons; 2. entitled of *Homonymous saints*, or saints of the same names, by some of which, *ex. c. Colman*, an extraordinary number was called; (104) 3. the *Book of sons and daughters*, giving an account of holy persons born of the same parents, &c. 4; the maternal genealogy of about 210 Irish saints; 5. a collection of litanies, in which are invoked groups of saints, among whom are included several foreigners that died in Ireland. (105) This work is sometimes called *Saltuir-na-rann*, that is the Metrical or Multipartite Psalter. (106) There is another *Saltuir-na-rann*, a poetical work, written also by Aengus, comprizing the history of the Old Testament, which he put into the form of prayers and praises to God. (107)

(95) Harris (*Writers at Aengus*) says that he was received as a *lay brother*. Colgan indeed, from whom he took his account of Aengus, seems to have thought so; for he represents him as a *conversus*, the term by which a lay brother is usually distinguished from a clerical one. But, if this was Colgan's meaning, he was certainly mistaken; for the distinction between clerical and lay monks or brethren, as it is now understood, was not known in Ireland at that period, nor, it seems, any where until the eleventh century. (See Fleury, *Discours septieme sur l'Hist. Eccl. and Instit. au Droit Eccl. Part. 1. ch. 25.*) In older times some monks, it is

true, were raised more or less to the clerical rank, and the number of such promotions appears to have increased with the course of ages ; but there was not as yet any radical distinction of classes in the religious institutions, so as that one of them was perpetually debarred from any ecclesiastical promotion, and destined to toil in the fields and elsewhere as subordinate to the other, and, in fact, as servants of the clerical or higher class.

(96) Toland pretends, (*Nazarenus, Letter II. sect. 3.*) that the surname *Ceile-De* given to Aengus indicated an office or particular sort of profession, and that he was one of that sort of clergymen, who have been afterwards called *Culdees*. But Aengus was a monk, whereas the *Culdees*, as will be seen elsewhere, were the secular canons of cathedrals or collegiate churches, such as we call prebendaries. It is a palpable mistake to suppose, that they were a monastic order. The title *Ceile-De*, as applied to Aengus, had nothing to do with them, and it is more than probable, that in his time there was not as yet any such institution as that of those so much talked of *Culdees*. Aengus's surname was peculiar to himself, unless it should be supposed that all, that is said of his having been a monk, &c. is false. Many Irish names began with *Ceile*, *Cele*, or, with the corresponding word *Gilla*, followed by that of our Saviour or some saint. Thus we find *Cele-Christ*, *Cele-Peter*, *Gilla-Patrick*, &c. *i. e.* servant of Christ, &c.

(97) It is thus, I think, that the anecdote related in Aengus' *Acts* ought to be understood. The boy's improvement is indeed stated as miraculous. and as a supernatural consequence of his having slept for a while on the bosom of Aengus. But it can be well accounted for without recurring to a miracle.

(98) Another Aengus, who was almost contemporary with this saint, and who has left an elegant poem in praise of him, from which Colgan derived a great part of his *Acts*, hints that he was abbot at Clonenagh, and also at Disert-Aengus. Colgan observes, that his hints are stronger as to the latter place. But the matter can be easily settled. As they were near each other, both lying in the barony of Maryborough, Aengus might have been abbot of the two establishments ; and that of Disert-Aengus, which commenced with himself, may be considered as a cell to the old and great monastery of Clonenagh. Archdall (at *Clonenagh* and *Disert-*

enos, Disert-Aengus) has inverted the order of the transactions of Aengus. After making him found an abbey at Disert-Aengus he sends him to Tallaght, where, he says, he died. Now it is clear from his *Acts*, that he was no more than a simple monk, when he removed to Tallaght; and as to the place of his death, it was not Tallaght; for, as we find in said *Acts*, he was buried at Cloneagh. The Aengus, panegyrist of the saint, seems to have been, as Colgan justly conjectures, the abbot Aengus, surnamed the *Wise*, of Clonfert-molua, who died in 858 (859). (See *AA. SS.* p. 582.)

(99) In various Irish calendars he is expressly styled *bishop*. Considering the Irish practice of promoting eminent abbots to the episcopacy, we need not look for any other see for him than one of the above mentioned monasteries.

(100) There being good reason to think that Aengus survived the year 806, Colgan conjectures that the year of his death was either 819, 824, or 830; whereas in each of them the 11th of March fell on a Friday.

(101) See above *Not.* 47.

(102) Dr. Ledwich (*Antiq. &c.* p. 365) strives to show, that this martyrology was first written in the 9th century, because it has the names of Moelruan, Aengus and other later saints. It is true that, considered in its present state, it was not completed until even the end of that century; but does it follow that Aengus and Moelruan had no share in drawing it up? He adds, that in its second preface it cites the martyrology of St. Jerome. Here the Doctor is wrong; for this martyrology is quoted not in any preface to the martyrology of Tallaght, *alias* that of Aengus and Moelruan, but in the second preface to the *Festilogium* of Aengus. (See *AA. SS.* p. 581.) He then tells us that the martyrology called *of St. Jerome* was not known until about the ninth century; but might not *about the ninth century* be implied to take in part of the eighth, prior to Aengus having been engaged in any of these works? The Doctor says that Launoy has proved, that this martyrology was fabricated about the ninth century. Now in the passage, which he refers to, Launoy has not even attempted to prove it; and all that he says, is that the martyrology called *of St. Jerome* cannot be proved to have been written by that saint on any authority prior to the reign of Charlemagne. But the Doctor cares nothing

about inaccuracies or misquotations, provided he could make the reader believe, that martyrologies are not to be depended upon. Yet Launoy was, in the little he has said, mistaken; for the martyrology ascribed to St. Jerome, or rather to Eusebius and St. Jerome, as quoted by Aengus, is mentioned more than once by Bede, who lived many years before Charlemagne. Thus he cites (*L. 2. in Marcum, cap. 26.*) *Martyrologium Eusebii et Hieronymi vocabulis insignitum*; and (*Retract. in Act. Ap. cap. 1.*) states, that Eusebius is said to have been the author, and Jerome the translator. (See more in Bollandus' *General Preface, cap. 4. §. 4. at 1 January*). That Eusebius compiled a sort of martyrology is certain; (*ib. cap. 1. §. 3.*) and the learned Bollandists Henschenius and Papebrochius (*Prolog. ad Martyrol. Bed. at March. Tom. 2.*) were inclined to think, that it was not only translated, but likewise augmented by St. Jerome. Be this as it may, it is well known that what is now called the *Martyrology of St. Jerome* was not written by him; but it is supposed to have been originally compiled not long after his time, and is considered by many very learned men to be the oldest extant. D'Achery has published it, (*Spicileg. Tom. 4.*) and in his *Monitum* states from Henry Valois, that it was used by Gregory the great, and existed many years earlier. Since those times some names have been added to it, such as that of Gregory himself, which D'Achery has marked in Italics. Among them is that of St. Patrick, and perhaps the Doctor had heard so, on which account he wished to decry its antiquity. Much more might be said on this subject, were this the place for doing so. Meanwhile the reader may consult also Tillemont. *Hist. Eccl. Tom. XII. at St. Jerome, art. 144.*

(103) Besides the constant tradition of this tract having been written by Aengus, and his having presented a copy of it to Fothadius in 800, as asserted by the Scholiast on it (*AA. SS. p. 581.*) it is to be observed, that in the first preface king Dunnchad is spoken of as not long dead at the time the author was writing or had finished it. Dunnchad died in 797.

(104) *AA. SS. ib. and Preface.*

(105) Colgan (*ib. p. 539*) gives a specimen of these litanies, in which Aengus invokes Roman, Italian, Gallic, British, English, and even Egyptian saints, whose remains he represented as in Ireland, specifying the very places.

(106) Under this title Colgan says (*ib. p. 582.*) that it appears in some old Irish MSS. and that he got a part of it with the inscription, *from Saltuir-na-rann composed by Aengus Cele-De.* He observes that the latest saint mentioned in it is St. Tigernach, son of St. Mella, and founder of Doire-melle, (see *Chap. xix. §. 13.*) who died abbot of Kill-achad, in the now county of Cavan, on the 4th of November, A. D. 805 (806). (See *AA. SS. p. 796.* and Archdall at *Killachad.*) This is a strong proof of the assertion that Aengus was the author of this work.

(107) Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 582.* Harris (*Writers at Aengus*) says that some ascribe to Aengus a *Psalter-na-rann*, a miscellany on Irish affairs. Aengus wrote no such work, and his only *Psalter*, or *Saltuir-na-rann* were those above mentioned. Harris got his information either from Toland, or from some one who took it from him. In his *Nazarenus (Letter II. sect. 3.)* Toland says that Aengus wrote a *chronicle*, entitled *Psalter-na-rann*. This is a lie invented by that impious writer, who did not wish to let it be known, that Aengus was chiefly employed in treating of saints, and that he used to invoke them. And (*ib. Chap. II. §. 8.*) he tells a still more monstrous lie, viz. that the Irish used not to pray to saints. Now there is nothing more clear in our ecclesiastical history than that the ancient Irish were in the habit of invoking them. Dungal, a most learned Irishman of these times, defends this practice against Claudius, as will be seen lower down. Brogan, who in the seventh century wrote a life of St. Brigid in Irish verse, (see *Not. 18. to Chap. VIII.*) often invokes her in the course of it, concluding with these words; “There are two holy virgins in heaven, who may undertake my protection, Mary and St. Brigid, on whose patronage let each of us depend.” See also, to omit many other proofs, Adamnan, *Vit. S. Col. L. 2. c. 45.* The practice was so general in Ireland, and so well known to learned men, who have dipped into our history, that Usher in his *Discourse on the Religion of the ancient Irish*, found it expedient not to touch on the invocation of saints.

(108) Ware, *Bishops at Armagh.* He took this date from the 4 Masters, (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 294.*) who have *A. 806, i. e. 807.* making no mention of the *fourteen* years, during which Conmach held the see according to the catalogue of the *Psalter of Cashel.* (Above §. 6.) Ware’s reason for omitting these years must have

been his inability to reconcile the date 807 for his death with that of 791 for the death of Cudiniscus, whereas between them there were *sixteen* years. And indeed I do not know how they can be reconciled.

§. XI. Conmach, archbishop of Armagh, died suddenly in, it is said, the year 807, (108) and was succeeded by Forbach, son of one Gorman, and a scribe and lecturer of Armagh. He was a native of Kinel-Torbach, or Hua-Kellach in the territory of the Bregenses, an eastern part of Meath, and held the see only one year. (109) His successor was Nuad, (110) called of *Loch-uama*, (a lake in some part of Breffny) either from his having been born near it, or from his having led the life of an anchoret in its neighbourhood. (111) He afterwards presided over a monastery until he was raised in 808 to the see of Armagh, which he governed for somewhat more than three years, until his death on the 19th of February, *A. D.* 812. (112) Not long before, *viz.* in 811, he made a visitation of some part of Connaught, and on that occasion relieved some churches there from an annual offering, which used to be made to that of Armagh. (113) Next after him we find Flangus, son of Longsech, to whom thirteen years are assigned, and who died in 826. (114) Bressal abbot of Hy, who died in 797, (115) was succeeded by Conmach, a man of great learning, whose death is assigned to the following year (116) The next abbot was Kellach, son of Congal, who lived until 811. (117) He was, in all probability, the founder of the church and monastery of Kells in the year 807, (118) after the dreadful havock caused in Hy by the Danes in 806. (119) His successor Diermit carried off the shrine and remains of St. Columba to the mainland of North Britain in 817, lest it should fall into the hands of those pirates. (120) The time of Diermit's death is not recorded; but he was still abbot of Hy, when St. Blaithmaic was killed there

by the Danes in the year 824. This saint was a native of Ireland and heir to a principality; (121) but in opposition to his father and others, among whom are mentioned a bishop and some abbots, he withdrew from the world, and became a monk and afterwards an abbot. Blaithmaic had an ardent desire to visit some foreign parts; but was prevented by his friends and companions from leaving Ireland. At length he passed over to Hy, where he was not long when a party of Danes approached the island. As he was anxious to receive the crown of martyrdom, he determined to remain there, whatever might come to pass, and by his example induced some others to stay along with him, advising those, who did not wish to encounter the impending danger, to make their escape. While celebrating mass, attended by his intrepid companions, the Danes rushed into the church, and, having slaughtered the bystanders, came up to him and asked for the precious metals, within which were contained the holy remains of St. Columba. These, having been brought back from North Britain, had been concealed under ground; but Blaithmaic did not know in what particular spot. Accordingly he answered, that he did not know where they were, adding that, if he did, he would not point them out to the Danes. They then put him to death on the 19th of January, A. D. 824. (122)

(109) On this point the 4 Masters agree with the Cashel catalogue. Colgan says, (*Tr. Th. p. 294*) that his memory was revered on the 16th of July, that is, the anniversary of his death. (See *AA. SS. p. 373.*)

(110) Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Armagh*) call Nuad son of Segen. This is a mistake founded on a cursory reading of the *Acts of Nuad of Armagh ap. AA. SS. 19 Febr.* Colgan happens to mention among other Nuads, one who was son of Segen, and who was killed by the Danes in 844, and observes, what Ware has

strangely overlooked, that he must not be confounded with the archbishop, who died many years earlier.

(111) Nuad's *Acts*, cap. 2. Colgan observes that the lough or lake *Uama*, *i. e.* the lake of the cave, is in Western Breffny or O'Rourke's country, the now county of Leitrim, and that it sometimes flows back into the cave, whence it issues.

(112) *Acts*, cap. 5. The catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel allows three years for the incumbency of Nuad; but these must be understood with the addition of some months, reckoning from, as Colgan (*ib.*) observes, the death of Torbach on the 16th of July, A. 807 (808) to 19 February A. 811 (812).

(113) The date given by the 4 Masters for Nuad's journey to Connaught is 810, that is, 811. Yet Ware and Harris have, without any motive, retained 810. The English translator of Ware has spoiled his text by misplacing the date, 810, and making him appear as stating that Nuad's incumbency began in said year.

(114) The 13 years for Flangus, *alias* Mac-Longsech, are marked in the Cashel catalogue, (*Tr. Th. p.* 292) and the 4 Masters (*ib. p.* 294) place his death in 825 (826), which agrees well enough with the catalogue, if we suppose that some delay occurred between the death of Nuad and the accession of Flangus. But they speak (*ib.*) of Artrigius, as bishop of Armagh in 822 (823). This has puzzled Ware and Harris; for how could Flangus have governed for 13 years, if Artrigius was the bishop in 823? And from the manner in which these prelates are placed by the 4 Masters, it would seem as if, according to them, Artrigius were bishop before Flangus, although they assign his death to 833. O'Flaherty (*MS. not. ad Tr. Th. p.* 294.) says that Artrigius was perhaps coadjutor bishop in 823 to Flangus, who, he maintains, lived until 826.

(115) Above §. 6. Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p.* 500.) that he was commemorated either on 18 May or 30 September.

(116) *Tr. Th. ib.* It has A. 797, *i. e.* 798. Conmach's name is in the *Martyrol. Tam lact.* at 10 May.

(117) *Ib.* Its date is 810 (811). Kellach's memory was revered on the 1st of April.

(118) See *Not.* 107. to *Chap.* xi. (119) Above, §. 8.

(120) *Tr. Th. p.* 500. The 4 Masters' date is 816 (817.)

(121) The *Acts* of St. Blaithe, written in verse by his con-

temporary Walafrid Strabo, may be seen in Colgan's *AA. SS.* at 19 *January*. Walafrid says, "Strabus ego, misit quem terra Alemannica natu—Scribere disposui de vita et fine beati—Blaithmaic, genuit quem dives Hibernia mundo," &c. And alluding to his birth, he writes; "Regali de stirpe satus, summumque decorem—Nobilitatis habens, florebat regius heres—Iste Dei sanctus, vitam ducendo pudicam." In the Irish annals and calendars his father is called Flann; but it is not stated what principality he had. Colgan conjectures that he was one of the Southern Niells, princes of Meath, because the names *Flann* and *Blaithmaic* were rather common in that family. Walafrid gives the epithet *rich* to Ireland, and so it must have been at that time, as appears from the various attacks made upon it by the Scandinavians. This has been noticed by Simon, *Essay on Irish coins*, p. 2. where he observes that money was the object sought for by the Ostmen and Nordmen, and that they used to enter into piratical partnerships for the purpose of acquiring it.

(122) The Irish annals agree in assigning his martyrdom to 823 (824). Colgan observes that his name is marked in some Irish calendars at 24 July, probably as the day of a translation of his remains. Mabillon was mistaken (*Annal.* &c. at A. 793) in affixing his death to about said year, and in calling him *abbot* of Hy. He did not consult Colgan's *AA. SS.*

§. XII. To these times are assigned the deaths of some holy and distinguished persons in Ireland, *ex. c.* St. Finnia, abbess of Kildare in 801; St. Blatmac Hua Muirgeavair, abbot of Durrough, in 808; Tuathal, a scribe or lecturer of Clonmacnois, in 811; Joseph, a scribe of Roscommon, 808; St. Arbertac, abbot of Kildare in 817; and Muredoc, likewise abbot there, in 821. (123) Muredoc was succeeded by Sedulius, who was, in all probability, the author of the Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, which are universally allowed to have been written by an Irishman of that name. (124) Some other works, under the name of Sedulius, were probably written also by him. (125) He is called the son of Feradach, and must not be confounded with Sedulius, abbot and bishop of Roscommon, who

died in 814, (126) whereas the son of Feradach, abbot of Kildare, lived until 829. (127)

Contemporary with this Sedulius was Dungal, one of the most learned men of his times, an excellent theologian, poet, and scholar. That he was a Scot, is now admitted by all critics, and that he was an Irish one will appear from what follows. (128) We find him in France *A. D.* 811, in which year he wrote his Epistle to Charlemagne on the two solar eclipses of 810. He seems to have been then living in the monastery of St. Denis, as a recluse. (129) But he did not long remain a recluse; for he is represented as an eminent teacher, instructing persons of different ages and capacities. (130) There is a very neat poem in praise of Charlemagne, while still alive, the author of which calls himself an Irish exile, and is supposed to have been Dungal. (131) Afterwards he went to Italy, where he was appointed teacher at Pavia of students from Milan, Brescia, Lodi, Bergamo, Novara, Vercelli, Tortona, Acqui, Genoa, Asti, and Como by Lotharius the first, in, it seems, 823, the year in which this prince, having been already associated in the government of the empire with his father Lewis, was in Italy enacting laws, and crowned emperor at Rome. (132)

(123) *Ind. Chron. ad. Tr. Th.* I have added a year to each of Colgan's dates.

(124) Of these Commentaries, which are in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, (*Lyons, A.* 1677. *Tom.* 6.) I have had occasion to treat already, *Chap.* 1. §. 8. That the author was the Sedulius of Kildare seems unquestionable, particularly as he was living in 818, at which year, as marked by Hepidanus the monk of St. Gall, a Sedulius *Scottus* (or Irishman) was greatly distinguished. (See *ib Not.* 68.)

(125) One of these works is the *Collectaneum Sedulii in Mathaeum ex diversis Patribus excerptum*; two Grammatical books, attributed to Sedulius by Trithemius, one *in majus volumen Prisciani*, and another *in secundam editionem Donati*; besides a tract

entitled *Sedulii Commentariolus in artem Eutychii*. (See Usher, p. 780.) Ware (*Writers at Sedulius the younger*) attributes these tracts rather to Sedulius, who was a bishop in Britain of Scottish descent (*de genere Scottorum*) and attended at a synod of Rome in the year 721. For this supposition he had no authority whatsoever, except such as that of the liars Bale and Dempster; and nothing further is known of that bishop, than what I have now mentioned. He might as well have ascribed them to any one of six or seven other Seduliuses, who lived in Ireland in the eighth and ninth centuries. (See *AA. SS.* p. 315.) But as we find a Sedulius, whose reputation for learning was great in 818, why not suppose that he was the author of them rather than one, of whose learning we have no account.

(126) See *AA. SS. ib.* The 4 Masters' date is 813. (814).

(127) *Ib.* and *Tr. Th.* p. 629. I have changed the date 828 into 829.

(128) Mabillon (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 827.*) says that Dungal was perhaps a *Scottus*, that is, an Irishman, as his meaning is explained by the Benedictine authors of the *Histoire Litteraire*, (*Tom. 4. at Dungal*) who observes that in those times Ireland sent many great men to France. The very name *Dungal*, which was very common in Ireland, would alone be sufficient to show, that he was a native of it.

(129) Muratori thought, (*Antiq. Ital. Tom. III. Diss. 43.*) that Dungal was in Italy when he wrote it. He founds his argument on Dungal's words "in ista terra, in qua *nunc*, Deo donante, Franci dominantur," as if they were applicable to Lombardy, which then belonged to Charlemagne. But they answer equally well for France, and from other circumstances, such as Charlemagne having applied to the abbot of St. Denis to get Dungal to write that tract, it is sufficiently clear that he was still in France. It has been published by D'Achory, *Spicileg. Tom. 10.*

(130) Martene has published (*Collect. Ampliss. &c.*) *Tom. vi. col. 811. seqq.*) various poems written at that period, among which is one in praise of Dungal, vulgarly called his Epitaph, although written while he was alive and vigorous. In it we read; "Scripturas promit casto de pectore sacras—Edocet infirmos et validos pariter—Lacte rigans pueros, et dat capientibus escam—

Hinc lac ut capiant, inde cibum pariter, &c. Then comes a prayer for Dungal's long life and eternal happiness.

(131) The author says; "Hos Carolo regi versus *Hibernicus exsul*," &c. This poem is the first in the collection just mentioned, and is attributed to Dungal by the authors of the *Histoire Litteraire*, who praise it as one of the best of those times, and think that he composed also some of the smaller pieces in that collection.

(132) Muratori has published (*Rev. Ital. Script. Tom. I. Part. 2. p. 152.*) a Capitular of Lotharius, entitled, *de Doctrina*, part of which is as follows; "Primum in Papia convenient *ad Dungalum* de Mediolano de Brixia, de Laude, de Bergamo, de Novaria, de Vercellis, de Derthona, de Aquis, de Genua, de Haste, de Cuma. Muratori (*ib. and Antiq. Ital. Tom. III. Dissert. 43.*) assigns this capitular to A. D. 823, in which year it is known that Lotharius issued some edicts at Cortelona, a place about ten miles from Pavia. Yet elsewhere (*Annali d'Italia* at A. 829.) he seems to doubt whether that was the precise year of said capitular. But I find no sufficient reason for calling in question his former opinion; and from the time, in which Dungal wrote against Claudius, it may be fairly concluded that Dungal was at Pavia in 823. He then observes, that Dungal, who was settled at Pavia, was in all appearance the same as the writer Dungal, who is mentioned by Bellarmine, Dupin, Cave, and others, and who had been in the monastery of St. Denis. Yet he doubts of his having been the Dungal, whom Mabillon suspected to be a recluse, and thinks there might have been two Dungal's, one a recluse, and the other a teacher and writer. This difficulty is easily settled; for, although Dungal might have been a recluse when he wrote on the eclipses, it does not follow that he continued as such during the remainder of his life; nor is there any necessity whatsoever for the hypothesis of the two Dungal's. If Mabillon had known that Dungal removed to Italy, he would have been more exact in his account of him; but this was first announced to the literary world by Muratori.

§. XIII. Dungal was for some years in Italy when he set about writing his work against Claudius, a Spaniard and disciple of Felix of Urgel, and whom

Lewis the pious had made bishop of Turin. Claudius, who had enjoyed a great reputation, destroyed or removed, soon after his accession to that see all the images and crosses, which he found in the churches of his diocese. Being blamed by his friend the abbot Theodimir for this precipitate proceeding, he wrote a treatise under the title of *Apology against Theodimir*, in which he inveighed against any veneration whatsoever of images or the cross, and against the invocation of saints and the celebration of their festivals. (133) Dungal had for a considerable time often complained of the proceedings and principles of Claudius; but finding the people of the country where he then lived, that is the North of Italy, divided, some for, some against Claudius, he thought it adviseable to publish a work in refutation of his doctrines, which he entitled *Responsa contra perversas Claudii Turo-nensis episcopi sententias*. (134) It is usually supposed that he wrote it in 827, a date which I do not find any sufficient reason for controverting. (135) In it he states that it had been agreed upon in a conference held in the imperial palace, that nobody should be such a fool as to pay divine honour to angels, saints, or their images; but that, however, images should not be broken, defaced, or destroyed; and that the rules laid down by Gregory the great in his letter to Serenus should be observed. He then shows from many ancient authorities, particularly the poems of St. Paulinus of Nola, that images were always used in the Church. He maintains that Claudius, by denying that saints ought to be honoured, has renewed the errors of Eunomius and Vigilantius. Then coming to the veneration of the cross, he says that Christians, imitating the Apostle, place their glory in it; that our Saviour did not intend that his passion should be concealed from the faithful as ignominious, but that the remembrance of it should be constantly cherished; and proves,

from many authorities, that at all times of the Church the cross has been honoured. As to the invocation of saints, on which he observes that, “if the Apostles and Martyrs, while in this world, could pray for others, how much more so can they do it after their crowns, victories, and triumphs” ? he opposes to Claudius several passages of the fathers according to his usual method, which is, instead of much reasoning, to allege the tradition and constant practice of the Church. He concludes with saying that holy pictures, the cross, and the reliques of saints, ought to be revered with the honour suitable to them, without sacrificing to them or offering them the worship, which is due to God alone ; and asserts that Claudius, by rejecting the cross, declares himself an enemy of the passion and the incarnation. Accordingly, he adds, the Jews praise him and call him the wisest of the Christians, and he passes great encomiums on them as also on the Saracens. How, says Dungal, can a bishop, who abhors the cross of Jesus Christ, perform the ecclesiastical functions, baptize, bless the holy chrism, impose hands, give certain benedictions, or celebrate mass ? For, as St. Augustin observes, none of these functions can be duly exercised without making the sign of the cross. He then makes some remarks on Claudius not allowing the commemoration of saints in the litanies and other offices of the Church, nor the celebration of their festivals ; his prohibiting the lighting of tapers by day in the churches, and the turning of one’s eyes towards the ground in prayer ; his being guilty of several other impieties, which he would shudder to mention, although he was informed of them by persons worthy of credit ; (136) and his refusing to attend at a council of bishops.

(133) See Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L.* 47. §. 20.

(134) This work is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* of Lyons, A. 1677.

Tom. xiv. That it was written in Italy is evident from the Preface *ex. c.* his saying that from the very time he had come to the country, in which he was writing, he had opposed Claudius; “*Jamdudum ex quo in hanc terram advenerim, occasio mihi copiosa hac de re reclamandi occurrit.*” That country could not be France, where Dungal had been several years before Claudius attacked the images, &c. Then his observing that the people of the country (*regio*) in which he was, were divided on those points, shows that he was then living not far from Turin, and assuredly not at Paris, or in its neighbourhood, where the people at large did not trouble themselves about Claudius’ opinions. Mabillon not being acquainted with Dungal’s removal to Italy, was therefore mistaken in supposing that he composed this work in Paris; and Muratori was right (*loc. citt.*) in stating it as his opinion, that it was written in Italy, and apparently at Pavia. It is added that Tiraboschi (*Storia Letteraria, &c. Tom. III. L. 3. cap. 1.*) conjectured, that Dungal wrote it before he went to Italy. One would imagine that he wished to appear as understanding these subjects better than Muratori!

(135) See Mabillon, *Annal. &c. ad A. 827.* and Fleury, *Hist. &c. L. 47. §. 21.* It was certainly written, prior to 830; for Dungal, speaking in round numbers, mentions the year 820 as already elapsed.

(136) It is probable that Dungal alluded to the Arian doctrines, which, as was afterwards discovered, were held by Claudius. See Fleury, *L. 48. §. 7.*

§. xiv. This treatise is very well written, and shows that Dungal was deeply versed in theological studies and in polite literature, including a great knowledge of the Christian poets. (137) He had a valuable and large collection of books, as appears from the catalogue of those, which he bequeathed to the monastery of Bobio. (138) It is probable that he spent the last part of his life in that monastery; (139) but at what time he died I cannot discover. (140) Dungal is usually called a deacon, although he does not assume that title in any of his works. As to the part of Ireland, of which he was a native, no ac-

count remains; but it is somewhat probable that he belonged to the community of Bangor, and that he left Ireland in consequence of that place being terribly infested by the Danes. (141)

Claudius, the bishop of Turin, against whom Dungal wrote, is supposed by several very learned men to have been the same as the author of some commentaries on various parts of the holy Scriptures, whom others represent as an Irishman and quite distinct from the bishop, who was a Spaniard. (142) As the former opinion seems to me far better founded than the latter, which, I believe, originated chiefly in a Claudius having been confounded with the Irishman Clemens; (143) and as Claudius of Turin had applied particularly to the study and explanation of the Scriptures, (144) I cannot but conclude that there was at that time only one learned Claudius in France, and that he was the author of those commentaries, and the person who was afterwards raised to the see of Turin. (145)

In those times there lived in Ireland a learned man, named Gildas, who is said to have been born in Wales, and the son of an Irish Scot. It is added that he studied in Ireland, (146) and some writers state that he was a monk of Bangor in Down. (147) He has left a work entitled *De Computo*, which he addressed to the celebrated Raban of Fulda, before he became abbot of this monastery, and consequently prior to A. D. 822. (148) Other tracts have been attributed to him, but some of them certainly, and all of them probably, without foundation. (149)

(137) Muratori in his note on Dungal, (*Rer. Ital. &c.*) above referred to, says; "Caeterum liber ille Dungalii hominem eruditum sacrisque etiam litteris ornatum prodit, at simul in grammaticali foro ac Prisciani deliciis enutritum, ut legenti constabit."

(138) This catalogue has been published by Muratori, (*Antiq. Ital. Tom. III. Dissert. 43.*) and to it is prefixed a note stating that they are the books, quos Dungalus praecipuus Scottorum ob-

tulit beatissimo Columbano. They are now, at least, in great part, in the Ambrosian library of Milan, whither they were removed by Cardinal Frederic Borromeo. Among them were three Antiphonaries, one of which was perhaps the *Antiphonarium Benchorense*, or of Bangor in Ireland, concerning which see Chap. II. §. 8. and also Dungal's work against Claudius.

(139) Muratori (*ib.*) mentions a MS. of the Ambrosian library, in which are these lines ;

“ Sancta Columba tibi Scotto tuus *incola* Dungal
 Traditit hunc librum, quo fratrum corda beentur :
 Qui legis ergo, Deus pretium sit muneris, ora.”

Dungal here calls Columbanus *Columba*, which was in fact his real name, (See *Not.* 1. to *Chap.* XIII.) and a Scot, that is an Irishman ; for every one knows that St. Columbanus of Bobio was a native of Ireland. From his styling himself an *incola* of this saint, Muratori thought that he had lived for some time in his monastery, which, according to a usual manner of speaking, he designated by the name of the founder. It is indeed very probable, that Dungal retired to it in the latter part of his life, and ended his days there, which seems to be confirmed by his having left so many books to it. Yet *incola* may be understood of his having been only an occasional resident. Could it mean *countryman* or *compatriot* ? His adding *Scotto* to the saint's name seems to point out something of that kind.

(140) I find his death marked at A. 834 in Herault's *Abregé Chronol.* at the reign of Lewis the pious. This means, at most, that he was still alive in that year, and rests on no foundation except a conjecture of Mabillon, that the recluse, to whom **Ebbo**, archbishop of Rheims repaired on the restoration of Lewis in said year, was perhaps Dungal. But Dungal had left France many years, prior to that date,

(141) If it could be proved, that the *Antiphonarium Benchorense* was, as Muratori supposed, (See *Not.* 31 to *Chap.* II.) presented to the monastery of Bobio by Dungal, it might be inferred that he had been a member of the house of Bangor, which, together with its neighbourhood, was at the time of his leaving Ireland greatly infested by the Danes. Dungal appears to have been an involuntary absentee from his country ;

for he calls himself an Irish *exile*. To conclude our account of him, I shall add a few words concerning some mistakes of Tiraboschi (*loc. cit. Not. 134*). He strives to distinguish two Dungal, one who remained in France and who wrote on the eclipse, and was author of the poems (see *Not. 130*); the other, who was stationed at Pavia, wrote against Claudius, and left books to Bobio. The former, he says, was an Irishman, the *Hibernicus exsul*; the other a Scotchman, because Dungal, that gave the books, is called a *Scottus*. Then Tiraboschi alleges this learned argument, *viz.* that the same man could not be called a Hibernian exile and Scot, “because Ireland and Scotland could not be called one kingdom, and because Great Britain was then divided into many small kingdoms, and accordingly the inhabitants of Ireland and Scotland could not be called promiscuously Irish and Scotch.” The ignorance of the history of our islands displayed in this passage is astonishing. What had the division of Great Britain into many small kingdoms to do with Ireland, which never did or could form a part of it? And Tiraboschi, a man who lived in our own days, did not know, what he might have met with in hundreds of writers, that Ireland was known by two names, *Hibernia* and *Scotia*, just as France was by *Gallia* and *Francia*, and that the modern Scotland did not get the name of *Scotia* until a period long subsequent to the times of Dungal. The natives of Ireland were constantly called *Scotti*, and scarcely ever *Hiberni*, at least in the times we are now treating of. We find, however, an Irish Scot, now and then named with the addition of *de Hibernia* or *Hibernicus*, as *ex. c.* Dungal himself. From the very lines Tiraboschi read in Muratori (see *Not. 139*) he might have discovered that Irishmen were called *Scotti*; for St. Columbanus appears there as a *Scottus*.

(142) Usher has published (*Ep. Hib. Syll. Num. 19 and 20*) two fragments from Claudius’ preface, written about *A. D.* 815, to his commentary on St. Matthew, and addressed to the abbot Justus; and from his preface to his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians in the form of a letter to the abbot Drueterann. There is nothing in either of them to show that this Claudius was an Irishman, except a head prefixed to the former in these words; “*Claudii Scoti presbyteri ad Justum abbatem.*” But *Scoti* was in all probability added by some one, who thought, as some old

writers did, that this Claudius was an Irishman; and such was particularly the opinion of those, who confounded him with Clemens. (See above *Not.* 20.) Mabillon, quoting (*Annal. Ben. ad A.* 815) part of said preface or letter to Justus, has not *Scoti*, but *Claudius peccator*. Ware and Harris (*Writers at Claudius or Claude*) followed Usher as to this Claudius having been a native of Ireland; and Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 703.) maintains the same opinion. If he was, he cannot be confounded with Claudius of Turin, who, as appears from the work of Jonas, bishop of Orleans, written against him, and as is universally acknowledged, was undoubtedly a Spaniard. Labbe undertook (*Dissert. in Bellarmin. &c. De Scriptor. &c. Tom.* 1.) to show that the author of the commentaries and prefaces was much more probably Claudius of Turin than an Irishman, and has been followed by the editors of the *Biblioth. Patrum*, (*Tom.* xiv. *A.* 1677.) in a note prefixed to their publication of the Commentary to the Epistle to the Galatians. Mabillon (*ib.*) lays it down as certain, and, besides many others, so does Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L.* 48. §. 7.

(143) To what has been said already (*Not.* 20.) concerning this confusion I shall only add, that the Spaniard Claudius, who afterwards became bishop of Turin, had taught in the same place with Clemens. His department was to explain the Scriptures, while Clemens lectured on the Belles Lettres. (See Fleury, *Hist. &c. L.* 45. §. 18.) As their names were accordingly often associated, it is no wonder that some one mistook them as one and the same person.

(144) Besides what has been now observed of Claudius' biblical pursuits, we have also the authority of Jonas of Orleans, who says that he was endowed with some scriptural knowledge, "*in explanandis Sacrorum Evangeliorum lectionibus quantulacumque notitia.*"

(145) Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 703.) adduces a very unchronological argument to show that Claudius of Turin was different from the commentator. He says that he lived after the reign of Lewis the pious, during which the commentator flourished. Now the fact is that he died before that sovereign. (Fleury, *L.* 48. §. 7.) It is true that Jonas of Orleans did not publish his work against him until some short time after the death of Lewis, and a still longer one after that of Claudius. Jonas himself died in 843.

(146) See Usher, *Ep. Hib. Syll. Not. ad Ep.* 21. Ware and Harris, *Writers, Book II. ch. 1.*

(147) See Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 201.

(148) Usher (*ib. num. 21.*) has published from the MS. in the Cottonian library, consisting of 99 chapters, the preface to it, which has been republished by Colgan, (*ib. p. 202.*) Its address is, “*Dilecto fratri Rabano monacho Gildas peccator in Christo salutem.*”

(149) See Colgan, Ware, and Harris, *loc. cit.*

§ xv. Indrect, bishop of Kilmacduach, died in 815. (150) He must not be confounded with St. Indrect, who is said to have been the son of an Irish king, and to have been killed about a hundred years prior to these times, together with his sister Dominica and some Irish companions, not far from Glastonbury by some West-Saxons robbers. (151) Eocha, son of Tuathal, anchorit, bishop, and abbot of Louth, died in 821, and in 824 Cuana, surnamed the *wise*, who was also bishop there. (152) To 825 is assigned the death of Rutmel, who is called prince and bishop of Clonfert, as likewise of Flan Mac-Famehellaic bishop of Emly. (153) Cormac, son of Suibhne, abbot of Clonard and a writer and bishop, died in 829, (154) as did Tuadear, bishop of Kildare, in 833. (155)

Flangus Mac-Lonsech, archbishop of Armagh, lived, as we have seen, until 826. It is probable that he was assisted during part of his administration by Artrigius as his coadjutor bishop. (156) For we find this Artrigius acting as bishop for that see in the year 823, in which, as related in the Irish Annals, “the law of St. Patrick was propagated throughout Munster by Feidhlim, son of Crimthan, king of Munster, and Artrigius, bishop of Armagh.” (157) This was an archiepiscopal visitation of that province, in which the metropolitanical rights of the see of Armagh, which at that time were extended all over Ireland, were enforced, after having been

probably disregarded for some time, owing perhaps to the contentions which had prevailed concerning the right to the possessions of said see. (158) The *law of St. Patrick* comprized also certain dues, that used to be paid to the church of Armagh as the chair of our Apostle, and which had been established in earlier times; (159) and hence we understand why it was necessary for the king F'eidhlim to interfere on this occasion. Two years later, in 825, Artrigius went to Connaught, and enforced the said law throughout its three parts or territories. (160) He is placed as successor to Flangus for two years, after which Eugene, surnamed *Monaster*, (perhaps from having been abbot of the monastery of Armagh) is stated to have held the see of Armagh for eight years. (161) But it appears very probable, that the incumbencies of Artrigius and Eugene, united together, lasted only eight years, during two of which Artrigius seized upon the see, after which he was put out to make way for the legitimate bishop Eugene. (162) Artrigius, having lost the see, lived until 833; and Eugene died in 834; (163) in which year Farannan became archbishop, and governed Armagh for fourteen years, without being disturbed by a competitor, until he was expelled in 848 by Turgesius. (164) During these times some other distinguished ecclesiastics died in Ireland, among whom, as scarcely any thing is known concerning them except their names, I need mention only two, Aidan Hua Condumha, a scribe or learned man of Durrough (King's county) in 828; and Kathernac, a scribe, priest, and wise man of Armagh in 830. (165)

(150) *AA. SS.* p. 254, and Ware, *Bishops at Kilmacduach*. Their date is 814, *i. e.* 815.

(151) Colgan (*ib.*) treats of these saints after Capgrave and others. Their history is rather involved and beset with chronological difficulties.

(152) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 736.* I have added a year to their dates.

(153) Ware, *Bishops at Clonfert and Emly.*

(154) 4 Masters, *ap. AA. SS. p. 360.* They have *A. 828 (829.)*

(155) Ware, *Bishops at Kildare.*

(156) See above *Not. 114.*

(157) 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p. 294.* Their date is *822 (823).*

(158) It is odd, that Usher has been represented by some writers, among others Colgan (*ib.*) and Harris, (*Bishops at Artrigius*) as understanding the *law of St. Patrick* as a *Monastic rule.* Usher says no such thing. He mentions (*p. 919*) a *rule* not a *law* of St. Patrick, and then happens to speak of other *rules* (Monastic) such as that of St. Brendan, concerning which he says elsewhere, (*p. 1050.*) that it was the *rule* called the *Law of Ciaran and Brendan.* But he does not treat of the *law of St. Patrick.* If Colgan had read Usher's words with more attention, he would not have fallen into that mistake nor led others into it.

(159) Keating relates (*Book 2. p. 47.*) that an interview had been held at Tirdaglas in Ormond between Hugh Ollain, king of all Ireland, and Cathal Mac-Fingin, king of Munster, in which methods were concerted for advancing the annual revenue of St. Patrick throughout Ireland, and that they established a particular law for that purpose. Hugh Ollain died in 743. (See *Chap. XIX. §. 9.*) He makes mention (*ib. p. 52.*) also of a similar tax levied on Munster by the king Feidhlim son of Crimthan and Artrigius of Armagh, *viz.* the persons above spoken of.

(160) 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p. 294. at A. 824 (825.)*

(161) Catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel.

(162) O'Flaherty (*MS. Not. ad Tr. Th. p. 294.*) states that the real successor of Flangus, who died in 826, was Eugene; but that he was in 827 pushed out of the see by Artrigius, who kept it for some time.

(163) 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p. 295.*

(164) See Usher, *p. 860,* and *Ind. Chron. ad A. 834 and 848.* The 4 Masters at *A. 834 (835)* and some following years, (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 295*) who have been followed by Ware, (*Bishops at Farannan*) say that there were great disputes from the beginning concerning the possession of the see between Farannan and

Diermit Hua Tigernaich, and that one held it for a while, and the other for another. O'Flaherty (*MS. notes, ib.*) rejects the whole of these statements, and maintains that Farannan held the see without competition until 848. In fact, the Cashel catalogue, the best authority on the subject, allows 14 years for Farannan, and places after him (that is, not after his death) Diermit for four years.

(165) See *Ind. Chron. to Tr. Th.* I have added a year to the dates.

CHAP. XXI.

Horrid depredations of the Scandinavian pirates in Ireland—Several monasteries plundered and numbers of monks and others of the clergy murdered—Diermid abbot of Hy brings the reliques of Columba to Ireland—is succeeded by Indrecht—Joseph of Rosmor, a bishop and excellent writer—Death of Orthanac, bishop of Kildare—Several Irish bishops and priests took shelter in foreign countries during the troubles caused by the Danish invasion—A synod held in England interdicting the Scottish priests from administering the sacraments—Death of St. Ferdornach—and of Feidhlim son of Crimthann king of Munster—Emly laid waste—Olchobhair bishop of Emly raised to the throne of Munster—Turgesius expels the primate Farannan and all the religious and students from Armagh—Turgesius killed, and the Danes defeated and expelled by the Irish—Maol-seachlin sends ambassadors to the French King, Charles the bald, to form an alliance with him—Return of the Danes—Fin-galls and Dubh-galls.—St. Donatus bishop Fiesole—Brigid, a holy virgin, sister of St. Donatus, settles in Italy—Mark an Irish bishop, Moengal and others,

settle at St. Gall in Switzerland—Several other learned Irishmen settle in the Continent.—John Scotus Erigena—writes on predestination—his work condemned by the third Council of Valence—account of different tracts written by him—John bishop of Mecklenburgh an Irishman—John of Malmesbury—Macarius an Irish philosopher in France—The abbot Patrick of Glastonbury—The learned priest Probus—Deaths of various bishops and abbots in Ireland, and in Hy—Ireland harassed by the Danes and intestine feuds—Irish schools and religious houses not so much disturbed as in the time of Turgesius—Deaths of many scribes and learned men—Deaths of Irish Saints in the ninth century.

SECT. I.

MEANWHILE the Scandinavian pirates, having landed in various parts of Ireland, were committing horrid depredations. In 821 they plundered and laid waste Cork, Lismore, and the monastery of Inisdamle, (1) and in 823 treated in like manner that of Bangor, (2) which, it seems, they had already plundered some years earlier. (3) The devastation of 823 was probably that, in which it is related that the abbot and a great number of the monks were killed, and the rich shrine of St. Comgall broke open. (4) Whether it was the same as the one, on occasion of which those pirates are said to have murdered nine hundred monks of Bangor in one day, (5) I am not able to ascertain. In 824 they pillaged again the monastery of Inisdamle, burned that of Maghbile, and in 826 ravaged and destroyed that of Lusk. (6) In 831 they entered Armagh, and plundered it three times in the course of one month. This was the first time that Armagh was occupied by foreigners. (7) In the same year they despoiled the church of Duleek, the monastery of Monaghan, and

the towns, &c. of Connor (8) and Louth. (9) In 834 Glendaloch and Slane were plundered in like manner; (10) and in the following year they ransacked and burned Ferns, the monastery of Clonmore (in the county of Wexford), and several churches in Munster. (11) In this year, viz. 835, a great host of them, commanded by Turgesius, destroyed almost all Connaught, together with some parts of Leinster and Meath, and within the three following years subdued a great part of Ulster, demolishing churches and persecuting the faithful. (12) In 836 a party of the Danes marched from Inverdega, or Inverdee, now called Wicklow, (13) to Kildare, which they ravaged, and set fire to the church, one half of which was consumed. (14) This happened after Feidhlim Mac Crimthann, king of Munster, had in the same year taken forcible possession of Kildare and carried off the clergy at the time that Farannan, archbishop of Armagh, was there with some of his ecclesiastics. (15) In 837 two large fleets of the Northmen arrived in the Boyne and Liffey, who spreading themselves over the plains, through which these rivers flow, plundered in all directions churches, monasteries, and the habitations of all sorts of people, carrying off flocks, herds, &c. (16) In 839 they burned Cork, Ferns, and Clonfert, killing the religious, and destroyed the church of Slane; (17) and in 840 a party of them, coming from the neighbourhood of Lough Neagh, plundered Louth, and carried off many bishops, wise, learned, and distinguished men, some of whom they put to death. (18) In the same year they set fire to Armagh, and burned its cathedral and other sacred edifices. (19) In 842 they plundered the monasteries of Clonmacnois, Birr, Saigir, and the church of Ferns; (20) and in 844 burned Clonmacnois and Lothra (Lorragh), besides ravaging the monastery of Tirdaglas. (21) One of the churches, which Turgesius destroyed and burned, when in Connaught,

probably in the expedition of 835, was that belonging to the English at Mayo. (22) Many other churches and monasteries, such as Taghmon, Timolin, &c. are mentioned as having been pillaged or ruined during this period by those merciless invaders; and let it suffice to say, that almost every part of Ireland suffered more or less from their fury. (23) Every where they carried away sacred utensils, destroyed libraries, persecuted holy and learned men, many of whom they killed. Among these are particularly mentioned Aidus, abbot of Tirdaglas, whom they put to death in 844; and Kethernac prior of Kildare, whom with many others they slaughtered in said year at Dunamase. (24) To this year is assigned also the martyrdom of Nuad, son of Segen, during the pillaging of the church of Killachad (in the county of Cavan) by a band of Northmen, who had proceeded from Dublin. (25)

(1) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron. ad. A. 820* (821). For Inisdamle see *Not.* 69 to *Chap. x.* As it was an island in the Suir, it was very convenient for an attack by the Danes, as were also Cork and Lismore by their situation near the Lee and Blackwater.

(2) *Ib. p. 633.* The date marked is 822 (823); yet in the *Ind. Chron.* it is 821, owing, I suppose to a typographical error.

(3) I find mention made of a devastation of Bangor by the Danes in 812. See Archdall at *Bangor.*

(4) Keating (*History, &c. Book 2. p. 50.*) mentions these circumstances at about this period. The year in which they occurred seems to have been 823, to which also the annals of Ulster affix a plundering of Bangor, and the scattering of the reliques of St. Congall.

(5) See St. Bernard's *Life of St. Malachy, cap. 5.*

(6) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron. ad. A. 823* (824) and 825 (826).

(7) 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p. 295. at A. D. 830* (831). The Ulster Annals have *A. 831.* What will Dr. Ledwich say to this? He wished to persuade us, that St. Patrick had been brought to Armagh by the Danes; (see *Chap. II. §. 16.*) now it is clear from what has been said of the *law of St. Patrick* as having existed before they ever reached that city, that he was known there long

prior to their depredations. And he calls himself an Irish antiquary!!!

(8) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron. ad. A. 830 (831)* That there was an old monastery at Monaghan is well known; and Colgan mentions (*AA. SS. p. 713*) as abböt of it (perhaps founder) St. Moeldod, a member of the great house of the dynasts of Orgiel, but does not mark at what time he lived. The Annals of Ulster have a prior spoliation of Duleek by the Danes at *A. 824*.

(9) 4 Masters, and Archdall at *Louth*.

(10) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron. ad. A. 833 (834)*.

(11) *Ib.* and Annals of Ulster at *A. 834 (835)*. Clonmore is said to have been pillaged two or three times before. (See Archdall at *Clonmore*.)

(12) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 24*. (13) See *Chap. v. §. 1*.

(14) Annals of Ulster, and 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p. 629. ad A. 835 (836)*.

(15) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p. 295, and 629. ad A. 835 (836)*. Archdall (at *Armagh*) in his careless manner says, that it was Forannan and his clergy, who were carried off. Keating relates that Feidhlim being provoked by certain proceedings of some of the more northern people of Ireland, laid waste the country extending from Birr to Tarah. Thus, while the common enemy was in their country, the unhappy Irish were destroying each other. Keating is wrong in stating that Feidhlim became archbishop of Leath Mougha, or the Southern half of Ireland. He never was a bishop, but in the latter part of his life gave himself up to piety, and lived as an anchorite. He reigned 27 years, (see Keating *B. II. p. 54*.) the first of which was, according to the Annals of Innisfallen (Harris' copy) *A. D. 819*, but (according to Mr. O'Reilly's) 820.

(16) *Tr. Th. p. 629 ad. A. 836 (837)* In this place he speaks of these fleets as consisting of thirty ships each, and yet, (*ib. p. 111*.) referring to the same authority, (the 4 Masters) he tells us that each of them was of sixty. Then in the *Ind. Chr.* instead of *A. D. 836*, he has 838. In both these positions he has been followed by Ware (*Antiq. cap. 24*.) But O'Flaherty (*MS. not. Tr. Th. at p. 111*) observes, that the true date is 836 (837). That of 838 is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis. The Annals of Innisfallen have 836, and state that each of those Northern fleets consisted of sixty ships.

(17) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron.* ad 838 (839) and Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 839.

(18) *AA. SS.* p. 736. from the 4 Masters at *A.* 839 (840) This devastation, &c. is mentioned also in the Ulster annals at said year. In Johnston's Extracts Lough-neagh is, instead of *Loch-echa*, called *Loch-da-caoch*.

(19) *Tr. Th.* p. 295. and *Ind. Chron.* ad 839 (840).

(20) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron.* ad *A.* 841 (842) and p. 634.

(21) *Ib. Ind. Chron.* ad *A.* 843 (844).

(22) See Usher *Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 818.

(23) Keating, *Book II.* p. 50.

(24) See *AA. SS.* p. 370. and *Tr. Th.* p. 629. The date marked is 843 (844) Aidus is called the son of Dubh-da-chrioch, and is said to have been abbot also of Clonenagh. He was taken at Dunamase and led away by the Danes to Munster, where they put him to death on the 8th of July. (*AA. SS.* p. 356.)

(25) *AA. SS.* p. 373.

§ 11. Diermit, abbot of Hy, came to Ireland in 831, bringing with him the reliques of St. Columba. (26) How long after he continued to govern the Columbian order I do not find recorded; but it appears that he was succeeded by Indrecht or Indrechtaiigh, who in 849 brought to Ireland some sanctified things of St. Patrick. (27) Joseph of Rosmor, a bishop, an excellent writer, and abbot of Clones and other monasteries, died in the year 840, (28) to which is assigned also the death of Orthanoc bishop of Kildare. (29) During the troubles caused by the Danes several Irish bishops and priests took shelter in foreign countries. In a council held at Chalons sur Saone in 813 a decree was passed stating, that there are in some parts of France Scots (Irish), who call themselves bishops, and ordain priests and deacons without the permission of their *seigneurs*, or of the superiors of said persons; and declaring such ordinations null as being irregular and mostly simoniacal. (30) It seems that some of those emigrant bishops made use of their spiritual

power as a means of livelihood. The practice of raising persons to the episcopacy without being attached to fixed sees had been carried so far in Ireland, that it is not to be wondered at that some of them might have made a trade of their rank. A sweeping canon was passed by an English synod held in 816 under Walfred, archbishop of Canterbury, at Ce-licyth, interdicting the Scottish priests in general from administering the sacraments, because it was not known where or by whom they were ordained. (31) It is probable that some Scoto-Irish priests had, in their flight from Ireland, neglected to bring testimonials of their ordination, and thus contributed to afford an occasion for that canon.

St. Ferdornach, a wise and learned scribe or doctor of the church of Armagh, died in 845, and his memory was revered on the 10th of June. (32) In the following year died on the 8th of August the celebrated king of Munster Feidhlim, son of Crimthann, after having in the latter part of his life atoned for his violent and cruel proceedings by a very strict course of penance and great austerities. (33) In the same year Emly was laid waste by the Northmen. (34) Its abbot and bishop Olchobair Mac-Kinede, the immediate successor, in all appearance, of Flaň Mac-Famchellaic, contrived on the death of Feidhlim son of Crimthann, to get himself raised to the throne of Cashel or Munster. (35) He is the first of our princes, at least of great rank, in whom I find the mitre and scepter united. This royal bishop was of a warlike turn, and, being assisted by Lorcan, king of Leinster, defeated the Danes in a great battle fought in 848 at Sua-naght, in which they lost 1200 men, and also in two others, same year, in which about 1700 more of them were slain. (36) Olchobair lived until 850. (37)

(26) Annals of Ulster in Johnstone's Extracts at *A.* 830 (831).

(27) *Id.* at *A.* 848 (849). Johnstone calls them "St. Pa-

trick's *oaths* or sanctified things." I suppose he mistook a word, meaning *vows* for *oaths*. They were probably offerings, that had been made by persons resorting to Hy in honour of St. Patrick. Smith (*App. to Life of St. Columba*, p. 166.) calls them *Columkille's sacred things*. Instead of *Indrecht* he has *Jurastach*; but the abbot's real name was *Indrecht*. See *AA. SS.* p. 254.

(28) *AA. SS.* p. 308. Ware, led astray by the blundering compiler of the third index to this work, has placed Joseph of Rosmor at Clonmacnois, and has been followed by Harris. Archdall has him at Clones, and so far he was right, but he ought not to have placed him likewise at Clonmacnois. The 4 Masters' date for his death is 839 (840).

(29) *Tr. Th.* p. 629.

(30) See Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L.* 46. §. 5.

(31) It is added that clergymen are not allowed by the canons to officiate without the permission of the ordinary, and that this rule should be particularly enforced against foreigners, with whom there was no metropolitan jurisdiction; alluding, it seems, to the Irish system, according to which there was no regular metropolitanical see except the primatial one of Armagh. Celicyth or Calcuth was somewhere in the kingdom of Mercia and in a central part of England.

(32) *Tr. Th.* p. 295 at 844 (845).

(33) *Ib.* p. 186 and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 845 (846) from the 4 Masters. The Annals of Innisfallen (Mr. O'Reilly's copy) assign his death to 847. Ware reckons this Feidlim or Feidleimid among the Irish writers, observing that his works are lost. The Ulster annals call him the *best of the Scots*, a scribe and anchorite. Compare with *Not.* 15.

(34) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron.*

(35) Annals of Innisfallen, and Keating *B. II.* p. 54.

(36) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24. In the Annals of Innisfallen, at *A.* 848. Scia-nacht is called *Scieth-Niachtain* in the Decies, *i. e.* either in the county of Waterford or southern part of Tipperary. (Harris's copy) and Ware *Bishops at Emly*.

(37) Annals of Innisfallen.

§. III. Turgesius entered Armagh in 848, and expelled the primate Forannan together with all the

religious and students. (38) Taking with him his attendants and the church reliques he was sent to the Danish ships at Limerick. (39) But this year was fatal to Turgesius; for in it he lost his life, having been defeated and made prisoner by Melseachlain, king of Ireland, who drowned him in Loch-vair. (40) The Irish then attacked the Northmen in all directions, and drove great numbers of them out of their country, so that the nation recovered its liberty, after a devastation of about thirty years, and Melseachlain sent ambassadors with presents to the French king, Charles the bald, for the purpose of forming a bond of peace and friendship, and requesting permission to pass through France on his way to Rome. (41) Forannan's place at Armagh was now occupied by Diermit Hua-Tigernach, who is said to have gone to Connaught for the object of enforcing the law of St. Patrick. (42) The Northmen, although broken and defeated, returned again in 849 with a powerful fleet, and renewed the war. (43) As if to help them, the Irish began to fight among themselves, and their king Melseachlain not only made peace with them in 850, but was assisted by them in gaining a great victory over some enemies of his. (44) Dublin, which was already in possession of a description of Northmen, called *Fin-gals*, or *white-foreigners*, was attacked in 851 by another, called *Dubh-gals*, or *black-foreigners*, who made great havoc of the *Fin-gals* and plundered the city. (45) In 852 a party of these pagan Northmen entered Armagh, and laid it waste on Easter Sunday, which was probably the cause of the death of the primate Diermit, who died in the same year, as did also Forannan, who had held the see before him. (46) Diermit, whose incumbency lasted four years, was succeeded by Fethgna, who governed the see for 22 years. (47) Olchobair, who died in 850, was succeeded at Emly by Maine son of Huargusa. (48)

(38) Usher, *p.* 860. and *Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 848. The 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th.* *p.* 295, assign this expulsion to *A.* 843 (844); but Usher's date is approved of by O'Flaherty, (*MS. Not. ad Tr. Th. ib.*) and agrees with the catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel. See *Not.* 164 to *Chap.* xx.) Yet in Johnstone's Extracts from the Annals of Ulster it is assigned to *A.* 844 (845). But Usher's copy of them was probably more correct.

(39) *Tr. Th. loc. cit.* D. O'Connor, the wretched translator of Keating, has quite misrepresented (*B.* II. *p.* 6.) his text as to Forannan. He makes him say, that Forannan, who was then primate of Armagh, retired from Cashel with his clergy to Emly, and that in this solitude, protected by bogs and woods, did this primate, together with them, take up his residence during the tyranny of the Danes. Now Keating says no such thing, nor indeed could he; for besides Forannan's having been sent to Limerick, he was not archbishop or bishop of Cashel. The substance of Keating's original statement is as follows. Having, in opposition to the concurrent testimonies of our ancient writers, taken into his head, that the see of Emly was not marked by any peculiar distinction, and that Cashel was an archiepiscopal see in those times, he then strives to show how it came to pass that Emly was mistaken for an archbishopric by saying that the archbishop of Cashel retired thither with his clergy during the Danish persecution. This is indeed a mere supposition, for there was at that time no archbishop, nor, I believe, even a bishop of Cashel. Nor do I mean to state that Emly was, properly speaking, an archiepiscopal see, although it enjoyed a certain degree of honour and preeminence. (See *Not.* 67 to *Chap.* vi.) Besides, there is no foundation for Keating's hypothesis that the clergy of Cashel retired to Emly. They were more safe in the city than there, and we have seen that Emly was ransacked by the Danes in 846. Keating, to prop up his story of the Cashel clergy having been driven thence by the Danes, and fled to Emly, represents it as credible, because Forannan and his clergy had been expelled from Armagh. This is truly a queer sort of argument; as if from the case of Forannan having been certainly driven from his see it were to follow, that other bishops, &c. were also expelled. Enough as to Keating himself; but how strangely have his words been mistranslated so as to bring Forannan, &c. to Cashel and Emly?

(40) Usher (*p.* 860. and *Ind. Chron.*) assigns the downfall and death of Turgesius to 848. But the Annals of Innisfallen mark them at 845, before Melseachlain was king of Ireland: Also Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 24.) seems to place them in 845, while Melseachlain was king only of Meath, and before he was raised to the throne of all Ireland in 846. (See *Chap.* xx. §. 8.) He mentions the drowning of Turgesius in Lochvair, and afterwards states, that a battle was fought in 848 between Melseachlain, when king of Ireland, and the Danes (without naming Turgesius) at Fore, in which they were defeated and lost 700 men. The 4 Masters (*ap.* *AA. SS.* *p.* 509.) assign the drowning of Turgesius in that lough to 843 (844) while Melseachlain was still no more than king of Meath. Neither they nor the Annals of Ulster or of Innisfallen have any thing about the 15 beardless young men, who, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, killed Turgesius. If it be true that Melseachlain was king only of Meath at the time of his putting Turgesius to death, the statement of the 4 Masters, or that of the Innisfallen annals, must be more correct than that of Usher; whereas it is universally allowed, that Melseachlain became king of all Ireland in 846; and it will follow that the expulsion of Forannan from Armagh by Turgesius was prior not only to 848, but likewise to 846. (See above *Not.* 38.) Yet if we consider, that Usher's date (848) for this expulsion rests on strong grounds, we must suppose that Turgesius was still alive in said year, and that Melseachlain was king of all Ireland, when he got him into his hands. Giraldus Cambrensis, speaking of the downfall of Turgesius by means of Melseachlain, calls the latter *king of Meath*; and hence perhaps was derived the opinion, that he was not as yet sovereign of all Ireland. Be this as it may, Usher shows (*p.* 860) from Norwegian chronicles that 848 was the year in which those invaders were greatly humbled in Ireland and their power reduced. Now it is natural to suppose, that the death of Turgesius was immediately followed by the destruction and dispersion of his followers, and consequently it appears most probable that it did not occur until said year 848. Lochvair, in which Turgesius was drowned, is placed by Seward (at *Loch-uair*) near Mullingar.

(41) Usher *p.* 860, and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 848.

(42) The 4 Masters (*ap.* *Tr. Th.* *p.* 295) assign Diermit's tour to Connaught to *A.* 835 (836) at a time when, according to them,

he was contending against Forannan for the see of Armagh. (See *Not.* 164. to *Chap.* xx.) But, as there was most probably no such contention between them, Diermit's going to Connaught was after 848; or, if it was in 836, he went thither not as archbishop but as deputed by Forannan.

(43) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24. The Annals of Ulster in Johnstone's Extracts state at *A.* 848 (849) that they came in 140 ships, as do also those of Innisfallen at *A.* 849.

(44) Ware, *ib.*

(45) Annals of Ulster at *A.* 850 (851), and Ware, *ib.* Also Innisfallen Annals at *A.* 851.

(46) Usher, *p.* 860 and *Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 852. from the Annals of Ulster. In said annals these two prelates are named heirs (comorbans) of St. Patrick, and Diermit is called the *wisest of all the doctors of Europe*, while to Forannan are given the titles of *scribe, bishop, and anchoret.*

(47) Catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel in *Tr. Th.* *p.* 292.

(48) Ware, *Bishops at Emly.*

§ IV. St Donatus, bishop of Fiesole in Tuscany, flourished in those times. (49) He was a native of Ireland, and, it seems, a bishop before he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome. (50) A disciple of his named Andrew, of a very illustrious family, (51) whom he had instructed in Ireland, accompanied him in this peregrination. They arrived at Rome during the reign of Lewis the pious, but in what year is uncertain. (52) Having remained there for some time, and obtained the Pope's blessing, they removed to Tuscany, where they visited some churches. On arriving at Fiesole Donatus was received by the clergy and people of that then very respectable city with great honour; and, as the see happened to be vacant, was requested to undertake the government of it. At length he complied with their wish, and acted, for a long time, the part of a good pastor, until God was pleased to call him out of this world on a 22d of October, some years after *A. D.* 861. (53) Some tracts were written by St.

Donatus, but none of them, as far as I know, are now extant, (54) except his own epitaph, and a pretty little poem, which is prefixed as a prologue to a poetical life of St. Brigid. (55) Andrew became a deacon of Fiesole, and remained there for several years, until by order of Donatus he re-established the church of St. Martin near the river Mensola, which washes the feet of the Fiesole hills, where he formed a monastery, in which he piously spent the remainder of his days until having survived St. Donatus, he died on, it seems, a 22d of August, but in what year I do not find recorded. (56) Dempster, with his usual effrontery, has forged the names of certain tracts as if written by this saint. (57) A sister of his, named Brigid, a very holy virgin, whom he was very anxious to see before his death, left Ireland to pay him a visit, and arrived in time to find him still alive, although very near his end. On his death she determined to remain in Italy, and retired to a forest above Fiesole at the foot of the mountains, where, practising great austerities, she led a solitary life and lived to a great age, most highly esteemed by the people of the neighbourhood. The year of her death is not known; the day is said to have been a first of February, the anniversary of her great namesake St. Brigid of Kildare. After her death a church was erected and dedicated under her name on the spot, where she died, called *Opacus*, which was, and perhaps is still greatly resorted to on that day, in commemoration of her, by the inhabitants of the adjoining districts. (58)

(49) In Burke's *Officia propria*, &c. there is at 22 October an Office of St. Donatus, taken chiefly from that read at Fiesole. Colgan had a very ancient Life of this saint, taken from a collection of chronicles of that church. Ughelli treats of him (*Italia Sacra*, Tom. 3. col. 213.) and calls him *nobilis Scottus*.

(50) That Donatus was an Irishman is clear not only from the Office, in which he is stated to have been of a noble and orthodox

family in the Old Scotia (*Ireland*), but likewise from his *Life*, as quoted by Colgan, (*AA. SS. p. 238.*) where we read, that Ireland, the island of the Scots, sent him to Fiesole; “Iste, fratres mei, iste beatus ille et vere praedicandus Christi sacerdos. B. Donatus, quem nobis Hibernia Scotorum insula transmisit.” Colgan calls him (*ib. p. 236*) a bishop, while still in Ireland.

(51) A *Life* of this Andrew has been written by Philip Villani, who makes him a native of Ireland; “Fuit homo Dei Andreas oriundus ex insula Hibernia, quae alio magis vulgari nomine Scotia appellatur, &c. (See *AA. SS. p. 236.*) Colgan (*ib. p. 237*) mentions also an anonymous *Life* of Andrew, or St. Andrew, upon which some notes were written by Constantine Cajetano.

(52) In the anonymous *Life* of St. Andrew it is said, that Donatus and Andrew came to Italy in the time of Lewis the pious, and Cajetano marks the year as 816. (*AA. SS. p. 237*) But it was probably some years later. At any rate the Office of Donatus is wrong in stating that they were at Rome in 802.

(53) Cajetano says, that he became bishop of Fiesole in the very year of his arrival in Italy, *viz.* as he thought, *A. D. 816.* (See *AA. SS. p. 239.*) Ughelli also marks that as the year of his promotion; but Coleti in a note observes, that it must have been later than 826; for Grusolphus was bishop of Fiesole in that year and attended at a synod then held at Rome. Donatus was certainly bishop there before 844, in which year he was present at the coronation of Lewis, the son of Lotharius, as king of Italy. He was still its bishop in 861, whereas he was present at a Lateran council that sat in this year under Pope Nicholas I. against John, archbishop of Ravenna. (See Coletis’ addition to Ughelli, *ib. Tom. 2. col. 350.*) The precise year of his death is not known. He was buried in the cathedral, and on his monument were engraved the following verses, which had been composed by himself;

Hic ego Donatus Scotorum sanguine cretus
 Solus in hoc tumultu pulvere, verme, voror.
 Regibus Italicis servivi pluribus annis,
 Lothario magno, Ludovicoque bono,
 Octenis lustris, septenis insuper annis
 Post Fesulana Praesul in urbe fui.

Gratuita discipulis dictabam scripta libellis
 Schemata metrorum, dicta beata senum.
 Parce viator adis, quisquis pro munera Christi
 Te modo non pigeat cernere busta mea,
 Atque precare Deum, residet qui culmina caeli,
 Ut mihi concedat regna beata sua.

If the *Octenis* &c. is to be understood of the duration of his incumbency, as Ughelli understood it, he was bishop of Fiesole for 47 years. But he was dead before 877, in which year, as Coleti remarks, Zenobius was its bishop. The Bollandists also (*Comment. præv.* at the Acts of St. Brigid of Fiesole, 1 Febr.) understood the *Octenis* &c. as Ughelli did. They conjectured, that Donatus did not become bishop of Fiesole until 841 or 842, and then, assigning to him 47 years of episcopacy, concluded that he lived until near 890. But this cannot agree with what Coleti says concerning Zenobius. It is very probable that he was made bishop of Fiesole soon after 826, perhaps in 827, whence reckoning 47 years, his death may be affixed to about 873. The Bollandists observe, that Donatus obtained from the above mentioned Lewis, with whom he was very intimate, some favours and privileges at Capua, and that the year, in which he obtained them, was apparently 866. Lewis was at this time, and for several years before it, emperor, and is called Lewis the second. He was the Lewis, who is distinguished in the epitaph by the epithet *good*, and died in 875, in which year he was succeeded, as emperor, by his uncle Charles the bald. In all probability he survived St. Donatus; for otherwise would not the name of Charles, to whom the empire and the kingdom of Italy devolved, have been mentioned in the epitaph? In Burke's Office of St. Donatus, by a strange anachronism, he is said to have died in 840.

From the epitaph it appears, that Donatus had been employed in teaching gratuitously, and that he composed some tracts, *Gratuita discipulis dictabam scripta libellis*, partly of a poetical kind, *Schemata metrorum*, and partly theological, *dicta beata senum*.

(54) Dempster has made up some tracts for him, which are mentioned by Ware (*Writers at Donat*) merely on his authority, yet it is certain, that he composed some works. (See *Not. præc.*)

(55) The ancient author of the *Life of St. Donatus*, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 238.* and *Tr. Th. p. 255.*) ascribes to him this prologue, which Colgan has prefixed to the *Life of St. Brigid*, said to have been written by Chilien of Iniskeltra. (See *Not. 18 to Chap. VIII.*) Usher has given a part of it, *Prim. p. 1060*, but with two or three variations. It begins thus.

Finibus occiduis describitur optima tellus
 Nomine et antiquis Scotia dicta libris.
 Insula dives opum, gemmarum, vestis, et auri;
 Commoda corporibus, aere, sole, solo.
 Melle fluit pulchris et lacteis Scotia campis
 Vestibus atque armis, frugibus, arte, viris.
 Ursorum rabies nulla est ibi; saeva leonum
 Semina nec unquam Scotica terra tulit.
 Nulla venena nocent, nec serpens serpit in herba
 Nec conquesta canit garrula rana lacu.
 In qua Scotorum gentes habitare merentur,
 Inclyta gens hominum milite, pace, fide.
 De qua nata fuit quondam sanctissima virgo
 Brigida, Scotorum gloria, nomen, honor, &c.

After this description of Ireland it goes on as if prefatory to a *Life of St. Brigid*; and it really seems, that the author of it wrote such a work. But it is not to be concluded, that the *Life* attributed to Chilien was written rather by Donatus; for, as Colgan observes, there are in some MSS. other prologues prefixed to said *Life*; yet if, as I see no reason to doubt, Donatus was the author of the above one, it may, I think, be concluded that he drew up a *Life*, probably not extant, of *St. Brigid*. Concerning the epitaph see *Not. 53.*

(56) See *AA. SS. p. 236,* and *238.*

(57) See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Andrew.*

(58) I have here given the substance of the Acts of this *St. Brigid*, as made up from Ferrarius and others by Colgan, *AA. SS.* at 1. February. The Bollandists have at said day, extracted a short *Life* of her from Villanis' *Life of St. Andrew*. In consequence of their having brought down the death of *St. Donatus* to near 890 (see *Not. 53*) and her having survived both him and *Andrew*,

they supposed she lived until about 900. This is, I believe, too late; probably she died about 880.

§. v. In 841 Mark, an Irish bishop, together with Moengal, *alias* Marcellus, his sister's son, returning from Rome stopped at the monastery of St. Gall, where the Irish were always well received as being countrymen of that saint. And in fact it is stated that it was as such that Mark visited that monastery. They were requested to remain there for some time, and at length agreed to do so. Mark then dismissed his other companions and attendants, to whom, being much displeased at his staying there, he gave his horses and mules, some money &c. reserving his books and some other articles for the use of the monastery. Moengal was exceedingly learned in sacred and human literature, and after some time was placed over the interior schools of the cloister. (59) It is probable that they both spent the remainder of their lives at St. Gall's; (60) and it is said that Moengal died in that monastery on a 30th of September, but in what year is not mentioned. (61) Among the persons instructed at St. Gall by Moengal are reckoned Notker Balbulus, Ratpert, and Tutilo; (62) and to him is attributed a certain tract on the lessons of the Gospel. (63)

In the same year 841 another countryman of St. Gall, and consequently an Irish Scot, named Eusebius, arrived at the same monastery and there became a monk. (64) Having remained for some years in the monastery, he retired in 854 or 855 to Mount St. Victor, where there was a church dedicated to the martyr of that name, in the part of the now Grison country called *Rhaetia Curiensis*. There he became a recluse and lived for 30 years in a most pious, contemplative, and austere manner, until his death on the 30th of January, A. D. 884. (65) He is said have been endowed with the gift of prophecy, and used to be consulted as such by the

people of that country. The king Charles (66) had so great an esteem for him, that, on his request, he made a grant of Mount St. Victor to the monastery of St. Gall.

(59) Ekkehard (*De casibus monasterii S. Galli ap. Melch. Goldast. R. Al. Scriptor. Tom. 1. p. 36.*) writes; "Grimaldi (abbot of St. Gall) temporibus Marcus quidam *Scottigena* episcopus Gallum tamquam *compatriotam suum* Roma rediens visitat. Comitatur eum sororis filius Moengal, postea a nostris Marcellus diminutive a Marco avunculo suo sic nominatus. Hic erat in divinis et humanis rebus eruditissimus. Rogatur episcopus loco nostro aliquamdiu stare," &c. See also Mabillon (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 841*). Harris (*Writers at Moengal*) makes them visit the abbot Grimoald as their countryman, having misunderstood Ekkehard's words, who calls not him but St. Gallus their compatriot.

(60) Mabillon (*ib.*) says, that Mark went, after having been for some time at St. Gall's, to France on the invitation of Charles the bald, and that he retired to the monastery of St. Medard at Soissons. He adds that perhaps Moengal also removed to France. But the bishop Mark of St. Medard must have been different from the one of St. Gall, if we are to believe Eric of Auxerre, who tells us (*De mirac. S. Germani, L. 1. c. 55.*) that he was a Briton, although educated in Ireland; while Ekkehard positively states, that the Mark of St. Gall was an Irishman. And Mabillon himself (*ib.* and *Acta Bened. Sec. iv. Part. 2. p. 461.*) represents Mark and Moengal as countrymen of St. Gall and Irishmen.

(61) See Harris, *Writers at Moengal*.

(62) Mabillon, *Acta Ben. ib. p. 46?*

(63) See Harris at *Moengal*.

(64) Colgan has the Acts of St. Eusebius at 30 January. He thinks that his real name was *Euchedius*, but gives no reason, except that this was an usual name in Ireland, whereas *Eusebius* was not so. Be this as it may, he represents him as not arriving at St. Gall until A. D. 854, in consequence of his having supposed that Eusebius became a recluse very soon after he reached that place. For in that year or the following he withdrew from the monastery and shut himself up. But Mabillon (*Annal. Ben.*) assigns his arrival at St. Gall to 841. Eusebius is called by Rat-

pert of St. Gall (*De origine et casibus S. Galli*) *Scotigena*, and by Ekkehard, also of St. Gall (*De casibus, &c.*) *sancti Galli compatrianus*, that is an Irishman.

(65) Ratpert (*ib.*) has these dates for his death, but does not mention his having died a martyr, as noted in the *Necrologium* of St. Gall, which states, as quoted by Colgan and Bollandus, that Eusebius was killed by one of the inhabitants, when remonstrating with some of them on their bad conduct. Mabillon (*Annal. &c.* at A. 841.) expresses strong doubts as to this martyrdom and says; "*Sublestae fidei videntur, quae de ejus martyris referuntur apud Bollandum.*" Had it taken place, would it not have been mentioned by Ratpert? The same *Necrologium* seems to make Eusebius a recluse for near fifty years; but, according to Ratpert, he was such only for thirty. Colgan strives to explain the words of the *Necrologium* as if relative to the whole life, and indicating that he died in the 50th year of his age. This cannot agree with his having arrived at St. Gall in 841, at which time he would have been, in this hypothesis, no more than about seven years old. A foolish story related in the *Necrologium* as to Eusebius after his death shows, that its authority is not worth attending to in what it has concerning him.

(66) This Charles was, says Mabillon, (*ib.*) the son and successor of king Lewis. He must have meant Lewis the Germanic. Consequently Charles was the one, that became emperor, and who is called Charles the *fat.*

§ VI. Helias, likewise an Irishman, was bishop of Angouleme during the reign of Charles the bald. He had gone to France in the early part of the ninth century; for he was a disciple of Theodulf bishop of Orleans, (67) who died in 821. He became a very learned man and was an admirable teacher. (68) One of his scholars was the celebrated Heric or Eric of Auxerre. (69) Helias succeeded bishop Lanus in the see of Angouleme, but in what year I do not find stated. (70) In 862 he assisted at the synod of Pistes, (71) which had been summoned by Charles the bald, and in 866 at that of Soissons. (72) His death is assigned to A. D. 875 or 876. (73)

Among the crowd of learned Irishmen, who went

over to France in those times, the most celebrated was John Scotus Erigena. (74) He was of very small size, but gifted with extraordinary genius. His studies were chiefly classical and philosophical, in which he excelled, considering the times he lived in; but he was greatly deficient in theological learning, which he seems to have scarcely applied to in his younger days, as he was not intended for the church; nor was he ever in holy orders, nor even a monk. He was a very good man, and irreproachable in his conduct. His birth must be assigned to the early part of the ninth century; for he was a grown up and highly learned man when he removed to France, which was before 847, as appears from his having been connected there with Prudentius before he became bishop of Troies. By his learning, eloquence, and wit he became a singular favourite with the king Charles the bald, who was so pleased with him, that he kept him constantly with himself, and did him the honour of having him as a guest at his table. Their conversation was sometimes of a jocose kind; and although John was not always sufficiently cautious not to give offence in his jokes, yet the king used to put up with whatever he said. As he was well skilled in Greek, Charles commissioned him to translate into Latin the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, (75) and accordingly he translated the four books *De caelesti Hierarchia, de ecclesiastica Hierarchia, de Divinis nominibus, and de mystica theologia*, which he dedicated to the king. (76) This translation was greatly admired for its accuracy, but being too literal was considered obscure. (77) It was published between 858 and 867; for it is mentioned in a letter of Pope Nicholas I. to Charles the bald. (78)

(67) In the chronicle of Ademar (*ap. Labbe Nova Bibliotheca, &c. Tom. 2. p. 159.*) there is at A. 819. a series of teachers suc-

ceeding each other, among whom is Theodulf as having taught Heliam *Scotigenam Engolismensem episcopum*, and then Helias as the master of Heiric or Heric (*of Auxerre*) See also Sammarthan. *Gallia Christiana ad Eccl. Engolism. Tom. 2. col. 984.*

(68) In the *Historia pontificum &c. Engolimensium* (*ap. Labbe, ib. p. 251.*) we read; “Defuncto Launo suscepit Helias Scotigena cathedralem Engolismensem, qui *in Gallia mirifice scholas rexit.* It has afterwards the series of teachers as in the chronicle of Ademar. In the *Gallia Christiana* (*loc. cit.*) Helias is styled *vir doctissimus.*

(69) The Heiric, as called in the chronicle of Ademar, or Henric, as in the *Histor. Pontif. Engolism.* was Heric of Auxerre, as appears from its being added that Heiric taught Remigius, &c. His having studied for some time under Helias helped to make him well acquainted with learned Irishmen then in France, and with that flock of philosophers, which, as he says in his preface to the Acts of St. Germanus, addressed to Charles the bald, had passed over from Ireland to France; “*Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, pene totam, cum grege philosophorum, ad littora nostra migrantem? Quorum quisquis peritior est ultro sibi indicit exilium, ut Salomoni sapientissimo famuletur ad votum.*” Helias, his master, was certainly one of those persons, whom Heric had in view; and hence it is plain that by *Scotigena*, as Helias is called, is to be understood a native of Ireland, not of N. Britain; for, had he been a British Scot, Heric would not have mentioned Ireland alone.

(70) Claudius Roberti in his *Gallia Christiana* (at *Episc. Engolism.*) says, that he was bishop of Angouleme during 40 years. If so, he should have been raised to the see in 835 or 836. But he could not have been bishop there before 853, in which year Launus was alive. (Sammarthan *ib. col. 983*)

(71) Sammarthan. *ib. col. 984.* Pistes was a place near the Seine, where it is joined by the Andelle. (See Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L. 50. §. 20.*)

(72) Cl. Roberti, *loc. cit.* and Sammarthan. *ib.*

(73) The Sammarthani, (*ib.*) referring to the chronicle of Ademar, place his death in 875. But in that chronicle, according to Labbe's edition, the year marked for it is 876. In the

Historia Pontif. &c. Engolism. it is said that Helias brought to Angouleme the remains of the martyr St. Benignus at the time that Charles the bald ascended the imperial throne. If this notation be correct, the death of Elias cannot be placed before 876. For Charles was not emperor until the latter end of 875. Yet the passage may perhaps be explained as meaning *about* the time that Charles was crowned emperor. It adds that Helias died during his reign. As to the day of his death, a chronicle of Angouleme marks the 22d of September. But as it is wrong with regard to the year of it, it may be wrong also as to the day.

(74) It is surprizing that even at this day some writers pretend that Erigena was a native of Scotland, for instance Chalmers, in his Biographical Dictionary, and Rees' Encyclopedia, at *Erigena*, notwithstanding the general consent of so many men of real learning, who have had occasion to treat of him, that he was an Irishman. Among the French, Dupin, Fleury, the authors of the *Histoire Litteraire*, and a crowd of others; Mosheim, J. P. Murray, with other learned Germans, all agree on this point. The surname, *Erigena*, is alone sufficient to prove it, as it means a native of Eri or Erin, that is, Ireland. Instead of *Erigena*, we sometimes find him called *Eringena*, *ex. c.* in an old MS. written about 900 years ago containing his translation of the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. (See a Dissertation concerning him by Father Paris of St. Genevieve in the Appendix to *Perpetuité de la foi*, Tom. 3. p. 20. In this dissertation he is positively stated to have been an Irishman. It is to be observed, that this surname was given to him by others; by some, as by Sigebert, he was called *Erigena*, and by some *Eringena*. Certain Scotch authors, according to their usual mode of robbing Ireland of many of its distinguished men, would fain make us believe that *Erigena* means a native of Air in the South-west of Scotland. But, if he was from that place, would the name not have been *Airgena* or *Arigena*? Or how could he have been called *Eringena*; for surely it will not be said that Air was the same as Erin. Besides, what could Sigebert or other continental scholars of those days know about Air in North Britain, a place which perhaps did not then exist? These Scotch gentlemen seem to be unacquainted with the history of their own country. They ought to know, that Air, Airshire, &c. did not, in the times of John Scotus Erigena, belong to the Scots. They were part of the Strathcluyd

or Cumbrian kingdom of the Britons, and did not get into the possession of the Scots until the year 946. (See Usher, *Pr.* p. 664 and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 946. also Chalmers, *Caledonia*, Vol. I. p. 353, *seqq.*) The country of the British Scots lay in Erigena's days, as well as from their first arrival in Britain to the North of the frith of Clyde; (see Usher, p. 611, 612, and Lloyd *on Church government*, ch. 1. §. 9. *seqq.*) and although in 843 by conquering the Picts they extended their kingdom to the northward, they did not enlarge it to the south of the frith until above 100 years later. It is true that the Irish Scots are said to have seized upon, about the beginning of the 9th century, the southern point of Scotland called *Galloway* from *Gael, Irish.* (Usher, p. 667 and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 800.) But this acquisition did not by any means extend as far as Air. If Erigena was born at Air, he was a Briton; but, should the ancient Britons claim him as their countryman, or should any part of England, for this also has been attempted, do the same, the national epithet, *Scotus*, is sufficient to decide the question. The best account I have met with of this extraordinary man, particularly of his works, is that given by the Benedictine authors of the *Histoire Litteraire*, Tom. v. p. 416, *seqq.*

(75) These works were at that time considered in France as of great importance, owing to the then prevalent opinion that Dionysius the Areopagite was the same as St. Denis the first bishop of Paris.

(76) Usher has published (*Ep. Hib. Syll. Nos.* 22, 23.) two of these dedications, one in verse, the other in prose. The former begins thus;

“ Hanc libam, sacro Graecorum nectare fartam,
 Advena Johannes spondo meo Carolo.
 Maxime Francigenum, cui regia stemmata fulgent,
 Munera votiferi sint tibi grata tui.”

In the latter John gives an account of Dionysius and of the four books, concluding with some verses;

“ Lumine sidereo Dionysius auxit Athenas,
 Areopagites, magnificusque *sophos.*
 Primo commotus Phaebum subeunte *Selena,*
 Tempore quo *stauros* fixus erat Dominus,” &c.

Here, according to his usual practice in his poems, he intermixed some Greek words.

(77) Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in a letter written to Charles the bald, and published by Usher (*No. 24. Ep. Hib. Syll.*) says : “ It is wonderful how that barbarous man,” (for every one not a Greek or Roman was called *barbarous*) “ who placed at the “ extremity of the world might, in proportion as he was remote “ from the rest of mankind, be supposed to be unacquainted with “ other languages, was able to comprehend such deep things and “ to render them in another tongue. I mean John the *Scotigena*, “ whom I have heard spoken of as a holy man in every respect. “ But he has greatly diminished the advantage, that might be de- “ rived from such an undertaking, having been over-cautious in “ giving word for word—which I think he had no other reason “ for than that, as he was an humble man, he did not presume “ to deviate from the precise meaning of the words, lest he might “ in any wise injure the truth of the text. But the consequence “ has been, that he has involved an author, sufficiently difficult “ in himself, in labyrinths, and has left him, whom he proposed “ to explain, so as still to require explanation.”

(78) The pontificate of Nicholas I. began in 858, and ended in 867.

§. VII. Meanwhile John was engaged in teaching philosophy, and, it seems, at least for some time, at Paris. That which he explained to his disciples, was of a mixed, and in great part, a very bad sort.

(79) Before the above mentioned translation appeared, he published a treatise on divine predestination in 19 chapters. At this period there were great disputes in France concerning the mysteries of predestination and grace, to which the opinions and writings of the monk Gothescala had given rise. This is not the place to give an account of that celebrated controversy; and it will be sufficient to observe that, while Gothescala was defended by Prudentius, bishop of Troies, Florus a deacon of Lyons, Lupus of Ferrieres, Ratraimn of Corbie, and

Remigius, archbishop of Lyons, he was opposed by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, Rabanus, archbishop of Mentz, and some others. A party of his opponents were not content with having got him condemned by one or two synods, but, with the overbearing Hincmar at their head, procured to have him cruelly flogged and thrown into prison in the year 849. Gothescala was in this prison, when Hincmar and Pardulus, bishop of Laon, finding his doctrine abetted in tracts written by Prudentius, Lupus, and Ratramn, applied to John to draw up a treatise on predestination. He complied with their request, and dedicated the work to them, some short time before 852. In it he relied too much on logical subtleties, and fell into various errors. Among other strange opinions, which he is charged with having held, striving to maintain that there is only one predestination, viz. that of the elect, he advanced that, sin and punishment being mere privations, God cannot foresee them, nor, in consequence, predestine to punishment; that the pains of the damned are only their sins, or the tormenting recollection of them; that the damned will at length enjoy all natural advantages; that the irregular movements of the will can be punished, but that our nature itself is not capable of punishment; and that human nature is not subject to sin, alluding to original sin. As soon as this treatise was published, Venilo, archbishop of Sens, sent extracts from it to Prudentius, requesting him to refute the errors it contained. Prudentius was shocked at finding in them, as he thought, the bad principles of Pelagius and Origen. Having procured the whole work, he judged that it was of a downright Pelagian kind, and in 852 set about refuting it, chapter by chapter, and position by position. The same extracts being sent also to Lyons, the deacon Florus was engaged by the ecclesiastical authority of that city to

draw up an answer to them, which he did much in the same manner as Prudentius had. (80) The 19 chapters of John were condemned by the third council of Valence, held in 855, which represents them as conclusions of impertinent syllogisms containing inventions of the devil rather than any proposition of faith. (81) This condemnation was confirmed in 859 by a council of Langres, and in the same year, it is said, by Pope Nicholas I. (82) Besides the errors of which he was guilty in this tract, John has been charged with often contradicting himself, and now starting an assertion and now unsaying it. (83)

(79) Mosheim says (*Eccl. History at 9th century, Part 2. ch. 1.*) that John taught the philosophy of Aristotle; but as Brucker shows, and will be seen lower down, it was rather of the new Platonists of the Alexandrian school.

(80) See Fleury, *L. 48. §. 58.* These works of Prudentius and Florus, as also that of John, to which they replied, may be seen in the interesting collection (published by G. Mauguin) *Veterum auctorum; qui nono seculo de predestinatione et gratia scripserunt.* Usher has published in his History of the Gothescaleian controversy (*p. 115. seqq.*) an old synopsis of John's chapters.

(81) *In quibus commentum diaboli potius quam argumentum aliquod fidei deprehenditur.* See Fleury, *L. 49. §. 23.*

(82) *Annal. Bertiniani,* and Fleury, *ib. §. 48.*

(83) Prudentius states (*cap. 19.*) that John pronounces eternal misery to the damned, to whom he had a little higher up promised joy, &c. at a certain period; "*Ecce consuetissima tibi contrarietate miseriam aeternam indicis, quibus Paulo ante gaudium, pulchritudinem, gloriam, fulgoremque contuleras.*" Florus brings the same charge against him; "*Mirandum est nimis, quomodo dicat omnium impiorum et Angelorum et hominum corpora aeterni ignis supplicium perpessura, quod superius tam aperte et tam multipliciter negavit; quod utique in hoc loco aut fecte et dolose confessus est; et abominabilis est Deo, qui de fide ejus in corde tenet mendacium, et in ore vult quasi proferre veritatem; aut si*

vere ipsa rei veritate, et timore offensionis Ecclesiae superatus ne omnino infidelis judicaretur, hoc confessus est, vacua est omnino et cassa talis confessio, quam superius tanta et tam multiplex praecessit negatio." He says also that, after his having laid down that prescience and predestination were the same, he afterwards confessed that they were different; "*Qui hactenus praescientiam et praedestinationem unum adstruxeras, nunc differre, quamvis subdole, confiteris.*" In fact, John's work is written in such a manner, and in such a constant run of syllogistical acuteness, that it is often difficult to catch at the real meaning of his context. Besides, he uses some words in a sense peculiar to himself, particularly the term *nature*. He lays down that human nature cannot be corrupted by sin, and accordingly cannot be punished; but that it is the will that is capable of sinning, and consequently of punishment. Thus, treating of original sin, he says (*cap.* 17. §. 3.) that in the first man the generality of nature did not sin, but the individual will of every one, (for he states that this individual will of every one was contained in that of Adam) and that it would be unjust to punish any one for the sin of another; "*Non itaque in eo (primo homine) peccavit naturae generalitas, sed unicujusque individua voluntas—in illo (primo homine) per se ipsum singulus quisque potuit proprium committere delictum; in nullo quippe vindicatur juste alterius peccatum.*" It appears almost certain, that he did not acknowledge any corruption or enfeeblement not only of human nature, but even of the will as caused by the sin of Adam; but, for fear of being considered as a professed Pelagian, and a denier of original sin, he recurred to the extravagant hypothesis, that every one, that is, every descendant of Adam, committed the same *actual* sin, and at the same time, that Adam did. Thus the sin of Adam, as committed by him alone, did not affect his posterity; for, as he says, it would be unjust to punish any one for another person's sin; but every one committed an actual sin on that occasion. Now this hypothesis, if admitted, might stand without the necessity of admitting what the Church has always considered as original sin, or of supposing that either human nature or any of its faculties has been impaired by it. Then he adds that nature is not at all punished, because it is from God, and does not sin; but that a voluntary movement making a libidinous use of the good of nature is justly punished; "*Proinde in*

nullo natura punitur, quia ex Deo est et non peccat; motus autem voluntarius libidinose utens naturae dono merito punitur." The constant perfection of nature is one of his great principles, and another is, that no nature can be punished by another. Thence he concludes, that God has not made any punishment, and that the punishment of sinners are nothing else than the sins themselves. Accordingly he heads the 16th chapter with these words; "*De eo quod nulla naturam punit, et nihil aliud esse poenas peccatorum nisi peccata eorum.*"—Then, going on with his dialectics, he says; "*Proculdubio igitur tenendum nullam naturam ab alia natura puniri, ac per hoc nullam poenam a Deo esse factam;*" whence he deduces that no punishment has been foreknown or predestined by God; "*subindeque nec ab eo (poenam) praescitam nec praedestinatum.*" It is a general axiom of his that God cannot foresee any thing, of which he is not the author, and therefore he maintains that he does not foresee sin or evil. Thus, besides many other passages to this purport, he says (cap. 10.) "*Sicut Deus mali auctor non est, ita nec praescius mali nec praedestinans est.*" This is strange doctrine indeed, as if God could not foresee negations or aberrations from his laws. From these principles he comes to the main point, which he was endeavouring to prove, viz. that there is no predestination of the damned, i. e. that the Almighty has not, in consequence of his foreknowledge of sins, predetermined and prepared punishments for the perpetrators of them; for, if he does not foresee sins, nor make punishments, how can there be a predestination of this sort. He concludes the work with, in a very audacious and consequential manner, anathematizing all those, who hold more than one predestination, that of the blessed; for, he says, there is only one, viz. as to things that exist, but not as to those that do not. Connected with this theory is his maxim, that predestination is nothing else than foreseeing; thus we read (cap. 18.); "*Non aliud igitur praedestinare quam praevidere.*" Here and there we meet with some very singular notions; for instance, speaking (cap. 17.) of the fire of the future state, he says, that it is not a punishment, and that in it will dwell the happy as well as the miserable, "*non minus habitabunt beati quam miseri;*" but that, as light is pleasing to some eyes, and to others hurtful and pernicious, as food is agreeable to some and to others destructive, &c. in like manner said fire will be cheering to

the blessed and doleful to the damned. In the 19th chapter he tells us, that the bodies of the saints will be changed into an aethereal quality, as likewise those of the damned who will enjoy all the goods of nature except beatitude, which, he adds, is from grace. Here he seems to state, that there will be no difference between the blessed and the unblessed, except that the former will enjoy heavenly beatitude, while the latter will be left in a sort of tranquil state of nature. It does not appear to me, that John was so liable to contradict himself as Prudentius and Florus imagined; but I allow, that the art, with which he manages his terms and reasonings, is apt to make one think, that he sometimes falls into contradictions. On the whole, his book is full of bad and dangerous opinions, and is much more philosophical than truly theological. And how could it be otherwise? He commenced it by announcing, that every question is solved by the four rules of philosophy; “*Quadrivio regularum totius philosophiae quatuor omnem quaestionem solvi.*” But theology is founded on revelation, and is not to be mangled by the *Quadrivium*. He sometimes quotes the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, but in the quibbling and clipping mode of captious polemical disputants. John was certainly not a learned divine, as Mosheim calls him, (at 9th cent^y. Part 2. ch. 2.) although it must be allowed that, as Mosheim adds, he was of uncommon sagacity and genius; and I agree with this author (*ib. ch. 1.*) that he was the first, who joined scholastic with mystic theology. For, the scholastic theology, which the world could have done very well without, had been practised in Ireland some time before John flourished, as Mosheim observes, (at 8th cent^y. Part. 2. ch. 3.) where he says that the Irish, who were distinguished beyond all other European nations for knowledge, were the first teachers of scholastic theology. Whether what he adds concerning their spurning at authority in theological matters at that period be true or not, I shall not stop to inquire. I may, however, remark, whatever may be thought of John, that Dungal, who was not long prior to him, and who was a real theologian, had a great respect for authority relatively to theological questions, as we have seen (*Chap. xx. §. 13.*) from his treatise against Claudius of Turin.

§. VIII. Many of the erroneous opinions, into

which his sort of philosophy led him, are to be found in his work *On Natures*, *περὶ φύσεων*, written in form of a dialogue, and divided into five books. (84) It begins with a division of natures into four sorts; 1. That, which creates and is not created; 2. That, which creates and is created; 3. That, which does not create and is created; 4. That, which neither creates nor is created. In the three first books John treats of the three first sorts, and in the two following he explains the return of the created natures into the increated one. He says, that God has created from all eternity in his Son the primordial causes of all things, goodness by itself, essence by itself, life by itself, greatness by itself, peace by itself, and so on as to the other Platonic ideas. He teaches, that the humanity of our Lord has been entirely changed into his divinity after his resurrection; that the wickedness and punishments of devils, and of all the damned in general, will end at some time; that at the general resurrection all sensible and corporeal things will pass into the human nature; that the body of man will be transformed into his soul; that the soul will pass into the primordial causes, and these into God, so that, as before the existence of the world there was nothing but God and the causes of all things in God, there will be after its end nothing else than God and the causes of all things in God. To this he applies a passage of Solomon, *All that was, that which will be*, as if, he adds, “Solomon plainly said, that God alone and the causes of all things in him was before the world; and that afterwards he, and the causes of all things in him, will be alone.” (85) On various occasions John speaks like a downright Pantheist, and a member of the school of Pseudo-Dionysius and the new Platonists. He states that, when it is said that God makes all things, this means that he is in all things, *i. e.* that the essence of all things subsists—that in God there is no accident, and that

therefore it was not an accident in God to create the universe, and consequently that he was not subsisting before he did create it. (86) He says, that all things are God, and God all things—that God is the maker of all things and made in all. (87) Then we find him advancing some strange positions of another kind, *ex. c.* that the division of human nature into sexes was a consequence of sin, as foreseen by God, that the souls of beasts cannot perish, &c. (88)

(84) This work has been called by some *περὶ φύσεων μερισμῶν*, or *of the division of Natures*. F. Paris (see above *Not.* 74.) suspects, that *μερισμῶν* was added by some one that wished to skreen the character of John, as if, in case he should be charged with the heresies, in which the *περὶ φύσεων* abounds, it might be answered that this was not his work, but the one with the addition *μερισμῶν*. This is a far fetched conjecture, and, I believe, quite unfounded; for that addition might have been made to the title on account of the division of natures being treated of in the work, and some old writers make mention of it sometimes with and sometimes without that addition. F. Paris had closely examined it, and has given a summary of its doctrines in the first article of his dissertation. I shall follow his account of them, together with that given by Brucker in his history of philosophy, as I have not at hand the edition published by Thomas Gale at Oxford in 1681.

(85) See the dissertation by F. Paris.

(86) *In Deo non est accidens; itaque non est Deo accidens universitatem condere. Non erga Deum erat subsistens antequam universitatem crearet.*

(87) “*Omnia esse Deum, et Deum esse omnia—Deum esse omnium factorem, et in omnibus factum.*”

(88) Compare with Brucker *Histor. Philosoph. Tom. III. p.* 621, *seqq.* where more may be seen concerning his extravagant and indeed antichristian doctrines. Brucker does not hesitate to call him a Pantheist.

§. IX. John also wrote a metaphysical tract *On the vision of God*; but what doctrine he laid down in it

I am not able to tell. His book on the Eucharist appeared before 861 or 862. (89) It is not extant, the copies of it having disappeared since it was condemned by the council of Vercelli in 1050. (90) Hence it is impossible to discover his precise system on that mystery; some thinking that he admitted the real presence, denying transubstantiation; and others, that he denied both. (91) That this tract contained, or was at that time supposed to contain, some errors, appears from an answer by Adrevald, a monk of Fleury, who in his treatise, *Contra ineptias, Johannis Scoti*, brought forward passages from the Fathers in opposition to it. (92) Yet it seems that it was not easy to ascertain in what particular doctrine John meant to insinuate, or whether he really denied the real presence, although Ascelin, who lived in the eleventh century, and who had read his treatise, thought that his real object was to do so. (93) If he did, which by the bye we are not bound to believe, he certainly deviated from the doctrine held in Ireland concerning the holy Eucharist, which was evidently that of the real presence. (94) Nor is there any sufficient reason to think, that it was on account of this tract that Pope Nicholas I. in his letter to Charles the bald concerning John's translation of Dionysius Areopagites, which, he says, ought to have been sent to the Holy see for its approbation, observes that John had been reported by many to have formerly held some bad doctrines. It can scarcely be doubted, that the errors alluded to by the Pope were those contained in the book on predestination, and which the said Pope is said to have condemned in 859. (95) The story of John's having left France in consequence of being accused of heresy, and of his taking shelter with Alfred the great English king, is as unfounded as any thing can be. (96) John was probably never in England, except that perhaps he passed through it on his way to France. During the pontificate of John VIII. which

did not begin until the latter end of 872, he was still in France, as appears from some Greek and Latin verses addressed by him to the king Charles, after which he has others, in which that Pope is praised. (97) It is more than probable, as will be soon seen, that he was dead before he could have been received by Alfred. If there was any time, at which John would have gone to England in consequence of wishing to shun persecution in the continent, it should have been during the pontificate of Nicholas I. after his propositions had been condemned by the councils of Valence and Langres, and after Nicholas had written concerning him to Charles the bald. Now Alfred, with whom, according to the story, he took refuge, was not king until after the death of Pope Nicholas; and, after he became king, he was too much engaged in his Danish wars to set about promoting learning and encouraging learned men, which in fact he did not apply to until about 883. Some English writers, aware of this difficulty, have deferred John's reception by Alfred until said year 883; (98) but this is a ridiculous supposition, for which there is not the least authority in the genuine and coeval accounts that remain of Alfred's proceedings. Asserius, his friend and biographer, makes no mention of John, notwithstanding the particular care he took in describing the literary men, whom Alfred encouraged and had at his court. He speaks indeed of a John, who, invited by Alfred, went over to him from France in 884. This John was quite different from John Scotus; for, as Asserius informs us, he was an Eald-Saxon, that is, apparently a continental Saxon, a priest and monk, and became abbot of Aetheling or Athelingey. (99) The other John was an Irishman, nor was he ever either a priest or monk. Yet, strange to say, to prop up the fable of John Scotus having been with Alfred, he has been confounded with John of Aetheling. It would be a waste of words to enlarge on this subject, and I shall

only add that this John lived in his monastery until 895, about which year he was killed by two hired assassins. (100)

(89) *Histoire Litteraire, Tom. 5. at Erigena.* Mabillon thought that it was written before 859, the year in which Hincmar addressed his second treatise on predestination to Charles the bald. (See *Acta Ben. Sec. 4. Part. 2. pref. §. 8.*)

(90) Some learned men, and particularly F. Paris (*Dissertation, &c.*) have endeavoured to prove, that the famous tract *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, published under the name of Bertram, is the identical work of John. It is strange, that they could have thought so; for there is a marked difference between the style of this treatise and that of John's real writings. His style is strong, nervous, and of a close, bold, authoritative kind. That of *De corpore, &c.* is rather diffuse, and withal often involved and obscure, besides not being quite as correct as John's. But it is now universally admitted, that said tract was written by Ratramn the celebrated monk of Corbie, who was contemporary with John. This has been proved from writers who lived above 800 years ago, by Mabillon (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 858. and Pref. ad Acta Ben. Sec. 4. Par. 2. §. 6. seqq.*) and after him by others. (See *Hist. Letter. ib. at Ratramne.*) If it had been written by John, he could not be accused of having denied the real presence in the Eucharist or even transubstantiation. For, besides James Boileau Doctor of Sorbonne, Mabillon, and the authors of *Hist. Letter.* have clearly shown, that it does not contain any such denial; and, notwithstanding all the noise raised by the Calvinists who supposed that it favoured their system, the very Centuriators of Magdeburg state, that it contained the seeds of transubstantiation.

(91) See *Hist. Letter. ib. at Erigena.*

(92) Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 858.* It is a small tract, consisting of a tissue of passages from Saints Jerome, Augustin and Gregory, explanatory of the true doctrine of the Eucharist. The author does not quote any of John's words, nor does he enter into reasonings. It has been published by D'Achery, *Spicileg. Tom. 12. al. 1.* and said to have been written about 870.

(93) Ascelin says that a person could not at first perceive what was John's meaning as to the mystery of the Eucharist, because,

like a poisoner, he presented some things apparently sweet, but which would produce death; and that, although he alleged passages of the Fathers, he spoiled them by his glosses. Thus having quoted from the Missal of St. Gregory the following prayer, "*Perficiant in nobis tua, Domine, sacramenta quod continent, ut, quae nunc specie gerimus, rerum veritate capiamus.*" On this John added; "*Specie geruntur non veritate.*" Ascelin, *Epist. ad Berengar. in notis ad Vit. Lanfr.* Hence he deduced that John intended to show, that what is consecrated on the altar is not truly the body or blood of Christ. But with Ascelin's leave, John might have written these few words without meaning to deny the real presence. His object might have been to state, that although the holy Eucharist appears under the form of bread and wine, yet it is not really bread and wine, but only apparently so. Ratramn quotes the same prayer, and makes the same observation on it as that of John; yet it is certain, that in doing so did not mean to impugn the real presence. Some other proofs should be adduced to show clearly that John really denied that doctrine, and I greatly doubt whether they can be found. Hincmar in his second treatise on predestination, addressed to Charles the bald in 859, says, that some persons in his time held various errors, among which he mentions that of the sacrament of the altar not being the true body and the true blood of the Lord, but only the memory of them; "*quod sacramenta altaris non verum corpus et verus sanguis sit Domini; sed tantum memoria veri corporis et sanguinis.*" It is usually supposed that he alluded to John, because some of the other errors, which he marks, are found in John's treatise on predestination or in the work on Natures. This, however, is not certain; and, even admitting it was the case, Hincmar might have misunderstood his meaning in the same manner as a great number of persons have misunderstood that of Ratramn. John might have said in a very orthodox sense, that the sacrament of the altar is a memory or commemoration of the true body and blood of Christ, supposing at the same time that they were really present, although not in the same form or manner as they were during our Saviour's mission on earth, when he was visible, and appeared in human shape, with distinct limbs, &c. If it be true, that John stated that the sacrament of the altar is not the *true* body and the *true* blood of the Lord, he might have understood the word *true* relatively to the system of Pascasius Radbertus, who held that the body of Christ in the

Eucharist, although invisible to us, is in the same form as it proceeded from his blessed Mother, as it suffered on the cross, and as it rose from the dead. According to him, the phrase *true body*, meant a palpable body, such as our Saviour had during his mission on earth, and such as he has in heaven. Now other learned men, and very good Catholics, maintained that the body and blood of Christ, although really and substantially present in the sacrament of the altar, are not there under the form of a *true body* and blood, as meant by Pascasius, but in a spiritual, and not in a corporeal or carnal manner. Veron says, (*Regula fidei Cathol. cap. 2. §. 11.*) “ that the body of Christ under the symbols not only can be called *spiritual* and Christ himself *Spirit*, but likewise be said to be under the symbols in a *spiritual manner* or *spiritually*, and not in an *animal or corporeal manner* or *corporeally* or *carnally*.” He then gives his proofs; “ *Probatur, quia est ibi ad modum spiritus multipliciter, scilicet sicut angelus est hic vel ibi invisibilis, impatibilis; et totus in toto, et totus in qualibet parte; est enim indivisibilis, et non frangibilis: ita Corpus Christi, seu Christus, est sub symbolis invisibilis, impatibilis, et totus in toto, et totus sub qualibet parte, quia ibi est indivisibilis et non frangibilis. Modus vero existendi corporalis, seu corporaliter et carnaliter existere, est existere visibiliter, patibiliter secundum extensionem ad totum, seu totum in toto, et partem in parte, et frangibiliter; ergo corpus Christi, seu Christus, est in symbolis spirituali modo seu spiritualiter, et non corporali seu carnali, nec corporaliter seu carnaliter in dicto sensu, &c.* Veron proves, that this doctrine is perfectly consonant with that of the council of Trent, *sess. 13.* If John, speaking of the commemoration of the *true body* and *true blood* of the Lord, had said that the body and blood were not present in any manner, he could be justly charged with having denied the real presence. But Hincmar does not say that he did; and perhaps Hincmar was a follower of Paschasius, and consequently supposed that those, who opposed him as to the *mode* of Christ’s presence in the Eucharist (for as to the substance and reality of the presence there was no question) were in error. Nor is there any sufficient authority for making John say, that in the eucharistical commemoration the body and blood of Christ are *absent*. This has been asserted by Mosheim, who writes (*ad Sec. ix. Part. 2. cap. 3. §. 20.*) that John taught “ panem et

vinum *absentis* corporis et sanguinis Christi esse signa et imagines." Mosheim gives us no voucher for this position, nor, I believe, could he. Any declaration of this kind made by John would have roused the whole world against him; for, as Mosheim himself, when entering on the history of the Pascasian controversy, observes, it had been hitherto the unanimous opinion of the Church that the body and blood of Christ were administered to those, who received the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that they were really present in that holy institution; but as to the mode of this presence there were various opinions, and there was not as yet any decision of the Church on this subject. Now the question excited by the work of Pascasius was relative merely to the mode or form, in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the sacrament of the altar, and not to the presence itself. It was said work that gave occasion to John to draw up his treatise; and I have not as yet met with any decisive proof that he went farther in it than merely to impugn the system of Pascasius relative to the *mode* of Christ's presence. Yet, as the question was of a very nice and intricate nature, he probably used certain expressions, which some persons might have considered as heterodox.

(94) The very phrases used by the old Irish writers, when speaking of the celebration of Mass, are alone sufficient to show, what was the general belief on this point. They call it the sacrifice, the sacrifice of salvation, the mysteries of the sacrifice, the sacrificial mystery, the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist, the mysteries of the sacred Eucharist; *sacrificium salutis, sacrificii mysteria, sacrificate mysterium, sacra Eucharistiae, mysteria, sacrae Eucharistiae mysteria.* (See St. Gallus *ap. Wal. Strab. V. S. G. L. 1. c. 18.* Cumineus, *Life of St. Columba, cap. 4.* and Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 40. L. 2. c. 1. L. 3. c. 12. and 17. &c.*) Strong, however, as these expressions are, which could not be used were the body and blood of Christ supposed not to be really present, we find still stronger ones. Thus, the celebration of Mass is expressed by the *making of the body of Christ.* Adamnan relates, (*L. 1. c. 44.*) that on a Sunday St. Columba ordered Cronan, whom, although a bishop, he thought to be only a priest, *Christi corpus ex more conficere.* (See above *Not. 182. to Chap. XI.*) The consecration of the Eucharist is called by those writers, *immolation of the euti host or of the sacred Lord's sacrifice;* and the sacramen-

tal communion is expressed by the phrase, *receiving the body and blood of Christ or of the Lord*. In the ancient Life of St. Ita we read (*cap. 17.*) that on a solemn day, wishing to receive from the hand of a worthy priest the *body and blood of Christ*, she went to Clonmacnois and there received in a secret manner the *body and blood of the Lord*. It is added that the clergy, not knowing what was become of the *body and blood of the Lord*, were greatly alarmed and fasted together with the people until it was discovered, that Ita had received it. Then the priest, who had immolated the host, (*immolavit hostiam*) which St. Ita received, went to see her, &c. (See above *Chap. xi. §. 3.*) Cogitosus, describing (*Vit. S. Brigidæ, cap. 35.*) the church of Kildare, says that by one door the bishop entered with his clergy to immolate the sacred Lord's sacrifice, *sacra et Dominica immolare sacrificia*; and that by another the abbess and her nuns entered, that they might enjoy the banquet of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, *ut convivio corporis et sanguinis fruantur Jesu Christi*. Another phrase for the celebration of Mass was, with the old Irish, the *offering of Christ's body*. In the first Life of St. Kieran of Saigir (*cap. 25.*) it is said, that on every Christmas night, after his community had received the *sacrifice from his hand*, he used to go to the nunnery of St. Cocchea there to offer the body of Christ, *ut corpus Christi offerret*. Whenever the viaticum received before death is mentioned in the lives of our saints, it is usually called the *sacred body and blood of the Lord*; thus we read of St. Fursey (*Life, L. 1. c. 39.*) that he died *post sacri corporis et sanguinis sumptam vivificationem*; and of St. Fechin (*Life, cap. 48.*) that, *sacrosancti corporis et sanguinis Domini sacramentis munitus*, he gave up his spirit to his Creator.

Besides the use of these phrases, we find some of our ancient writers positively asserting that the body and blood of Christ are in the Eucharist. St. Columbanus of Bobbio, in his tract *De poenitentiarum mensura taxanda*, (*ap. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 12.*) lays down No. 42. that confession be required deligently before Mass, lest a person should receive unworthily; for, he says, the altar is the tribunal of Christ, and his body, which is there with his blood, marks out those who approach in an unworthy state; *tribunal enim Christi altare, et corpus suum inibi cum sanguine indicat indignos accedentes*. Sedulius, the commentator of St. Paul, in a note after

the word, *Take and eat; this is my body*; (1 Cor. xi. 24.) says; "As if Paul said, Beware not to eat that body unworthily, whereas it is the body of Christ; *Quasi Paulus, Cavete ne illud corpus indigne comedatis, dum corpus Christi est.*" Usher, endeavouring (*Discourse on the religion of the ancient Irish*) to squeeze something against the real presence out of this Sedulius, has very unbecomingly omitted the now quoted passage, but gives us another, that comes just after it, in which Sedulius remarks on the words, *in remembrance of me, (ib.)* that Christ "left a memory of himself unto us, just as if one, that was going on a distant journey, should leave some token with him whom he loved; that as often as he beheld it he might call to his remembrance his benefits and friendship." How this passage militates against the doctrine of the real presence I cannot discover, especially after Sedulius having said what we have seen about the body of Christ. Any Catholic might speak in that manner, if treating of the institution of the holy sacrament, which is certainly commemorative of Christ's passion and the benefits received through it. It is accordingly a token of Christ's love for us; but this does not exclude his being really present in it, although in a manner different from that, in which he appeared on the cross. At this very day the Catholics use expressions similar to that of Sedulius. In a lesson, written by St. Thomas of Aquino, of the office for *Corpus Christi* day it is stated, that in the sacrament "is kept up the memory of that "most excellent charity, which Christ showed in his passion— "and that in the last supper, when, having celebrated the Pasch "with his disciples, he was about to pass from this world to his "Father, he instituted this sacrament as a perpetual memorial of "his passion, a fulfilment of the ancient figures, the greatest of "the miracles wrought by him, and thus left a singular comfort "to the persons grieved for his absence." Would any one quote this passage in opposition to the doctrine of the real presence, on account of said doctrine not being expressly mentioned in it? But, it may be said, that doctrine is laid down in a former lesson taken from the said tract of St. Thomas. To this I reply, that Sedulius had in like manner expressed that doctrine immediately before the words quoted by Usher, who, had he wished to act fairly, should have produced both passages. He alleges also what Sedulius has concerning "our offering daily (in the Mass) for the

commemoration of the Lord's passion, once performed, and our own salvation." What has this to do with the question? Whatever some divines may have speculated about the nature of the sacrifice of the Mass, it is certainly commemorative of the Lord's passion, and derives all its virtue from the one passion on the cross; and it is far from being an article of Catholic belief, that in the celebration of Mass there is any such thing as a new passion of Christ. "What is," says Bossuet, (*Hist. des Variations*, L. vi. §. 37.) "the sacrifice (of the Mass) except Jesus Christ present in the sacrament of the Eucharist, and representing himself to his Father as the victim, by which he *has been* appeased?" (See also *ib.* §. 23.) For, to be a truly commemorative sacrifice, it is necessary that Christ be really present; otherwise how could the Mass, or the essential part of it, have been called the *sacrifice of the Lord*, as it has constantly been? (See Veron, *Regul. fidei*, &c. cap. 2. §. 14.) Usher was equally wrong in appealing to the poet Sedulius. He quotes a passage, in which the poet, alluding to the offering of Melchisedec, mentions corn and wine, *segetis fructus et gaudia vitis*. But said passage is relative not to the Lord's supper, but to the one leper, who, out of ten, returned to thank Christ. *Luke* xvii. 15. Sedulius is very clear on the real presence, where he alludes to the Eucharist. Of these passages, which have been very uncandidly omitted by Usher, although he had read them, one is in the *Carmen Paschale*, *Lib.* 4. as follows;

" Nec Dominum latuere doli, scelerisque futuri
 Prodidit auctorem, panem cui tradidit ipse,
 Qui panis tradendus erat; nam corporis atque
 Sanguinis ille sui postquam duo munera sanxit,
 Atque cibum potumque dedit, quo perpete nunquam
 Esuriant sitiantque animae sine labe fideles."

And *ib.* another lower down;

" Corpus, sanguis, aqua, tria vitae munera nostrae:
 Fonte renascentes, *membris et sanguine* Christi
 Vescimur, atque ideo templum Deitatis habemur;
 Quod servare Deus nos annuat immaculatum,
 Et faciat tennes *tanto mansore* capaces."

In the corresponding part of his prose work (*L. 5. c. 18.*) on the same subject he says ; “ Omnes enim, qui Christo duce in aquarum fonte renacimur, ejus corpus et sanguinem sumentes edimus et potamus, ut Sancti Spiritus templum esse mereamur, &c. *All we, who under our chief Christ are born again in the fountain of water, taking do eat and drink his body and blood, that we may deserve to be the temple of the Holy Ghost.*” Sedulius alluded to the practice of the ancient Church, according to which the Eucharist was given to persons just after their baptism. This was observed even with regard to infants, and continued down to as late as the 9th century. Alcuin says ; “ After an infant is baptized, let him be clothed. If the bishop be present, he is to be immediately confirmed with chrism, and then receive the communion ; but, if the bishop be absent, let him receive the communion from a priest.” Jesse, bishop of Amiens, in a letter *de ordine baptismi* writes ; “ After the three immersions let the bishop confirm the child with chrism in the forehead ; and lastly let him be confirmed or communicated with the body and blood of Christ that he may become a member of Christ.” (See Bingham, *Origines*, &c. *B. xii. ch. 1. sect. 2.*) Usher recurs also to the commentator Claudius, whom he supposed to be an Irishman. But, as he was not, (see *Chap. xx. §. 14.*) we might overlook what Usher strove to extort from him. The fact is, that the passage, which he quotes from Claudius, is quite opposite to his theory, notwithstanding the quibbles he uses to make him appear favourable to it. If ever there was an author, who clearly announced the doctrine of the real presence and the sacrifice of the Mass, Claudius was one, and that in a passage quoted by Usher himself (*Ep. Hib. Syll. Not. ad No. 20.*) from his commentary on Leviticus. These are his words ; “ Christus in cruce carnem suam fecit nobis esibilem. Nisi enim fuisset crucifixus, sacrificium corporis ejus minime comederetur. Comeditur autem nunc in memoria Dominicae passionis. Crucem tamen praeveniens in Coena Apostolorum seipsum immolavit, qui post resurrectionem in caeli tabernaculum suum sanguinem introduxit, portans cicatrices passionum. *Christ on the cross made his flesh eatable for us. For, unless he had been crucified, the sacrifice of his body would not be eaten. But it is eaten at present in memory of the Lord's passion. Yet anticipating the cross, he in the*

“supper of the Apostles immolated himself, he who after his resurrection introduced his blood into the tabernacle of heaven, bearing with him the scars of his sufferings.”

In the passages, which Usher collected on this subject, and in those whence he undertook to prove that the Irish practised communion under both kinds, he found the Eucharist often called *the body and blood of Christ*. To evade the strength and plain meaning of these expressions he recurs to dialectical and Calvinistical quibbles for the purpose of showing, that it would be absurd to suppose, that the body and blood are really and truly contained under the appearance of bread and wine. Here he deviated entirely from the purpose of his discourse; whereas the question which he affected to discuss was merely historical, *viz.* what did the ancient Irish *actually* believe as to the nature of the Eucharist, and not whether what they believed was absurd and antiphilosophical or not. But pressed by plain words and facts he took shelter under scholastic wrangling, in which he was well versed, although far from being so in real and staunch theology, great as he undoubtedly was in history, chronology, and antiquities. With considerable art he takes hold of the school opinions of some divines, such as the Rhemish ones, and then argues as if they were those of the whole Catholic church; but after all he does not clearly explain his own doctrine, which, there is every reason to think, was rather Calvinistical than conformable to that of the Church of England. As to the communion under both kinds, he might have saved himself the trouble of collecting passages concerning it; for it is not denied that in old times it was practised in Ireland as well as every where else. Yet there were cases, in which that of the cup was withheld; and we meet with a very remarkable one in the *Poenitentiale* of St. Columbanus, which is annexed to his monastic rule. He prescribes, that novices do not approach the cup; *novitii, quia indocti et inexperti, ad calicem non accedant.* (See Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 590.*)

Long as this note already is, I cannot but make a few observations on certain notes which Toland adduces (*Nazarenus, Letter 2. sect. 1.*) as annexed to a MS. copy of the four Gospels written at Armagh. The writer or transcriber was one Maolbrighde, and it is now in the Harleian library. Toland says that Simon, although on other points quite mistaken as to this MS. was pretty right in his *Bi-*

bibliothèque Critique at guessing it to be 800 years old, which would bring its age at present to more than 900. But as Toland was versed both in the Irish language and in the history of Ireland, he must have known that it is much more modern, as appears from various facts, dates, and names of princes, clergymen, &c. mentioned in it, and from which Dr. O'Connor, (*Prolegom. Part. 2. p. CLXI. seqq. ad Rerum Hibern. Scriptores*) very learnedly proves, that it was written in the year 1138. Now who is there so ignorant as not to admit, that the doctrine of the real presence against which Toland urges these notes, was universally held in the Western Church, Ireland included, at that period? Lest, however, it may be said that the notes quoted by Toland, were copied from a text of older times, I shall lay them before the reader. I must indeed take his word for the genuineness of them, as I have not access to said MS. He has left out some parts of them, which might help to elucidate the author's meaning; but, even as he has given them, they prove nothing against the belief in the real presence. The first is, that "the reason for blessing the Lord's supper, was, that it might mystically be made his body;" after which occur these words; "This bread is spiritually the Church, which is the body of Christ; *ut mystice corpus ejus fieret—spiritualiter panis hic Ecclesiae est, quae Corpus Christi.*" Now the former words, instead of meaning what Toland wished to insinuate prove the reverse. The phrase, *to be made his body*, conveys the idea of the real presence. Its being said that this is done *mystically* is just as if we should say that it is done in a mysterious manner, and surely this is held and spoken of by every Catholic. Instead of *mystically*, it is usual at present, in expressing the effect of the consecration of the elements, to say *sacramentally*. Thus the council of Trent, (*Sess. 13. cap. 1.*) after having laid down "that Christ is truly, really and substantially present in the sacrament of the Eucharist under the appearance of bread and wine," adds, "that there is nothing repugnant in believing that our Saviour himself is always seated in heaven at the right hand of the Father according to the natural mode of existing, and that nevertheless he is in many other places *sacramentally* present to us with his substance." As to the latter words, *This bread is spiritually, &c.* they do not affect the question concerning the real presence, and merely express a very usual

metaphorical allusion to the Church. Were they to be understood strictly, it would follow that Christ had no real human body. The second note is apparently more difficult, but probably would not be so, had Toland given us the whole of it. In this note the Eucharist is called "the mystery and figure of the body of Christ—the first figure of the New Testament—this figure is daily reiterated, is received in faith, &c." *Mysterium et figura Corporis Christi—prima Novi Testamenti figura—Haec vero figura quotidie iteratur, accipitur in fide, &c.* These words would not indicate the least doubt as to Christ being really and substantially present in the Eucharist, were it not for the quibbling use which the Calvinists made of the term *figure*. Many of the most firm abettors of the real presence have not scrupled to speak in a similar manner. Bellarmine, who often has such phrases, gives us a summary of them in his General Index, where he says; "Eucharistia est "signum, symbolum, repraesentatio, ac typus mortis Christi, seu "carnis et sanguinis, ut visibiliter in cruce illa suffixa, ille effusus "est. *The Eucharist is a sign, symbol, representation, and type "of the death of Christ, or of the flesh and blood according as "the one was affixed to the cross and the other shed.*" This manner of speaking does not by any means exclude the actual presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the Eucharist. St. John Chrysostom says, (*Hom. 17 in Ep. ad Hebr.*) that the Eucharist is a type or figure of the sacrifice of the cross, and yet in the same place asserts, that the same Christ, who was then offered, is now offered. And surely the whole action, by which the sacrament of the altar is consecrated, is a representation of the death of Christ on the cross. The distinction of the elements of bread and wine, and the repeating of the mysterious words separately over them represent his passion and death, in which the blood flowed out of his body; not that Christ dies again in the sacrament, but that he places himself in it as the victim who has died, and consequently as the sacrifice of redemption and salvation. It is therefore a very silly and indeed unlearned practice to argue from such phrases as above against the doctrine of the real presence. In the great work, *Perpetuité de la Foy*, by Arnauld and Nicole, it is observed (*Tom. 1. Liv. x. ch. 4.*) that such terms as *figure, type, &c.* have been, even since the time of the Berengarian controversy, applied to the Eucharist by writers, who are

universally allowed to have been strenuous supporters of that doctrine. No objection will, I suppose, be raised from the words of the note, *received in faith*; for it is certainly a mystery, which requires faith both for believing in it and for receiving it worthily. Bellarmine says in the above quoted Index; “Hoc mysterium (Eucharistia) sola fide comprehenditur, *this mystery is comprehended by faith alone.*” The third note, so far from favouring the system of Toland, is in direct opposition to it. Remarking on the words of our Saviour, *This is my body*, it has; “*Et hoc dixit, ne nostra dubitaret fides de sacrificio quotidiano in Ecclesia, quasi corpus Christi esset, quoniam Christus in dextra Dei sedet.*” Toland has translated the passage in such a manner as to make it appear contrary to the belief of the real presence. He renders it thus; “This he said, lest our faith should stagger about the daily sacrifice in the Church, as if it were the body of Christ, since Christ sits on the right hand of God.” Now to express the author’s meaning in English, instead of *were the body*, the translation should be *were not the body*, or the whole should be given as follows; “And Christ said these words, *this is my body*, lest our faith might doubt of the daily sacrifice in the Church being the body of Christ in consequence of Christ’s sitting at the right hand of God.” Surely no man of common sense would or could state, that Christ said the words, *this is my body*, for the purpose of cautioning us *not to believe* that it is in the daily sacrifice. Are not, on the contrary, these the words, which have induced all antiquity to believe that *it really is* in said sacrifice? The words, which forced Luther, eager as he was to vex the Catholics, to continue in that belief, and to defend it? Those, which all the impugners of the real presence have never been able to get over, or to explain in any rational manner different from that of said doctrine? The author’s meaning is perfectly clear. His object was to show, that, whereas Christ sits at the right hand of the Father, doubts might arise concerning his body being in the daily sacrifice; but that, to expel such doubts, Christ announced those plain and peremptory words, *This is my body.*

I shall not enlarge further on these points, as my purpose is not controversy, but merely to prove that the ancient Irish did actually and unequivocally hold the doctrine of the real presence, of the sacrifice of the Mass, &c. just as they are held at this day by

the Catholics. And indeed it would be very strange if they did not, for otherwise how could they have been in communion with the English Christians, whose greatest man Bede never accused them of any error as to the Eucharist, with the Romans, Italians, French, &c. all of whom undoubtedly professed those doctrines?

(95) See above §. 7. In the Pope's letter, which, according to Mauguin, was written about 865, we read; "Relatum est
 "Apostolatu nostro, quod opus B. Dionysii Arcopagitae, quod de
 "Divinis nominibus, vel caelestibus ordinibus Graeco descripsit
 "eloquio, quidam vir Johannes, genere Scotus, super in Latinum
 "transtulerit, quod juxta morem nobis mitti et nostro debuit
 "judicio approbari, praesertim cum idem Joannes, licet multae
 "scientiae esse praedicetur, *olim non sane sapere in quibusdam fre-*
 "*quenti rumore diceretur.* Itaque quod hactenus omissum est vestra
 "industria suppleat, et nobis praefatum opus sine ulla cuncta-
 "tione mittat, quatenus, dum a nostri Apostolatus judicio fuerit
 "approbatum, ab omnibus incunctaneter nostra auctoritate accep-
 "tius habeatur." Some writers have said that the Pope had required that John should be sent to Rome, or banished from Paris, of whose school he was the *capital*. This is founded on an alteration made in the Pope's letter after *diceretur*, or, as in said corrupted letter, *dicatur*. Balæus (*Hist. Univers. Paris. Tom. 1. p. 184.*) has published this letter in its altered form from certain Collectanea of Naudacus. But the phrase *Capital* (head) of the school of Paris was not used until, at least, 300 years after the death of Pope Nicholas. Would Anastasius have, a few years after said letter was written, spoken in the gentle manner he did concerning John (see *Not. 77.*) had the Pope been so displeased with him as that story insinuates. Besides, the Pope himself does not positively charge John with maintaining errors, merely saying that it was reported that he formerly had.

(96) This fable has been propagated chiefly by William of Malmesbury, from whom others have copied it, which is indeed surprizing, to this very day. We meet with it, among several gross mistakes concerning John's transactions, in Rees' Cyclopaedia. William has it *De gestis regum Anglorum, L. 2. c. 4.* and *De pontificibus, L. 5.* From him it was taken with other stories by Simeon of Durham, Hoveden, &c. He was so ill in-

formed of John's proceedings, that he makes Florus write against his work *On natures*. Now we have seen that it was the treatise on predestination, which was answered by Florus.

(97) See *Hist. Letter. Tom. 5. at Erigena*. These verses have been published by Du Canga.

(98) Ex. c. Hoveden, *Annal. ad. A. 883*. Matthew of Westminster, &c. Thus Turner says, (*History of the Anglosaxons, B. 12. ch. 4.*) that John went to England after the death of king Charles.

(99) Asserius says, that Alfred *diversi generis monachos in eodem monasterio congregare studuit: primitus Joannem presbyterum et monachum, scilicet Ealdsaxonum genere, abbatem constituit.*"

(100) See Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 895*. Strange that Turner (*ib.*) strives to support the paradox of John Scotus having been the same as John of Aetheling.

§. x. Our John has been confounded also with another person of that name, who was in the twelfth century considered as a martyr at Malmesbury, and who is said to have been killed there by his school-boys with their writing styles. That such a circumstance occurred at Malmesbury is very doubtful; but whether true or false, it is an idle conjecture to suppose, that this John called *martyr* was the same as John Scotus. (101) The fact is, that John Scotus remained in France and died there previous, in all probability, to the death of his protector Charles the bald, (102) which occurred in 877. And it appears certain, that his death was prior to 875, the year in which Anastasius wrote to Charles concerning the translation of Dionysius Areopagites. (103) For Anastasius speaks of John in such a manner as if he were already dead. (104)

Besides the works already mentioned, John drew up a translation of, at least in part, the Greek scholia of St. Maximus on difficult passages of St. Gregory Nazianzen. (105) He is usually supposed to have been the John, who compiled the

Excerpta concerning the differences and agreements of the Greek and Latin verbs, which are found among the writings of Macrobius. (106) Seven Latin poems of his, mixed with Greek lines, but different from the Greek and Latin verses above mentioned, are still extant; (107) but whether they have been published as yet I am not able to tell. Some other works have been attributed to him without sufficient proof or authority, except a homily on the beginning of the Gospel of St. John. (108)

(101) This story comes also from William of Malmesbury (*ib.*) who, after telling us that John Scotus was induced by the munificence of Alfred to go to England, and that he taught at Malmesbury, makes him be killed there by boys. He gives the epitaph, which was to be seen in that place;

*Clauditur hoc tumulo sanctus sophista Joannes,
Qui ditatus erat jam vivens dogmate miro.
Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere regnum,
Quo, meruit, sancti regnant per secula cuncti.*

What has this to do with John Scotus? Would Asserius have been ignorant of John Scotus' martyrdom at Malmesbury, he who mentions so particularly the murder of John of Aetheling? None of the many old writers, prior to William, who speak so often of John Scotus, ever call him a martyr, not even the Berengarius his great admirer and defender. The fable of John Scotus having been the same as John of Malmesbury is still kept up by some superficial writers; but, like certain other stuff of theirs relative to him, it is not worth further consideration.

(102) See Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. Tom. 3. p. 242.* and *Hist. Letter. at Erigena.*

(103) This letter (see above *Not. 77.*) is stated in a MS. copy of it, which was in the Jesuits' library at Bourges, to have been written on the 23d of March, 8th Indiction, that is *A. D. 875*, six years after the eighth General council, which is mentioned in

the latter part of it. (See *Dissert.* on John Scotus by F. Paris. *Art.* 6.)

(104) Anastasius remarking on John's method of translation says, that he *was* an humble man. Were John then alive, he would have said *is*, not *was*. He observes that John would not have received the gift of tongues *had he not been* burning with the fire of charity, and uses some other verbs in past tenses strongly indicating that John had ere that time left this world. Some writers have said, that he returned to Ireland in his latter days and died there. This is a mere conjecture without any foundation. Had he died in Ireland, there would be some mention of him in the Irish annals.

(105) *Hist. Letter. ib.* It has been published by Gale at the end of the work *On Natures*.

(106) See *ib.* and Usher, *Ep. Hib. Syll. Not. to No.* 23.

(107) *Hist. Letter. Avertissement to Tom.* 5. p. xix.

(108) *Ib.* at *Erigena*. The fabulous Bale says that John translated *Aristotelis Moralia de secretis secretorum, seu recto regimine principum* into Chaldaic, Arabic, and Latin. He founded this nonsense on a story patched up by some old Scotch writers, and still retained by some new ones, *viz.* that John, when very young, travelled to Athens and there studied the Greek, Chaldaic, and Arabic languages. What a shame to advance such fooleries!

§. XI. Much has been said about John's name having been in the Roman martyrology at 10 November. It would be very strange if it had been placed in it by the authority of any Pope, considering that his book on the Eucharist had been condemned by the council of Versalli, and that his doctrines on predestination had been also condemned long before; to which may be added that there has been a great and rather general prejudice against his character with regard to orthodoxy. To clear up this matter, it is to be observed that the name of the John, who is said to have been killed at Malmesbury, was in some Anglican calendars at 10 November and got into the edition of the Roman Martyrology published by order of Pope Gregory XIII.

at Antwerp in 1586. (109) This was owing to the said John having been confounded with John bishop of Mecklenburgh, who was a real martyr, and who suffered on the 10th of November, A. D. 1065. This John was a Scotus, or Irishman, and, having been appointed bishop of Mecklenburgh, was sent to preach in Slavonia, that is, the old Slavonia lying between the Elbe and the Vistula, which was inhabited by the Vandals, Vinuli, &c. He was most cruelly treated in that country, and barbarously put to death in their chief town Rethre at the time now mentioned. (110) Considering all these circumstances, it may be fairly concluded that the matter stood as follows. There was buried at Malmesbury a John, surnamed the *Wise*, but not called martyr by older writers. (111) This surname gave rise to a notion that he was the same as the renowned John Scotus; and thus it became necessary to suppose that John Scotus was at Malmesbury. Then, to account for his having been there, was made up the story of his going over to Alfred, &c. Meanwhile the cruel death of John of Aetheling, caused by repeated wounds inflicted at the instigation of some of his monks, was much spoken of in England. Some of the good people of Malmesbury took it into their heads, that this murdered John was no other than their John the *Wise*; but, as it would have been awkward to make him appear as killed by, or through the means of monks, the blame of his death was thrown upon the poor schoolboys. (112) One circumstance was still wanting, viz. the day of the martyrdom, whereas William of Malmesbury and his followers had not marked it. Luckily some one found the martyrdom of John Scotus assigned to the 10th of November, and without troubling himself about Mecklenburgh, of which he had been bishop, or Slavonia, where he was killed, identified him with John of Malmesbury; and hence for this John the 10th of November was marked in some English ca-

lendars, &c. Thus by putting various Johns in requisition the history of John Scotus Erigena has been egregiously mangled and distorted. (113)

(109) In that martyrology are these words; “*Eodem die* (10th November) *S. Joannis Scoti, qui graphiis puerorum confossus martyrii coronam adeptus est.*” Dupin states (at 9th century *Vol. 2. p. 87. English ed.*) that they are not in any other edition of the Roman martyrology; and Mabillon makes mention of only the Antwerp edition of 1586 as containing the name of John Scotus. (See *Acta Ben. Sec. 4. Par. 2. p. 513.*) Yet Fitzsimon says (*Catalog. praecip. sanctorum Hiberniae, Liege A. 1619.*) that it was in an edition of 1583, and declares that it was Baronius, who expunged it from the Martyrology. “I know,” he adds, “that there was ready an apology for John Scotus approved of by the suffrages of great Popes, Cardinals, &c.” Such an apology has not yet seen the light nor probably ever will. As to the year 1583, mentioned by Fitzsimon, either it is a mistake for 1586, or he confounded the Roman Martyrology with an edition of that of Usuard published at Antwerp in 1583, in the appendix to which Molanus, led astray by Hector Boethius, inserted the name of John Scotus. Arnold Wion also fell into this mistake. (See F. Paris, *Dissertation, &c. Art. 7.*) By the bye, F. Paris was wrong in denying, that the name of John Scotus was in any Roman Martyrology published at Antwerp in 1586, and maintaining that there was no such edition. But there certainly was, and printed by Chr. Plantinus. There is a copy of it in the library of Trinity College Dublin, with John’s name as above, which got into it from the appendix to that of Usuard by Molanus. Although that Antwerp edition was printed by order of Gregory XIII. it does not follow that he approved of it or of the insertion of John’s name; nor indeed could he, whereas he was dead since the 10th April of the preceding year 1585.

(110) See Fleury *L. 61. §. 17.* John of Mecklenburgh is praised more than once by Adam of Bremen. See also Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 407.* and below *Chap. xxv. §. 3.*

(111) Gotzelin, who wrote some time before William of Malmesbury published his *De gestis, &c.* makes mention (*Catalogue of saints buried in England*) of John the Wise, whose remains,

as well as those of Aldhelm, were in the church of Malmesbury. (See the Dissertation by F. Paris, *art.* 6.)

(112) In the epitaph (above *Not.* 101.) which was written before the times of William of Malmesbury, but after John the Wise had been confounded with John of Aetheling, there is no mention of those schoolboys. Were the martyrdom caused by them, would not some notice have been taken of such a circumstance as greatly heightening the account of the martyr's sufferings? It is also worth observation, that in said epitaph John is not called *Scotus*; whence we may infer, that the opinion of his having been the same as John Scotus was not prevalent at the time it was written; otherwise, there would assuredly be something in it to indicate, that he was the far famed John Scotus.

(113) See Mabillon and Dupin, *loc. cit.* ad *Not.* 9. and Harris, (*Writers at Erigena.*)

§. XII. At the same time with John, or perhaps somewhat earlier, there was another Irish philosopher in France, named Macarius, originally, I suppose *Mecher* or *Meagher*, who disseminated an error, afterwards maintained by Averroes, *viz.* that all men had but one soul. From him it was taken by a monk of Corbie, against whom Ratramn wrote a treatise on that subject. (114) A monk, Columbanus, who from his name may be fairly supposed to have been an Irishman, flourished also in France in these times. By order of Charles the bald he put in verse an old genealogy of emperors, kings, and French lords, which had been drawn up by that sovereign. (115) Among the Capitulars of this Charles there is one, taken from the Acts of the council of Meaux held in 845, relative to the hospitals founded by pious Irishmen in France, for persons belonging to their nation. In it the king is informed that they were usurped by strangers, and reduced to a state of desolation, so that not only persons applying for admission were not received, but likewise those, who had from their infancy served God in them, were driven out and forced to beg from door to door.

(116) Whether the king took care to have a stop put to this abuse, we are not informed. To this period belonged the abbot Patrick, who is said to have flourished in 850, and to have left Ireland about that time, retiring to Glastonbury, where he died on a 24th of August. His history has been greatly obscured by his having been confounded by some Glastonian scribblers with our great apostle. (117) It does not appear that he became abbot of Glastonbury; but he had been an abbot in Ireland, and perhaps a bishop. He was apparently one of those, who fled from the fury of the Northmen; and it may be plausibly conjectured, that he was the same as Moel-Patrick, son of Fianchon, a bishop, anchorite, and abbot elect of Armagh, who died in 862, (118) There is no foundation for the opinion of some writers, that the abbot Patrick was the institutor of Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg; (119) and as to some writings attributed to him, the authority, on which they are, is such as to render them not worth inquiring into. (120)

Among the Irish emigrants of these times I find a pious and learned priest, named *Probus*, who must not be confounded with Probus the biographer of St. Patrick (121) He retired to the monastery of St. Alban of Mentz, where he died on the 26th of May, *A. D.* 859. He was very fond of classical studies, insomuch so that his friend Lupus of Ferrieres thought that he applied to them more than became an ecclesiastic, and composed many tracts, several of which seem to have been poetical. None of his works appear to be now extant. He is praised in the Annals of Fulda as a man of pure doctrine and holy life, who was an honour to the church of Mentz. (122)

(114) Mabillon says (*Annal. Ben. ad. A.* 867.) that Macarius, whose error was that there is but one soul in all men, was, perhaps, the Macarius to whom Rabanus dedicated his book *De Computo.*

Ratramn gave him the nickname *Baccharius*. Ratramn's tract against his disciple of Corbie was in an old MS. of the monastery of St. Eligius of Noyon. Harris in his incorrect account of Macarius (*Writers*) has changed it into a tract written by Macarius himself. But no account remains of any writings of Macarius, although he was a teacher.

(115) *Hist. Letter. Tom. v. p. 513.*

(116) This Capitular may be seen in Sirmond's collection under the head of 6th Capitular. It is also in Baluze's *Capitulari, Tom. 2. col. 34.* The hospitals are called *Hospitalia Scottorum*, that is, says Sirmond, *Hibernorum*, as he proves in his note, which has been copied by Baluze, *ib. col. 731.* See also Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. Liv. 48. §. 30.*

(117) See *Chap. vii. and ib. Not. 20.*

(118) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 366.* Their date is 861. yet, as Patrick of Glastonbury is said to have belonged to Rosdela, (see *Not. 18 and 20 to Chap. vii.*) it seems more probable, that he was different from Moel Patrick.

(119) See *Chap. vii. §. 14.*

(120) See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Patrick abbot.*

(121) We have already seen, (*Chap. iii. §. 3.*) that the author of the Life of St. Patrick, whose original name was *Coeneachair*, lived in the tenth century. Probably that was also the Irish name of the Probus we are now treating of.

(122) See *Histoire Letter. Tom. v. p. 209. seqq. at Probus,* and Mabillon, *Annal. &c. at A. 836.*

§. XIII. Of the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland for many years after about 852 very imperfect accounts remain. Mane, son of Huargusa, who became bishop of Emly in 850, (123) died in 857, and was succeeded by Coenfeolad who was also king of Cashel and lived until 872. (124) Aedgen surnamed *Brito*, apparently a Briton, scribe, anchoret, and bishop of Kildare, died in the 116th year of his age on the 18th of December, 863. (125) He was succeeded by Moengal, who lived until 870, and after whom was Robartach Mac-Naserda, who died in 874, and whose memory was revered on the 15th of Ja-

nuary. (126) Another bishop of Kildare, Lasran Mac-Mochtighern, is said to have died in the same year. Cathald Mac-Corbmac, bishop of Clonfert, a distinguished and eminent man died in 862. (127) A namesake of his was in these times bishop and abbot of Clondalkin, whose death is assigned to 876 (877). (128) Manchen, bishop of Leighlin, died in 864. (129) To the year 866 are affixed the deaths of St. Conall son of Fiachna prince of East Meath, and of the royal blood of Ireland, and bishop at Killskire five miles from Kells in Meath and the only bishop we meet with in that place; of St. Cormac Hua Liathain, an anchoret, abbot, and bishop, whose see I cannot discover; of Aidhechar a bishop and chronographer and abbot of Connor and Lannela; and of Robertach likewise a chronographer and bishop of Finglas. (130) Cormac Mac-Eladac, a scribe, abbot, and bishop of Saigir, died in 868, and in 872 Coenchamrac, bishop and abbot of Louth. (131) Fachtna, or rather Fethgna, who had succeeded Diermit at Armagh in 852, died on the 12th of February or 6th of October, 874. (132) In some of our annals he is styled "Comorban (heir) of St. Patrick and head of the religion (primate) of all Ireland," whence it may be concluded that, whatever opposition there was to the exercise of the rights of Armagh during the contests for the possession of that see, they were universally acknowledged in his time. He was succeeded by Annire, who held the see only nine months, and died in 874 or 875. (133) After him was Cathasach Mac-Robertach, whom we find called *prince* of Armagh. His incumbency lasted four years, and he died some time in 879, before the end of which year Moelcoba Mac-Crunnvail was archbishop of Armagh. For he is styled by that title, when in said year he was, together with Mochta or Mocteus, a lecturer of Armagh, made prisoner by the Northmen. (134) He is stated to have held the see for five years,

which agrees with his death being assigned to 885, or 886. (135)

(123) Above §. 3. (124) Ware, *Bishops at Emly*.

(125) *Idem* at Kildare from the 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p. 629*. Their date is 862 (863).

(126) See Ware *ib.* and 4 Masters, *ib.* who add that Robartach had been also a scribe, or doctor, and abbot of Achonry. They observe that Inis-Robartach, or the *island of Robartach*, got its name from him. Harris says, in his addition to Ware, that he did not know the situation of it. Perhaps it was the tract now called the *island of Allen* and surrounded by the bog of said name in the county of Kildare. There is a place in it called Robertstown 21 miles from Dublin.

(127) 4 Masters *ap. AA. p. 544 at A. 861 (862)*

(128) *ib.*

(129) *ib. p. 332. ad A. 863 (864)*. Ware (at Leighlin) has *A. 865*.

(130) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 784*. Besides Cormac Hua Liathain they have (*ib. p. 360*.) two other bishops Cormac prior to him, one a scribe and bishop at Kill-Fobric (barony of Ibrickan, county of Clare,) who died in 837 (838); and another a writer and bishop at Laithrigh-briuin in the country of the O'Foelans (see *ib. p. 541*.) and now county of Waterford, whose death they assign to 854 (855). Colgan (*Ind. Chron. ib.*) calls Aidhecar abbot of *Kill-elensis*; but this means the same as *Lann-ela*, whereas the Welsh word *Lan* or *Llan*, which was much used by the ancient Irish, corresponds to our *Kill* or *Kille*. Of these bishops Conal is the only one particularly treated of by Colgan, *viz.* at 28 March, the anniversary of his death.

(131) 4 Masters *ib. p. 360 and 473 ad A. 867 (868)*, and *p. 736 ad A. 871 (872)*. There were some other minor bishops in these times; but the names of almost all of them are unknown.

(132) See Ware at *Armagh* and *Tr. Th. p. 295 ad A. 873 (874)*. Colgan says that his memory was revered on the 12th of February. O'Flaherty (*MS. not. ib.*) remarks that he should have said 6th of October. But even supposing that Fethgna died on that day, his commemoration might have been on the day marked

by Colgan. Yet Colgan adds, that Fethgna died on the 12th of February.

(133) Ware and *Tr. Th. locc. citt.* The Cashel catalogue allows him one year, as it avoids fractional parts of the years.

(134) Usher, *Ind. Chron. ad. A. 879* from the Annals of Ulster.

(135) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p. 296* at *A. 885* (886) I have here followed the series of the catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel, which is preferred by Ware and Colgan. Harris has added certain dates for Cathasach and Moelcoba, which make Ware's statement appear very confused. The Annals of Ulster differ from the Cashel catalogue as to the succession of Anmire, &c. For they place Anmire after Moelcoba. Then in the 4 Masters we find dates disagreeing with those of other accounts, and which Colgan considers as wrong. Not being able to reconcile these jarring statements, I shall merely lay before the reader a system drawn up by O'Flaherty, which I find in a *MS.* note to *Tr. Th. p. 292.* It is this: Fethgna, who died in 874, was succeeded by Moelcoba, who having held the see until 879 was taken by the Northmen. In consequence of his captivity, Anmire was placed on the chair of Armagh, and after nine months possession died in said year 879, in which he was succeeded by Cathasach, who ruled for four years and died in 883. In another *MS.* note (*ib. p. 319.*) he says that Moelcoba lived after his captivity until 888.

§. xiv. Indrect, who was abbot of Hy in 849 (136) and a very wise man, suffered martyrdom through some Anglo-Saxons on the 12th of March, *A. D. 853.*

(137) What was the cause, or on what occasion, or where he was killed I cannot discover; but it could hardly have been on account of his faith, as the Anglo-Saxons were then Christians. Perhaps he was murdered by robbers; and it is known that in those times holy and distinguished men, so put to death, used to be called martyrs. His next successor at Hy was, in all appearance, Kellach, son of Alild, who was also abbot of Kildare, and who died in the country of the Picts in 865. (138) After him the abbot of Hy was Feradach, son of Cormac, who lived until 880. (139) During his administra-

tion, and in the year 878, the shrine and *relics* of St. Columba were brought to Ireland, lest these might fall into the hands of the Danes. (140) It can scarcely be doubted that it was on this occasion that the remains of St. Columba were deposited at Down, where those of St. Patrick had been from the beginning, and whither those of St. Bridget had been removed some not long time before. (141)

During this period Ireland herself had been greatly harassed by the Northmen. In 853 Amlave, *alias* Auliffe or Olave, a Norwegian prince, accompanied by two brothers of his, Sitric and Ivar, *alias* Iobhar, came to Ireland, and all the Northmen submitted to him, and he exacted contributions from the Irish. (142) Amlave took possession of Dublin, and Ivar of Limerick, which he built or rather enlarged; (143) and Sitric is said to have built Waterford. (144) In 856 a sharp war was carried on between them and Maelseachlin, king of Ireland, in which great numbers were slain on both sides; and in 857 there was fighting in Munster, during which Carthan Fionn with the Irish and Danes of his party were defeated by Ivar and Amlave, who afterwards in 859 ravaged Meath. (145) In 860 Maelseachlin defeated the Danes of Dublin, and in the same year a party of Danes assisted Aidus or Aedan Finnliath, son of the former king Niall Calne, in another devastation of Meath. It was through the assistance of Amlave and his followers that this Aidus was raised to the throne of Ireland in 863. (146) Yet he afterwards quarrelled with the Northmen, and joined Kieran son of Ronan and the Kinel-Eogain (the people of Tyrone) in a battle against them in 866, near Lough Foyle, in which they came off triumphant with the heads of 240 of the Northmen chiefs. (147) In 869 Amlave plundered Armagh, burned the town and all its sacred edifices, &c. and killed or made prisoners

about 1000 persons. (148) While in the year 870 he and Ivar were absent in North Britain, where they destroyed Alcluith or Dunbarton, the Irish king Aidus Finnliath laid waste Leinster from Dublin to Gowran, and soon after their return to Ireland in 871, with 200 ships, Amlave died. (149) Ivar then became king of all the Northmen in Ireland, but died in 873, in which year, while Donogh, son of Dubhdavoirean king of Cashel, and Carrol prince of Ossory, were devastating Connaught, the Danes of Dublin plundered Munster. (150) Then we find the Northmen fighting among themselves, as likewise the Irish, for instance, the Momonians against the people of Meath in 880.

(136) See above §. 2.

(137) *AA. SS. p. 254.* from the 4 Masters at *A. 852 (853.)*

(138) *Annals of Ulster at A. 864 (865).* The 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p. 500.* and 629. have *A. 863 (864).*

(139) *Annals of Ulster at A. 879 (880).* According to the 4 Masters, (*Tr. Th. p. 500.*) Feradach died in 877 (878).

(140) *Ib. at A. 877 (878).* The 4 Masters, (*loc cit.*) assign this removal to 875 (876). What I call *reliques*, Johnstone, (*Extracts, &c.*) calls *oaths*. See O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary. Compare with *Not. 27.* above.

(141) As to the time of the removal of St. Brigid's remains to Down, see *Not. 18.* to *Chap. VIII.* Colgan conjectures (*Tr. Th. p. 566.*) that the person, who removed them, was Keallach abbot of Kildare and Hy, who, as we have just seen, died in 865. With regard to those of St. Columba, O'Donnel relates (*Life of St. Col. B. 3. ch. 78.*) that they were brought to Down in the time of Mander the son of a Danish king, who was laying waste the northern parts of Britain and the island of Hy. He has a story, which we may pass by, about how the Danes threw the sarcophagus containing them into the sea, and how it floated to Down, where it was opened by the abbot of that place, &c. O'Flaherty. (*MS. Not. ad loc. Tr. Th. p. 446.*) marks *A. 875* as the year of this removal to Down, meaning the 875 (876) of the 4 Masters, for the transferring of the shrine, &c. to Ireland, which, however, the *Annals of Ulster* assign to 878.

(142) Annals of Ulster at 852 (853). They call Amlave *king of the Lochlanach*. In the annals of Innisfallen we read, according to Mr. O'Reilly's translation; "A. 853. Auliffe the king of Norway's son came this year into Ireland, accompanied in that expedition by his two brothers Sitric and Iobhar. The Danes and Norwegians submitted to him, and he was also paid tribute by the Irish."

(143) Were we to believe Giraldus Cambrensis, Sitric was the founder of Limerick. But we have seen (above §. 3.) that it was already a town, or, at least, a village, where Danish ships were stationed in the time of Turgesius. And hence also it appears, that the Northmen were in possession of it before 855, the year marked by Ferrar, *History of Limerick*, p. 5. He refers to Ware, who says nothing about the year 855. Ware indeed (*Antiq. cap. 24.* at A. 853.) quotes a passage from Giraldus, in which that author states, that Amlave built Dublin, Ivar, Limerick, &c. As to this building of Dublin, Giraldus was quite wrong; for from what has been seen (above §. 1. and 3.) it is plain that it was inhabited by the Northmen several years previous to the arrival of Amlave; and the Annals of Innisfallen affix their first taking possession of it to A. D. 837. It is, however, true that both Dublin and Limerick, which were inconsiderable places, before they were first occupied by the Northmen, were probably much enlarged by Amlave and Ivar.

(144) That Sitric was the founder of Waterford, as Giraldus says, seems to be universally allowed. Smith (*History of Waterford*, ch. 4.) assigns the foundation of it to A. 853. But it was probably somewhat later.

(145) Annals of Innisfallen, and Ware, *Antiq. cap. 24.*

(146) Annals of Innisfallen. Compare with *Chap. xx. §. 8.*

(147) *Ib.* at A. 866.

(148) *Ib.* at A. 869. and Ware *Antiq. cap. 24.* The Annals of Ulster (Johnstone's *Extracts*) and the 4 Masters, (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 295.*) assign this destruction of Armagh to A. 867 (868).

(149) See Annals of Innisfallen at 870, (871) and compare with Ware *ib.*

(150) *Ib.* at A. 873. Ware assigns the death of Ivar to 872.

§. xv. While this miserable state of affairs continued it might seem that studies of every sort were neglected in Ireland. But it does not appear that, with the exception of Armagh and Hy, the religious establishments and schools were much disturbed or nearly as much harassed as they had been in the times of Turgesius. And in fact, besides some learned men already mentioned, we find several others, who were distinguished in this period as scribes or doctors and writers. Luacharen a scribe of Clonmacnois died in 864; Martin of the same place and another Martin, scribe of Devenish, in 868; (151) Cobhtach Mac-Muredach, abbot of Kildare, and famous for his wisdom, in 869; (152) Dubthach scribe of Kill-achaid (county of Cavan) in 870; Robartach, a monk and scribe of Durrow (King's county) and a very exact chronographer in 871; Aidus scribe of Roscommon, and Torpadius of Tallaght in 873; Robartach O'Kearta scribe of Kill-achaid in 874; Domnald scribe of Cork in 875; Moelpatrick scribe of Trevet (Meath) in 885; Suibhne a celebrated doctor of Clonmacnois in 890, to whom we may add Soerbrethach of Cork, who died in 892. (153) Concerning these persons I do not find any thing particular related, and I have made mention of them merely to show that, notwithstanding the misfortunes of that period, schools were still kept up, and that Ireland could then boast not only of the learned men, who removed to foreign countries, but likewise of many others that remained at home.

Among the distinguished persons of the latter part of the ninth century, marked as saints in the Irish calendars, we meet with Suibhne O'Fionnachta, bishop of Kildare, who died in 879; Scannal, likewise bishop of Kildare, who died in 882; (154) Muredach son of Bran, a king of Leinster, and abbot of Kildare, whose death is assigned to 883, (155) as is also that of Tulelatia, abbess of its nunnery; and Moeldar, bishop of Clonmacnois, who died in 887.

(156) But the most celebrated saint of this period was Corbre, or Corpheus, surnamed *Crom*, that is *crooked* or *bent*, who succeeded Moeldar in the see of Clonmacnois. His reputation was so great, that he was called the *head of the religious of almost all the Irish of his time*. As no Acts of his are extant, I can only add, that he died in 900 on the 6th of March, the anniversary of which was celebrated as a festival at Clonmacnois.

(157)

(151) *Tr. Th. p. 632. and Ind. Chron.*

(152) *Ib. p. 629.*

(153) See *ib. p. 632. and Ind. Chron.* I have added a year to each of its dates. Suibne of Clonmacnois is spoken of under the name of *Swifne*, by some English annalists at *A. 891*, as the most skilful doctor of the Scoti or Irish, and the Annals of Ulster, marking his death, call him an anchoret and an excellent scribe. (See Usher, *p. 732.*) He was in all appearance the person; whom Caradoc of Lancarvan, quoted by Usher (*ib.*) calls *Subman Cubin*, and who, he says, being the greatest of the doctors of Scotia (Ireland) died in 889. Caradoc took this date from some Irish document, and it is the very one given for Suibhe's death by the 4 Masters, which, according to the usual method, I have changed into 890. It differs only by one year from that of those English annals. Florence of Worcester has a date different from both, *viz. A. 892.*

(154) 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p. 629 at A. 878 (879) and 881 (882).* Ware, (*Bishops at Kildare*) assigns the death of Suibhne O'Fionnachta to 880, and that of Scannal to 884.

(155) *Tr. Th. ib. A. 882 (883).* Archdall (*Monast. at Kildare*) has Muredach at *A. 882*; but he had him before at *A. 870*, where he calls him *Moreigh Mc. Broyn*, without any authority, although he strangely refers to *Tr. Th. p. 629*, where no such person is mentioned at that year. He says that Moreigh, *i. e.* Muredach, had been king of Leinster; but this is a mistake founded upon a typographical error in *Tr. Th. ib.* where *rex* appears instead of *regis*. And it is clear from the catalogue of the kings of Leinster,

(*ib.* p. 598.) that there was no Muredach, or Moreigh, son of Bran, or Broyn, among them.

(156) Four Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 509. ad 886 (887.)*

(157) See *AA. SS. ad 6 Mart.* where Colgan treats of St. Corpreus. I have added a year to his date from the 4 Masters. He relates a curious anecdote, which indeed we are not bound to believe, of Maelsechlain, who had been king of Ireland, appearing to the saint, and telling him that he was in purgatory together with the priest, who had been his confessor during his lifetime. It is added, that Corpreus prayed for the deliverance of the king, while his priests prayed for that of the quondam confessor, and that they were both freed from purgatory in the course of a year. Whatever may be thought of this narrative, it shows the practice of the times as to praying for the dead, which was observed in Ireland at much earlier periods. It is very odd, that Usher undertook (*Discourse of the Religion, &c. ch. 3.*) the hopeless task of endeavouring to prove that the ancient Irish did not pray for the dead; for, historically speaking, whether they were right or wrong, there is nothing more certain or more easily demonstrated than that they did. As to what he has about Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg not being as ancient as some had imagined, I agree with him; but, although he does not clearly explain himself, he must have known that said Purgatory was not considered as a habitation or receptacle of departed souls, but as a place where living persons might be purged from their sins. (See *Not. 154 to Chap. VII.*) Accordingly it has nothing to do with the question relative to any future state of mankind or to prayers for the dead. The passage quoted by Usher from the book *De tribus habitaculis*, ascribed to St. Patrick, proves nothing on either side of this question. It states that there are three regular habitations established by God, *viz.* heaven, earth, and hell; that the just are placed in heaven, the wicked in hell, and that on the earth there is a mixture of good and bad persons, and that out of it the two other places are supplied. What has this to do with what the Catholics call *Purgatory*, which not to enter into school questions as to locality, &c was never supposed to be a regular or permanent habitation or state, but a passage, through which some souls should pass before their entering the kingdom of heaven, and which neither was nor is visited by the far greatest part of mankind. The author says,

that the just are raised to heaven, but does not state that they are so *immediately* on their exit from this life. Now this is the great point at issue, *viz.* whether *all* the just, that is, *all* those who die in the state of grace, without considering their greater or lesser degrees of perfection, proceed indiscriminately to heaven as soon as they leave this world. Concerning this point there is nothing in that passage; and accordingly, as I said, it affords no argument on either side. This observation equally applies to some short passages quoted by Usher from other writers, which are quite irrelevant to the question concerning prayers for the dead, and which I shall not trouble the reader with examining. It was very unfair for Usher to refer to the Greeks against Purgatory; for he well knew that, although they do not admit purgatorial fire, which, however, did not prevent their union with the Latins at the council of Florence, they have always prayed and do still pray for the dead. As to what he has against Bellarmine concerning an argument in favour of Purgatory from the visions of St. Fursey I shall not dwell on it, merely observing that he himself gives a passage from them, which certainly seems to confirm that doctrine. To get rid of said passage he tells us, that God's justice was sufficiently satisfied by the sufferings of Christ, and that man need not give further satisfaction thereunto by penal works or sufferings either here, or in the other world. This is a glorious doctrine for sinners, as if, because Christ suffered for them, they should not make any atonement for their transgressions. It is true, that every exertion of man to satisfy the divine justice would be useless, had not Christ by his sufferings appeased his heavenly father, and thus enabled man to appear before the throne of mercy in the confident hope that, through the merits of Christ, his works and penitential feelings and sufferings may procure for him forgiveness from his Creator. But in Usher's system the sinner may sit down quiet and easy, and do no more than merely cease to sin, saying to himself; *Christ has suffered for me; I am not bound to give myself the trouble of any atonement or penitential task; I need not pray, fast, &c.* Why then has the Christian church from its very commencement constantly held that, notwithstanding all that our Saviour has done for us, sinners should make some atonement for their transgressions, which might serve as a laborious cleansing of their souls, a proof of their conversion, and an antidote against relapse? Why

has there been established during the whole course of the Church such a multitude of penitential regulations to be observed by repentant sinners? Usher was well acquainted with them, but must have looked up to them as useless, nay unjust. For, in fact, his principle was the monstrous tenet of *imputed righteousness*, that bane of true Christianity and morality, a doctrine which excludes the necessity of any penitential sufferings or mortification on the part of man, as it does also the existence of a state of purgation after death. For, to quote a passage from a tract, which I wrote some years ago, (*Introduction, by Irenaeus, to the Protestant Apology for the Roman Catholic Church*) “ if a person be reputed just
“ only by outward imputation, there can be no gradation of sanc-
“ tity; whatever may be the habits of different persons, their
“ justification must be the same, because no sentiments or deeds
“ of their own are at all looked to or required in the work of
“ righteousness, as being not inherent in their souls, but simply
“ an external remission of sin. Thus Christians of every sort are
“ placed on one level, and they are either absolutely and uncon-
“ ditionally pardoned, or not pardoned at all. Accordingly after
“ death they must proceed straight forward either to heaven or
“ hell. If no process for cleansing the soul, by penitential suffer-
“ ings and actions indicating real repentance, be requisite upon
“ earth, it is not to be supposed that it will take place in the
“ other world.” Usher well understood the tendency of this doctrine towards the denial of any purgation of souls after death; for he says that it is upon the opposite doctrine, *viz.* that which requires penal works or sufferings from man, notwithstanding the sufferings of Christ, that the Romanists, as he calls them, do lay the frame of their purgatory.

He was obliged to acknowledge that the ancient Irish used to offer the sacrifice, *i. e.* celebrate Mass for departed souls; but he pretends that this was done only for such souls as were supposed to be in a state of bliss, and that it was a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their salvation rather than of propitiation for their sins. If such was the only object the Irish had in view, when offering the sacrifice for the dead, or commemorating them in their prayers, they differed from all other Christians in the world. For, as even Bingham (*Origines, &c. B. xv. ch. 3.*) admits, notwithstanding his evasions, even the souls of persons called sinners, that is, not great

sinner but imperfect Christians, were prayed for both in public and private. Thus St. John Chrysostom, (*Hom. 41. in I. Cor.*) who is quoted by Bingham, speaking against immoderate sorrow for the death of sinners says; “ they are not so much to be lamented, as succoured with prayers, supplications, alms, and oblations. For these things were not designed in vain, neither is it without reason that we make mention of the deceased in the holy mysteries, interceding for them to the Lamb that is slain to take away the sins of the world; but that some consolation may hence arise to them. Neither is it in vain that he, who stands at the altar when the tremendous mysteries are celebrated, cries; *We offer unto thee for all those that are asleep in Christ, and all that make commemorations for them.* For if there were no commemorations made for them, these things would not be said.—Let us not therefore grow weary in giving them our assistance, and offering prayers for them. For the *common propitiation of the whole world* is now before us. Therefore we now pray for the whole world and name them with martyrs, with confessors, with priests; for we are all one body, though one member be more excellent than another, and we may obtain a *general pardon for them by our prayers, by our alms, by the help of those that are named together with them.*” Who, but a fool, could imagine that Chrysostom did not mean a sacrifice and prayers of propitiation? Or what is to be thought of the following plain words of St. Augustin (*Enchirid. cap. 110*)? “ When the sacrifices of the altar or alms are offered for all the deceased, who had been baptized, they are for the very good *thanksgivings*, and for those, who were not very bad, they are *propitiations.*” St. Cyprian distinguishes oblations and sacrifices of thanksgivings, as, *ex. c.* for the martyrs, from those of supplications and prayers for the less perfect departed souls. When Tertullian says (*De Monogamia, cap. 10.*) that “ every woman prays for the soul of her deceased husband, and meanwhile requests relief for him and a share in the first resurrection, and makes offerings for him on the anniversaries of his death,” who is the polemic bigoted or silly enough to tell us, that her prayers and offerings were of thanksgiving, not of propitiation? Were I arguing controversially, I could say a great deal more on these subjects; but I have stated this much merely to show, how Usher

has misrepresented the practice and doctrine of the ancient Irish church.

The truth is that the Irish had, like all other Christians, sacrifices and prayers, both of thanksgiving and of propitiation. Some of the cases referred to by Usher were relative to thanksgiving, although not all of them, particularly that of Magnus, concerning whom he quotes these words addressed by him a little before his death to Tozzo bishop of Augsburg: "Do not weep, reverend prelate, because thou beholdest me labouring in so many storms of worldly troubles; because I believe in the mercy of God, that my soul shall rejoice in the freedom of immortality. Yet I beseech thee, that thou wilt not cease to help me a sinner and my soul with thy holy prayers." So far from this passage favouring Usher's thanksgiving system, it is evidently against it; for it is plain that Magnus alluded to prayers to be said for him after his death. Now the prayers, which he requested, were, as is clear from the import of the words, those of propitiation; and indeed it would be very odd were they not; for who would presume to call for a thanksgiving to be made for him after his death, as if he were absolutely certain of enjoying eternal happiness? As to what occurred after the death of Magnus, and the nature of the salutary sacrifices offered for him, it is not necessary to inquire; for, if Usher had produced fifty cases of sacrifices and prayers of *thanksgiving*, they would not exclude those also of *propitiation*. He allows, that prayers for the dead, and masses for the repose of departed souls, or, as he calls them, *Requiem masses*, used to be observed in those times; and yet he states in a confidential tone, that they had no necessary relation to the belief of *Purgatory*. How he quibbles, in his usual way on the name *Purgatory*? Had he said, that they had no relation to the school questions concerning where or how *Purgatory* is or is not constituted, the nature of its punishments, its duration, &c. or to the question between the Greeks and Latins as to purgatorial fire, nobody would quarrel with him; but his real intention was not merely to reject that name, but likewise what it was framed to signify, *viz.* a state, in which some souls are detained before they are allowed to enter the kingdom of heaven. How then could he have reconciled his admitting the practice of *Requiem masses*, that is, *Masses*, in which, as is clear from the prayers contained in them, the relief

of the deceased was actually prayed for, with his opinion that no such relief was wanted? The Irish had such Masses from a very ancient period, and we find them spoken of in the Penitential of Cumean, (*Cap. 14.*) which was written most probably in the seventh century. (See to *Not. 55 Chap. xv.*) In it various days are marked for those Masses according as the deceased were monks or lay persons. They are also in a very ancient Missal, which Mabillon found at Bobio, and which he published in the first volume of his *Musaeum Italicum*. He calls it *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*, although he acknowledges that it differs in some respects from the old Gallican Missal as it does in many, from the Roman, Ambrosian, &c. He thought that it was used in the province, of which Besançon was the capital, and in which was situated St. Columbanus' monastery of Luxeu. There can scarcely be a doubt of its having been written by an Irishman, as Dr. O'Connor shows (*Ep. Nuncupator, &c. ad Rer. Hibern. Scriptor. p. cxxx. seqq.*) from the orthography and the form of the letters being exactly the same as what we find in old MSS. which are well known to be Irish. He thinks it was a portable Missal for the Irish of Luxeu and Bobbio. Be this as it may, we may be sure from its having been copied by an Irishman, that it was used by Irish priests. Mabillon pronounced it to be a thousand years old before his time; and it appears very probable that it was written before the death of St. Columbanus, whose name does not occur in it, as in all appearance it would had he been then dead. We find in it various prayers containing supplications to God for the pardon of the deceased, for the remission of their sins and debts, indulgence towards them, &c. Thus in a Mass for the dead, entitled "*Pro defunctis*," these words occur in the prayer, called *Contestatio*; "Tribuos ei (famulo tuo defuncto) Domine delictorum suorum veniam in illo secreto receptacolo, ubi jam non est locus poenitentiae---Tu autem Christe recipe animam famoli tui il. quam dedisti, et demitte ejus debita magis quam ille demisit debitoribus suis." And in a Mass for both the living and dead, *Pro vivis et defunctis*, we read in the first prayer; "Concede propitius, ut haec sacra oblatio mortuis prosit ad veniam, et vivis proficiat ad salutem. And in the *Contestatio* the priest asks, both for the dead and living, "remissionem peccatorum, indulgentiam quam semper optaverunt," &c. But of this Missal see more below.

Chap. xxxii. §. 10. Among the canons of the Synod, called of St. Patrick, the 12th (see Ware's *Opusc. S. P. p. 34.*) is entitled *Of the oblation for the dead*, and is thus expressed: "Hear the Apostle saying, *there is a sin unto death, I do not say that for it any one do pray.* And the Lord; *Do not give the holy to dogs.* For he, who will not deserve to receive the sacrifice during his life, how can it help him after his death?" This canon most clearly shows, that the sacrifice used to be offered as propitiatory towards the relief of the deceased, and of all such as were supposed, while alive, to be worthy of being admitted to the holy communion. It was celebrated for the purpose of *helping* them; but, according to the universal practice of the Church, it was not offered for those, whom it could not *help*, that is, impenitent sinners, who were unworthy of receiving it during their lifetime. Usher, well knowing that this canon was directly contrary to his system of the sacrifice not being offered for the dead, except by way of thanksgiving, took care not to quote it. He understood these matters better than poor Harris, who (*Bishops, p. 26.*) thought that it furnished an additional proof to those of Usher against prayers for the dead. It certainly furnishes a proof against praying for the damned, while at the same time it supplies us with an incontrovertible one to show, that the Irish used to offer the sacrifice and pray for such deceased persons as were not supposed to be in hell. We read in the very ancient *Life of St. Ita*, who lived in the sixth century, that she prayed during a considerable time for the soul of her uncle, who was suffering in the lower regions, while his sons were giving alms towards the same object. (See *Chap. xi. §. 2.*) Would Usher say, that these prayers and alms were by way of thanksgiving? When St. Pulcherius, as is stated in his also ancient *Life*, and who died in the seventh century, used to pray for the repose of the soul of Ronan chieftain of Ele, and recommend it to the prayers of the people, although, by the bye, he was not distinguished as a holy man, (see *Chap. xvii. §. 5.* and the *Life of Pulcherius, cap. 18.*) will it be said that these were prayers of thanksgiving? I might appeal also to a *Life of St. Brendan*, in which, as Usher himself quotes, alluding to the relief of deceased persons from torments, it is stated *that the prayer of the living doth profit much the dead.* As to said *Life* containing some fables, that is not the question; and the only inquiry

should be, what was, whether amidst fabulous narratives or not, the belief and practice of the ancient Irish with regard to offering the sacrifice and praying for deceased persons. Now, what entirely overturns Usher's quibbles with regard to reducing all such prayers to thanksgivings, we have a canon of an Irish synod prior to the eighth century, in which the oblations for departed souls are expressly distinguished, according to the circumstances of the souls, into those of thanksgiving and into others for obtaining full remission for them, or for lightening their sufferings. This canon may be seen at full below *Chap. xxxii. §. 12.* and *ib. Not. 103.* Not wishing to enlarge more on this subject, I shall now leave the reader to judge for himself.

CHAP. XXII.

Succession of kings of Cashel—Deaths of bishops of different sees in Ireland—and of abbots of Hy—Ernulph and Buo, Irishmen, distinguish themselves by their zeal for religion in Iceland—Several religious houses devastated and plundered by the Danes—Cormac Mac Cuilinan king and bishop of Cashel—Cashel not an episcopal see before the time of this prelate—Flahertach abbot of Iniscathy—Cormac's chapel at Cashel—Succession of the bishops of Emly still kept up after Cashel had become a bishop's see—Several illustrious Irishmen in the Continent—Sealbhach secretary to Cormac Mac Cuilionan—Succession of Irish monarchs—Deaths of several bishops, abbots, and learned men in the 10th century—Devastations and plunders by the Danes in Ireland in that century—Conversion of the Danes of Dublin to Christianity—Foundation of the Abbey of St. Mary's, Dublin—Danes defeated in several engagements by the Irish—Deaths of more bishops, abbots, and learned men—Brian Boroimhe king of Munster—seizes on Mac-Giolla-Patrick—defeats the Danes in several battles—Hy plundered, and fifteen of the elders put to death by the Danes.

SECT. I.

COENFOELAD, bishop of Emly, and king of Cashel, who died in 872, (1) was succeeded by Rudgal Mac-Fingail, (2) whose death is assigned to 882, and next after whom was Concenmathair, who died in 887, and had for successor Eugene Mac-Cenfoelad, who is called prince of Emly and was killed in 889. (3) After him we must place Maelbrigid, the son of one Prolech, a holy man, to whom some have given the title of archbishop of Munster. His death is marked at *A. D.* 896. (4) He was succeeded by Miscel, who died in 898. (5) Cormac, bishop of Duleek, and abbot of Clonard, died in 883. (6) Largis, bishop of Kildare, was killed by the Danes in 886. (7) This was most probably the last year of Moelcoba Mac-Crunnvail, archbishop of Armagh, (8) whose immediate successor was, according to some of our annalists, Mocta; but there is much better reason to believe, that his next successor was Maelbrigid. (9) This prelate, who is reckoned among the Irish saints, was son of Tornan or Dornan of the royal house of Niall, and a descendant of Conal Gulbanus. He had been abbot, apparently of Derry, and abbot also of Raphoe, before he was raised to the see of Armagh. (10) A great riot and fight having occurred on Whitsunday in the year 890 (11) between the Kinel-Eogains, or Tyronians, and the Ulidians, or East Ulster men, in the cathedral of Armagh, Maelbrigid had influence enough to put a stop to it, and to induce both parties to make due compensation for the crime of having profaned the church. It is related of him, that on a certain occasion he went as far as Munster for the purpose of procuring the deliverance of a British stranger from prison. His reputation for piety was so great, that he was called the *head of religion*, that is, the most religious person, not only of

all Ireland, but of the greater part of Europe. He held the see until his death, which occurred on the 22d of February in, according to one account, 926, and, according to another 927. (12) Thus his incumbency must have lasted about 40 years. (13) Alild, a scribe, abbot, and bishop of Clogher, died in 898, (14) as did in the very last year of the century Dungal Mac-Baithen, abbot and bishop of Glendaloch. (15)

(1) See *Chap. xxi. §. 13.*

(2) I strongly suspect that Rudgal Mac-Fingail was either a converted Northman or the son of one. *Fingail*, or *White foreigners* was the well known appellative of a certain description of them, and is still retained in a tract of country possessed by them near Dublin. And the name *Rudgal* is much more Northmannic than it is Irish. Although the bulk of the Northmen settled in Ireland were still pagans, yet we may rationally suppose, that some of them became Christians, were they no others than the sons of such as had been taken in battle, many of whom were most probably about Emly and Cashel after the victories of Olchobar. Rudgal is the first person bearing a Northmannic name, whom I have met with as a Christian in our history.

(3) Ware, *Bishops at Emly.*

(4) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 387, at A. 895 (896).* Ware has not Maelbrigid among the bishops of Emly, but Harris has added him to his list. The 4 Masters do not place him at Emly, but by styling him *archbishop of Munster* they must have meant that see, as in those times no other Munster prelates were, even by courtesy, ever honoured with that title except those of Emly.

(5) Ware at *Emly.*

(6) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 360 at A. 882 (883.)* Harris has this bishop at *Meath, p. 139.*

(7) *Tr. Th. p. 629. at A. 885 (886.)* The Annals of Innisfallen assign his death to *A. 888.*

(8) See *Chap. xxi. §. 13.*

(9) Ware observes, (*Bishops at Armagh*) that some Irish analysts have the following succession after Moelcoba; 1. Mocta, who died in 889; 2. Moelathgen, who died in 890; 3. Kellach

Mac-Saorgus, who died in 898, or, as others say, in 903; 4. Moel-Kiaran Mac-Eogain, who died in 914 or 915. He adds, that these are not reckoned by others among the archbishops of Armagh, and that they were considered only as suffragans of Maelbrigid. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 296.*) have Mocta, whom they call *bishop, anchorit, and scribe of Armagh.* Colgan leaves the matter undecided; but O'Flaherty in a MS. note (*ib.*) asserts, that Mocta was not a bishop. This Mocta was, in all appearance, the person who was taken by the Danes together with Moelcoba Mac-Crumvail. (See *Chap. xx1. §. 13.* They have also Moelathgen as bishop of Armagh, and assign his death to 890 (891). Yet they had just before spoken of Maelbrigid as bishop and comorban of St. Patrick in 889 (890) and hence Colgan concludes that Moelathgen was only a suffragan or coadjutor of his. O'Flaherty (*MS. note*) holds that Moelathgen was a real bishop of Armagh, and that he was the immediate predecessor of Maelbrigid, placing his death in 891. The 4 Masters next have Kellach Mac-Saorgus, but not Moel-Kiaran, and afterwards treat of Maelbrigid. Amidst this confusion the best rule to follow is the catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel, which places Maelbrigid immediately after Maelcoba. Colgan himself prefers its authority to that of the annalists, particularly where he treats of Maelbrigid or St. Maelbrigid, *AA. SS. ad 22 Februar.*

(10) The 4 Masters call Maelbrigid *comorban, (i. e. successor)* of saints Patrick, Columba, and Adamnan. As to his being a successor of Columba, Colgan, at his *Acts*, refers it to Derry, and, I think, with good reason. For it cannot be supposed that he was at any time abbot of Hy. We have seen (*Chap. xx1. §. 14.*) that the successor of Kellach at Hy was Feradach, who lived until 880, after whom the Annals of Ulster, which are very particular as to the succession at Hy, make mention of Flan Mac-Maoledrin, who was abbot there until 891. Now in this year Maelbrigid was already archbishop of Armagh, and being in that rank could not be invested with the government of Hy, which was always reserved to a priest. Nor do the said annals exhibit Maelbrigid as having been there, notwithstanding their also making him a comorban of Columba. It may be said that Maelbrigid, although he had not been abbot of Hy, was a successor of Columba, not at Derry but at Durrow, (King's county) the other chief monastery of that saint in

Ireland. Yet considering that Maelbridgid was also at Raphoe, it is much more probable, considering its being not far from Derry, that this was the place, of which he had been abbot. It is odd that Colgan, in his account of the abbots and other distinguished persons of Hy, reckons (*Tr. Th. p. 509.*) Maelbridgid among them, notwithstanding what he says of him in his *Acts*. He does not indeed call him *abbot* of Hy; but he should not have placed him there at all. Yet he has been followed by Smith, *Append. to Life of St. C. p. 167.* Maelbridgid's being called successor also of Adamnan is relative to his having been abbot of Raphoe, of whose monastery Adamnan had been the founder and was the patron saint. Harris had no right to make him bishop of Raphoe (*Bishops at Armagh, p. 46.* and at *Raphoe p. 270*) on the supposition that its monastery had been already raised to an episcopal see by St. Eunan. For this he had no authority whatsoever; nor does any one know at what time St. Eunan lived. (Compare with *Not. 59.* to *Chap. xviii.*)

(11) Four Master *ap. Tr. Th. p. 290.* at *A. 889* (890). O'Flaherty (*MS. note ib.*) assigns it to 892. I suspect that his only reason for this date was, that the placing of the riot in 890 would not agree with his hypothesis of making Moelathgen archbishop of Armagh predecessor of Maelbridgid. (See *Not. 9.*)

(12) The 4 Masters (*ib.*) have 925 (926); and the Ulster Annals (*ap. Ware at Armagh*) 926 (927).

(13) Colgan, (*Acts 22 Febr.*) gives him exactly 40 years, which he reckoned from 885 (886) to 925 (926). But in the Cashel catalogue for his administration we find marked only 29 years. Harris (*Bishops at Maelbridgid*) conjectures, that there is an erratum in the xxix of said catalogue, and that, instead of 1, we should read x, thus making the whole xxx. This is certainly a probable correction.

(14) Ware (at *Clogher*) from the annals of Ulster. Yet Colgan *AA. SS. p. 742.*) places, as if from the 4 Masters, Alild's death at 867 (868). There seems to be some mistake in his printed text; for after Alild we find the death of one Moran, abbot of Clogher, affixed to *A. 841* (842).

(15) Four Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 257.*) at *A. 899* (900); and Harris (*Bishops at Glendaloch*).

§. II. The abbot of Hy Feradach, son of Cormac, who, as we have seen, (16) died in 880, was succeeded by Flan Mac-Maol-edrin, who died in 891. (17) He was a descendant of Conal Gulbanus, the ancestor of St. Columba; and his memory was revered on the 24th of April. (18) After Flan I find mentioned not as abbot, but as coadjutor of the abbot of Hy, Aengus, son of Murchertach, who is styled a choice anchorite, and who died in 936; after whom occurs in the list Caincomrach, who is expressly called abbot of Hy, and whose death is assigned to 946. (19)

In, as it is said, the latter end of the ninth century, that is, after 874, when the Norwegians were in possession of Iceland, (20) two Irishmen, Ernulph and Buo, distinguished themselves in that island by their zeal for religion. (21) It is not known whether they were clergymen or not, and it is probable that they had been taken to Iceland as captives by some Norwegian pirates. All that I find stated concerning them is as follows: " Helgo, surnamed " Biola, a descendant of Norwegian barons, who " dwelt in the province of Kialarn, was not favour- " able to the pagan religion; for he received into " his neighbourhood an Irish christian an exile, " named Ernulph, together with his families, and " not only received him but allowed him to erect a " church under the name of St. Columbus (Colum- " ba) in the village of Esiuberg. Buo, a young man " *also of the same province*, burned a famous fane " of human victims and all its gods." (22)

Three Irishmen, or Scots of Ireland, are particularly noticed by various English annalists as having set out from Ireland in 891 or 892 in a leathern boat without a sail or any equipment, taking with them a week's provision, and as providentially arriving, after seven days, in Cornwall, whence they proceeded to pay a visit to king Alfred, by whom they were most graciously received. Their names

were *Dufflan*, *Macheathath* and *Magilmunen*, who is represented as a man of extraordinary merit, and a celebrated master of the Scots or Irish. (23) Afterwards they went to Rome, intending to proceed thence to Jerusalem. One of them died during their excursions, and some miracles are mentioned as having been wrought in consequence of his death. (24)

(16) *Chap.* xxi. §. 14.

(17) *Annals of Ulster in Johnstone's Extracts.* The 4 Masters, who call him son of Malduin, assign (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 500) his death to *A.* 887 (888).

(18) *Tr. Th. p.* 481.

(19) *Ib. p.* 500. I have added a year to the dates. Could Caincomrach have been the immediate successor of Flan? If so, he must have governed Hy for 55 years from 891 to 946. Or was there between them an abbot, whose name has not reached us, and for whom Aengus acted as coadjutor? Smith (*App. to Life of St. C. p.* 167.) makes mention of Dubhard, comorban of Columbkil and Adamnan, who died in 937. But his being called comorban of Columbkil, does not prove, that he was abbot of Hy, no more than it does that of Maolbrigid, archbishop of Armagh, had been such; and we meet with, at a later period, a Muredach, likewise called comorban of Columbkil, and Adamnan, who was certainly not abbot of Hy. By that title was meant, I believe, one who was abbot both of Derry and Raphoe. In the *Annals of Ulster* the real abbots of Hy are always named as such. The 4 Masters have not Dubhard among them.

(20) See *Not. 32 to Chap. xx.*

(21) Colgan treats of Ernulph at the 2d, and of Buo at the 5th of February. His reason for treating of the former at the 2d was not, that he knew on what day he died, or whether his name was in any calendar or not, but because a St. Erlulph, martyr, bishop of Verdun, whom he thought a native of Ireland, is marked in a German calendar at that day. Accordingly, on account of the similarity of the name, he has Ernulph, as well as Erlulph at 2d Febr. As to Erlulph having been an Irishman, there is no sufficient proof, although Crantz says that he was either a Scot or an Englishman. He was killed by the Northmen at Ebbeckstorp, not

far from Hamburgh, in, it is said, the year 856. The accounts given of him are rather obscure, and unsupported by ancient documents. (See the Bollandists at 2 *February*.) With regard to Ernulph, were we to judge from the name, it might seem that he was not an Irishman; but he is expressly so called, and probably his real name was *Ernuf* or *Ernubh*, which, conformably to a Northern termination, was changed into *Ernulph* in the same manner as *Mailduf*, or *Maildubh*, was changed into *Maildulph*. (See *Not.* 62 to *Chap.* xviii.) Why Buo should be marked at 5 February or styled a saint, Colgan gives us no other authority than that of Camerarius on a Scotch martyrology and of Dempster.

(22) *Acts of Ernulph and Buo* from Arngrim Jonas. Although Colgan, with others makes Buo an Irishman, yet Arngrim's words, *also of the same province*, may be conjectured to refer not to Ireland but to the Icelandic province of Kialarn. But the stress intimated by *also, quoque*, leads us to think, that the author's meaning was to point out Buo as a countryman of Ernulph. It is going rather too far to call Ernulph and Buo the *Apostles of Iceland*. The little that is known of them does not authorize us to give them that title, which was bestowed on them by the above-mentioned Scotch writers, who, in spite of Arngrim, pretended that they were Scotchmen. We have seen (*Chap.* xx. §. 4.) that there were Christians and Irish missionaries in Iceland a long time before either of them was born. And as to the re-establishment of Christianity in Iceland after its occupation by the Norwegians, Ara states, (*Schedae, &c.* ch. 7.) that it was introduced during the reign of Olaus Tryggvon, king of Norway, a great grandson of Harold Harfagre, by persons, among whom he makes no mention either of Ernulph or of Buo. Olaus was killed in battle *A. D.* 1000. Whether Colgan and those whom he followed were right in making the times of Ernulph, Buo, and Helgo Biola as early as about 890 it is not worth while to inquire. The Bollandists (at 2 *Febr.*) omit Ernulph, and observe (*ib.* p. 267.) that some more certain information, relative to him, was requisite than that supplied by Dempster and Colgan. And (at 5 *Febr.* p. 593.) speaking of Buo, whom also they omit, they say that there is as little clear or authentic known concerning him as there is about Ernulph. Dempster, with his usual imposture, makes Buo author of *Homiliae ad Islandos*. (See Harris. *Writers* at *Buo*.)

(23) It is thus they are mentioned by Fabius Ethelwerd, (*Chron. ad A. 891, or 892*) who says of Magilmunen that he was "*artibus frondens, littera doctus, magister insignis Scottorum.*" Florence of Worcester (at *A. 892.*) calls them *Dusblan, Mahbeth, and Mulmulin.* He says that they left Ireland for the purpose of leading a life of pilgrimage. Perhaps they were obliged to fly by the Northmen; and hence we may account for their going in a sorry boat without proper equipment. Matthew of Westminster assigns their departure to *A. 891.* Ethelwerd speaking, in his bad Latin, of their visit to Alfred, says; "*Aelfredum adeunt regem, in quorum advectionum cum rege pariter sinelitus ovat.*" Ledwich, whose hatred of the old Irish has made him advance so much nonsense, pretends (*Antiq. p. 180.*) that the names of these three Irishmen intimate a Danish or Norwegian extraction. Now, if there ever were true Irish names, surely theirs were such. Can any name be more Irish than *Dufflan, Black Flan?* Or does the *Mac* of the other names, or *heathath, &c.* indicate a Danish origin? Did the Doctor ever look into a Danish dictionary?

(24) I have endeavoured to pick out what is said of this death from the barbarous style of Ethelward; but I am not sure of having hit upon his real meaning.

§. III. The troubles caused by the Northmen still continued. In 884 they plundered Kildare, and carried off to their ships the prior Suibhne, son of Duibhdabhaireann, besides 280 other persons. (25) In 887 they laid waste and pillaged Ardraccan in Meath; (26) and in the following year, as some say, or, as others, in 886 a great battle was fought between Flan, king of Ireland, and the Danes of Dublin, who, it is said, gained a bloody victory, while there fell on the part of the Irish, Aedh, son of Conor, king of Connaught, Largis, or Leargus, bishop of Kildare, and Donogh son of Maolduin, prince of Kill-Dealga. (27) Kildare was again devastated by the Danes in 888; and in the following year Clonard. (28) According to one account, the Danes of Dublin, proceeded in 891 to Armagh, and, having plundered the city and destroyed various

sacred buildings, took with them 710 captives ; but another account assigns this transaction to *A. D.* 895. (29) It is added that it was pillaged again in 894 by Northmen, who came from Lough-foyle ; yet it is more probable, that this happened in 898. (30) In the year 896 the Northmen of Tirconnel suffered a dreadful defeat, in which two of their chiefs, Auliffe son of Ivar, and Gluntradna son of Gluniaran, besides 800 of their followers, were killed by the Irish commanded by Aiteid son of Laghan. (31) The power of these marauders was gradually diminishing, and would have declined still faster, were not the Irish quarreling among themselves. In 902 they were slaughtered by the people of Leinster, and the whole of them were driven out of Ireland. (32) Those of Dublin were expelled by the men of Bregh, headed by Maol-Finia (or Finnian) son of Flanagan, who had been killed in 896, (33) and by the inhabitants of Leinster commanded by Carrol. (34) It was, in all probability, after this exploit that Maol-Finnian became a monk and abbot of Inis-Patrick (Holmpatrick), where he died in great reputation of sanctity, *A. D.* 903, (35) on the 6th of February, at which day his name occurs in various calendars both Irish and foreign. (36)

(25) Four Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 629. at 883 (884).

(26) *Ib. p.* 663 and *Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 886 (887).

(27) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 888. They are followed by Ware, (*Antiq. cap* 24). The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 629) assign this battle to 885 (886). Largis has been mentioned above §. 1.

(28) Four Masters (*ib.*) *A.* 887 (888). and in *AA. SS. p.* 407. at *A.* 888 (889).

(29) The 4 Masters (*ib. p.* 296.) have *A.* 890 (891) while the Annals of Ulster have *A.* 894 (895), and are followed by Ware, (*loc. cit.*) who, however, tells us elsewhere (*Bishops of Armagh at Maelbrigid*) that Armagh was plundered by the Danes in 890. But he took this from what he found in Colgan from the 4 Masters,

to whose date I should prefer those of the Ulster Annals. As to the 710 captives, who, according to the 4 Masters, were taken at Armagh, the Annals of Ulster do not mention this circumstance, but state that in the year 895 (896) Gluniarn, a Northman chief, gained a victory, but where we are not told, in which he made 710 prisoners.

(30) The 4 Masters, *ib.* have *A.* 893 (894). Neither in the Annals of Ulster, nor in Ware, (*Antiq.*) is this devastation mentioned, although (at *Bishops loc. cit.*) following Colgan as before, he says that the Danes plundered Armagh also in 893. That some Northmen, who came from Lough-foyle, sacked Armagh cannot be denied; but, considering that this occurred after the plundering by the Dublin Danes, which, in all probability, was in 895, it must be placed later than marked by the 4 Masters; and, in fact, the Annals of Innisfallen assign it to *A.* 898.

(31) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 896. This victory is mentioned also in the Ulster Annals, which have at 895 (896); "The Gàls defeated by the men of Tirconnel under Mac-Laigur (for son of Laghan), who killed Auliffe son of Ivar." At said year these annals state, that Flanagan, king of Bregh (the country stretching from Dublin to Drogheda) was killed by the Northmen.

(32) Annals of Innisfallen *A.* 902, and of Ulster at *A.* 901 (902.)

(33) See *Not.* 31.

(34) Annals of Ulster, *ib.*

(35) *Ib.* at *A.* 902 (903).

(36) Colgan touching on him (*AA. SS.* at 6 *Febr.* p. 268.) calls him St. Finnian or Moelfinnian, who, from prince of Bregh became a monk, &c. The 4 Masters, whom he quotes, assign his death to 898 (899); but this cannot agree with his having fought against the Danes in 902. It is odd that the dates of the 4 Masters are usually earlier by some years than those of the annals both of Ulster and Innisfallen. To the many instances we have met with I may here add that for the death of Bressal, a lecturer of Armagh, which (*ap. Tr. Th.* p. 296.) they assign to *A.* 894 (895); whereas, according to the Ulster Annals (*ap. Usher, Pr.* p. 861.) he died in 898 (899).

§. iv. By far the most celebrated man of these

times in Ireland was Cormac Mac-Culinan, who was not only bishop of Cashel, but likewise king there, that is, of all Munster, of which that city was the capital. He was not the first who united the scepter of that province with the episcopacy; for, as we have seen, Olchobar and Coenfoelad, bishops of Emly, had been also kings of Cashel or of Munster. Little is known concerning the earlier part of Cormac's life. I find that he was born in 837; (37) and it is allowed on all hands, that he was of the Eugenic branch of the royal house of Munster. That he was educated for the ecclesiastical state is evident from his having been possessed of great learning, for the acquisition of which he must have spent a great part of his time amidst the tranquillity of college or religious establishments. It is said that he had been instructed by Snegdus a learned and pious abbot of Castledermot; (38) and it is certain that he was a bishop before he became a king. But how or where he was raised to the mitre it is not easy to understand. Before his time Cashel was not an episcopal see, having been, notwithstanding some idle conjectures to the contrary, still comprized in the diocese of Emly. How then did Cormac become bishop of Cashel? The see of Emly continued to exist, as usual, and had its bishops, distinct from those of Cashel, in his time and for centuries later. There was no quarrel or schism between Emly and Cashel, and Cormac, while bishop and king, was on the best terms with the bishop of Emly. I think it probable, that he was bishop of Lismore before he removed to Cashel. For a Cormac, son of Culinan, is stated to have been bishop there in those times; and I do not find any sufficient reason for supposing, that we are to admit two bishops Cormac, both sons of Culinans, and contemporaries, one at Cashel and the other at Lismore. (39) It may be, however, that he was originally made bishop at Cashel on account of his extraordinary merit, according to the Irish system of

raising distinguished persons to the episcopal rank in places, where previously there had been no bishops. Then, in consequence of the great respect in which his memory was held, Cashel probably became a permanent and regular see; and there is good reason to think that, as the capital of Munster, its following bishops gradually acquired, even before it became a really metropolitanical see, the ascendancy which had been formerly enjoyed by the church of Emly.

(37) Annals of Innisfallen, at *A.* 837.

(38) See O'Connor's *Dissertations*, *sect.* 17. and the 4 Masters at *A.* 885, and below *Not.* 56.

(39) Colgan (*AA. SS.* *p.* 360.) has, from the 4 Masters, as different persons Cormac Mac-Culinan king and bishop of Cashel, whose death they assign to 903 (904), and Cormac Mac-Culinan, bishop of Lismore, whom they call prince of the Desies, and who, they say, died in 918 (919) If these dates were correct, it would follow that there were two distinct Cormacs Mac-Culinan. But, at least, the former one is not; for the Cormac of Cashel died in 908; and as to 918 for the one of Lismore it is perhaps a mistake for 908. The 4 Masters, when searching in old annals and documents, might have found Cormac Mc. Culinan called in some bishop of Lismore, and in others of Cashel, and thence supposed that they were different. Their calling Cormac of Lismore *prince of the Desies* does not furnish an argument against his having been the same as Cormac of Cashel; whereas, in consequence of being bishop of that great see, situated in the Desies country, he might while there have got that title, in the same manner as some bishops of Emly, *ex. c.* Eugene Mac-Cenfoelad, (see above §. 1.) were styled *princes of Emly*. I suspect that the epithet *Theasalescop*, which has been applied to Cormac (*Not. prec.*) before he became king of Cashel, alludes to a see more southerly than Cashel, such as Lismore is. Perhaps it was usual to distinguish Lismore by calling it the southern place or establishment much in the same way as Alcuin spoke of it in his letter to Colcu. (See *Not.* 45. to *Chap.* xx.)

§. v. The greatest part of what is known concerning the transactions of Cormac is relative more to the civil than to the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. The occasion of his being raised to the throne was, that Kinngegan, who had got possession of it in 895 (40) was dethroned in 901, and Cormac was called to it by his opponents. (41) Yet some time elapsed before he was peaceably seated on it; and it is stated, that Fionngaine, who is called son of Gorman king of Cashel, was killed in 902 during the contest by his own people. (42) It was in 903 that Cormac became king without opposition. (43) While he was governing his kingdom in peace, Flann, surnamed *Sionna*, king of all Ireland, and Cearbhal, son of Muregan, king of Leinster, marched with an army towards Munster, and laid waste the whole country between Gowran and Limerick. (44) But in the following year Cormac, accompanied by Flathertach Mac-Ionmunain abbot of Inniscatthy, a man of a very military disposition, set out with the forces of Munster, and, arriving in the plains of Magh-leana in the now King's county, gave battle to Flann and his confederates of Leath-Cuinn (the northern half of Ireland) and defeated them with great loss, particularly of the Nialls, among whom Maolchraobha son of Cathalan king of Kinel-Eogain (Tyrone) was killed. Flann being forced to submit and give hostages to Cormac, the Munster army advanced to Maighe-na-Ceurradh (apparently the Kierrigia of Roscommon) and there compelled the Conacians and some of the Nialls to give hostages, after which they plundered the islands of Lough-ree and a fleet that lay there; and then Leath-cuinn became tributary to an ecclesiastic. (45) Flann and his adherents did not long submit to this degradation, but, together with Cearbhal of Leinster, the princes of Leath-cuinn, Cathal son of Conor king of Connaught, &c. raised a great army, which was met, in 908, at Beallach Mughna (Ballymoon

in Idrone, county of Carlow) by Cormac at the head of the forces of Munster and Ossory under their various chiefs and many of their principal nobility. A desperate battle then took place, in which Cormac was killed by one Fiacha, and along with him several other princes and nobles, besides about 6000 of their followers. (46) This battle is said to have been fought on the 16th of August; (47) and some writers place the scene of it at Moy-albe or the *White field*. This, however, does not imply any difference of situation; for Moy-albe was near Beallach-Mughna, being in the vicinity of Old Leighlin. (48) It has been foolishly said, that Cormac was killed not in this battle but by the Danes, a story quite in opposition to the most respectable authorities and to the then state of Ireland. (49) Others tell us, that his death was occasioned by a fall from his horse during the heat of the battle; and, according to another account, he did not engage in the battle at all, but was praying apart for the success of his army, when a herdsman coming up put him to death (50)

(40) Annals of Innisfallen, as *ap.* Harris.

(41) *Ib.* at *A.* 891 (Mr. O'Reilly's copy).

(42) *Ib. ad. A.* 902. Colgan says, (*Tr. Th.* p. 186.) that Fionngaine was son of Kinngeagan; but how will this agree with his being called in the Innisfallen annals *son of Gorman*? O'Flaherty (*MS. not. ib.*) asserts that Fionngaine was the same as Kinngeagan. If so, it is odd that in the course of two or three lines the same persons should be called in those annals first *Kinngeagan* and next *Fionngaine*. I do not presume to judge on a matter of this kind, which I have touched upon merely to show, that there was a contest for the throne of Cashel after the nomination of Cormac.

(43) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 903. The 4 Masters have earlier dates for these transactions; but their authority is not equal, particularly with regard to the affairs of Munster.

(44) *Ib. ad A.* 906.

(45) *Ib. ad A.* 907.

(46) *Ib. ad A.* 908. I cannot guess what reason Dr. Milner had (*Tour in Ireland, Letter 14.*) for suspecting, in direct opposition to our Annals, that Cormac lived at a much later period.

(47) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 21.* and *Archbishops of Cashel, at Cormac.*

(48) See *Not. 36. to Chap. xv.*

(49) The fable of Cormac having been killed by the Danes is not to be found in any Irish annals or document that I know of. It is in the chronicle of Caradoc of Lhancarvan, who calls Cormac "*Carmot, the son of Cukeman, king and bishop of Ireland.*" The mighty antiquary Ledwich (*Antiq. &c. p. 148.*) follows Caradoc; for, in fact, he prefers every authority to that of Irish history, which indeed is not to be wondered at, as he knows so little about it. Speaking of Cormac, he says that "Irish *romantic* history tells us that he was descended from Olioll Olum king of Munster *of the Eugenic race, &c.*" The reader will please to observe, that he calls the Irish history of even the tenth century *romantic*. Then to show his learning he says that Olioll Olum was of the Eugenic race. Pray how could that be? For Eugenius, from whom that race was denominated, and from whom the Mac Carthys, &c. descend, was a son of Olioll Olum, who was the ancestor also of the Dalcassian princes, to whom the O'Briens, &c. belonged. If the Doctor had looked only into Keating's pedigrees, he would not have insulted the public with such blunders. Our antiquary adds; "I rely more on the testimony of Caradoc of Lhancarvan for his (Cormac's) *existence* than the *plausible fictions* of national writers; and I think what this Welsh chronicler relates of his being slain by the Danes most likely; for at this time they were ravaging every part of the kingdom." The insolence of this ignorant man is really intolerable. To represent what our annalists, historians, and the constant tradition of all Ireland have concerning the *existence* of Cormac as *plausible fictions* shows such a perverse carelessness of truth with regard to Irish history, that the proposer of such nonsense is not worth arguing against. What object could our national writers have had in inventing an account of Cormac's existence? But see what this sage critic relies on for it. The testimony of Caradoc! a testimony

which would be unintelligible had not Cormac really existed. For who otherwise could discover, who was *Carmot son of Cukeman*, &c.? As to his following Caradoc on Cormac's having been killed by the Danes, it would have been more to the honour of Ireland and of its clergy had such been the case; nor would our annalists have attributed the death of a king and bishop, so highly esteemed, to his own countrymen, or have so particularly mentioned their names, if they had not been the authors of it. But the fact is, that Cormac could not have been killed at that time by the Danes; for, although neither Caradoc nor his humble follower the Doctor knew it, there were no Danes then in Ireland, against whom Cormac could have fought. For, as we have seen (above §. 3.) they had been driven out in 902, and, although they returned afterwards, yet they did not come back, at least in any considerable force, until some years later than 908, the year in which Cormac was killed.

(50) For these various statements see Keating *B. 2.* where he treats largely of Cormac, and Ware and Harris, *Archbishops of Cashel*, at *Cormac*.

§. VI. Cormac was accompanied in this unfortunate expedition by several ecclesiastics, some of whom actually fought in the battle. Among the slain are reckoned Olioll Mac-Eogan, abbot of Cork, and Colman, abbot of Kinnity. (51) The chief fomenter of it and encourager of Cormac to meet the enemy out of his own country, in opposition to his wish to compromise matters, as he loved peace and is said to have had a foreknowledge of his death in case of an engagement taking place, is stated to have been the furious Flathertach abbot of Inniscathy, who was one of the principal commanders in the battle. (52) This martial spirit, which unluckily insinuated itself among the Irish clergy, and which was so contrary to the feelings and principles of their predecessors, (53) originated in the contests against the pagan Northmen, in which they were much involved, and some of them almost forced to take up arms to defend themselves and their establishments

against those barbarous and savage invaders. But, whatever apology may be made for the churchmen who fought against them, or for Cormac who, as a king, was bound to protect his subjects, whosoever the enemies might be, none can be found for such conduct as that of Flathertach, if what is said of him be true. Tiobruide, bishop of Emly, and who is called the *religious successor of Ailbe*, also accompanied Cormac; (54) but whether he mixed in the battle or not I do not find recorded. Previous to the engagement Cormac made his confession to Comhgall his confessor, and made his will, in which he bequeathed various sacred ornaments and utensils, besides gold and silver, to divers churches and religious places, such as of Cashel, Lismore, Emly, Armagh, Kildare, Glendaloch, &c. (55) It is said that his body was brought to Cashel and interred there; but, according to another account, it has been supposed that he was buried at Castle-dermot. (56) His reputation for piety, wisdom, and learning was so great, that he has been considered as the most eminent man of his times in Ireland. (57) He wrote the celebrated work, entitled, the *Psalter of Cashel*, (58) in which he treated of the history and antiquities of Ireland. It has been considered as of the highest authority, and was still extant entire in the 17th century, and is probably so somewhere at present, although I know only of some parts of it, which are to be found. (59) To him is usually attributed the Irish glossary or Etymological dictionary, called *Sanasan Cormac*; (60) and he is said to have written a book on the genealogies of the Irish saints. (61) The beautiful small church, now called Cormac's Chapel, on the rock of Cashel, and perhaps the oldest ecclesiastical building of stone now remaining in Ireland, is universally allowed to have been erected by this king and bishop. (62) This church could not at any time have been the cathedral of Cashel, as

some writers have supposed; for it was quite too small for that purpose; and I can scarcely doubt that it was merely a royal church or chapel annexed to the king's palace or castle, which was situated on the summit of the rock. (63)

(51) For Olioll see Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 908, and for Colman, Keating. Kinnity is in that part of the King's county, which formerly belonged to Munster.

(52) Keating, *ib.* (53) See *Chap.* xx. §. 9.

(54) Keating, *ib.* (55) Keating, *ib.*

(56) According to Ware (*loc. cit.*) he was buried at Cashel; but Keating (*ib.*) asserts that he ordered to have his remains deposited in Cloyne, where St. Colman son of Lenir had been buried, or if that could not be done, in Disert Dermot (Castledermot), where he had resided for some years in his youth, and received his education, *viz.* I suppose, under the abbot Snegdus. But I do not find that Keating makes him be actually interred at Castledermot.

(57) In the Annals of Innisfallen (at *A.* 908.) Cormac is styled *the most learned in knowledge and science, and the most holy and pious in his time in Ireland.* The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p.* 366,) call him *king, bishop, anchoret a wise man, and writer.*

(58) It is usually supposed that this work was called *Psalter* on account of its having been written in verse, in the same manner as there was the *Psalter of Tara*, and as to one or two works of Aengus Cele-de was given the name of *Psalter-na-rann.* (See *Chap.* xx. §. 10.) But my deceased worthy friend General Valancey informed me that this was a mistake, as the original title of the work was *Saltair*, which, he said, signifies *chronicle*; and so he has stated in his *Prospectus of a dictionary of the ancient Irish* at *Taireac.* Yet *Saltair* signifies also *Psalter*, and the *Psalter* or *Saltair-na-rann* was not a chronicle.

(59) Ware makes mention of it (*Antiq. cap.* 21. and *Arch-bishops of Cashel* at *Cormac*) as extant in his time and in great esteem. He says that he had some collections out of it. Keating had a copy of it, which he often quotes, and speaks of it more than once in his Preface as a work to be seen in his days. Colgan also touches on it (*AA. SS. p.* 5.) as actually existing; and

Lhuyd (*Archaeologia, catalogue of Irish MSS.*) Nicholson (*Irish Histor. Library, ch. 2*) and Dr. O'Connor (*Ep. Nuncup. &c. p. 65.*) tells us, that there is a part of it in an old MS. of the Bodleian library at Oxford. Some writers pretend that Cormac was not the author of it, and that it was compiled after his times. In fact, there are some circumstances mentioned as taken from it, which belong to a later period; for instance, the latter part of the catalogues of the archbishops of Armagh (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 292.*) which comes down to the latter end of the eleventh century. But this proves nothing more than that some additions have been made to the original work of Cormac, as has been the case with regard to numbers of historical works, particularly those written in the middle ages. The mighty Ledwich, not content with denying (*Antiq. &c. p. 154.*) that Cormac was the author of it, makes some puny efforts to undermine the author's veracity. In his great reading he found, that Stillingfleet (*Antiq. of the British churches, ch. 5.*) quoted and remarked on some silly old stories related by Peter Walsh (*Prospect of Ireland*) from the Psalter of Cashel. Walsh had copied them from Keating, to whom he refers; but Stillingfleet either had not Keating's work, or could not understand it, as it was then only in Irish. Is it, however, because such stories were found in the Psalter, to be concluded that the author was neglectful of truth, as the Doctor, distorting Stillingfleet's meaning, insinuates? Who will say that Keating himself was a liar, because he has given many foolish things, which he did not wish the reader to believe, from certain old documents? Or will the Doctor question the veracity of Usher, in whose *Primordia* we meet with heaps of fables? In like manner why bring such a charge against the author of the Psalter for having copied matters not worthy of belief? Surely no historian was ever judged in this manner, unless he professed to make us consider as true every thing inserted in his work. As for a real want of veracity, the reader will find an instance in the Doctor's said page, where he says that Stillingfleet affirms the Psalter of Cashel to be a collection of poetical fictions, and that it was compiled in the 13th century. Now Stillingfleet has not affirmed nor even hinted at such things, nor has he denied that Cormac was the author of the Psalter.

(60) See Harris, *Writers at Cormac Mac Culinan*. Dr. Led-

wich has (*loc. cit.*) some grumbling also about this Glossary. He could not deny that such a work exists; for General Vallancey had a copy of it, which he often quotes under the name of Cormac Mac Culinan, and Lhuyd had one, which he copied from an old Irish MS. O'Brien makes mention of it in his Dictionary at *Bealtinne*, where he calls it simply an *old* glossary copied by Mr. Lhuyd. I believe there are at present many copies of it to be found. Mr. O'Reilly has one. (See the *Prospectus to his Dictionary of the Irish language*.) The Doctor says; "Supposing the glossary genuine, would it now, be intelligible?" Strange that a man, who set up as an *Irish* antiquary, should ask such a question, as if the Irish of the 9th or 10th century could not be understood by our Irish scholars at present. Surely, although the Doctor could not understand it, he must have known that those, who are really versed in the language, find scarcely any difficulty in translating Irish documents still more ancient than the ninth century, as may be seen in Colgan's works, &c. But I am going out of my way, and shall only add, that I wish some genuine Irish scholar and antiquary would give the Doctor a bit of good advice as to his meddling with matters, which he knows nothing about.

‡ (61) Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 5*. Nicholson fell into a great mistake (*Ir. Hist. Libr. Append. No. 1.*) in ascribing to Cormac Mac Culinan a political tract, which is said to have been composed by Cormac Ulfada a king of Ireland in the third century. He strangely confounded this king, who lived in pagan times, with the bishop and king of Cashel. This mistake, which has been remarked upon by Harris, (*Writers, ch. 1.*) shows, that Nicholson was very poorly acquainted with Irish history.

(62) Here again we meet with Ledwich. He allows that this church or chapel is a very curious fabric, but strives to make us believe, that it was built after Cormac's times. This he was not able to prove from the style of its architecture, which, he says, (*p. 152*) was prior to the introduction of the Norman or Gothic styles. He has some bungling about a Saxon style, and tells us that Cormac's chapel bears a great "resemblance to the church of St. Peter at Oxford, which is supposed to be the oldest stone church in England, and said to be built by Grymbald about the end of the 9th century." As I have often seen this chapel, I may add that the Doctor is right as to its style being antecedent to that vulgarly

called Gothic, and that it is similar to the low Roman or Italian style, which appears in some churches in Italy, particularly at Pavia, that were erected in the 7th, 8th, or 9th century. But, waving architecture, let us see how he endeavours to show that it was built after Cormac's times. He lays down, (*p.* 150.) merely from his own head, that it was erected for the purpose of receiving Cormac's remains. Then he says that, if it was built by Cormac himself, he must have foreknown that he was to be canonized and dubbed the patron saint of Cashel. This is truly ridiculous nonsense. In the first place, even supposing that Cormac wished to be buried in it, might he not have erected it without presuming to think, that he would become a patron saint? How many hundreds of powerful persons have erected churches or chapels, in which their remains should be deposited, who, however, never imagined that they should be canonized? Did Fitz-Adelm de Burgo, when founding the religious house of Athassel near Cashel, in which he was afterwards buried, expect to be called saint? Next we have seen, that doubts have been entertained concerning the place of Cormac's interment, which could not have existed, had the chapel been built for the purpose mentioned by the Doctor. But who told him, that Cormac has been dubbed the patron of Cashel? I have some right to know more about that city than he can, and I am able to tell him that its inhabitants, so far from considering him as their patron, do not give him even the title of saint, always speaking of him by the simple name of Cormac Mac Culinan; nor do they ever invoke him, or celebrate his memory in any manner whatsoever as usual with regard to persons reputed saints.

I have said that Cormac's chapel is perhaps the oldest ecclesiastical stone building in Ireland. Yet I will not contend that some of the ruins of those of Glendaloch and the small church of St. Doulach in the barony of Coolock in the district of Fingal, county of Dublin, or at least a part of it, may not be of equal antiquity. By the bye, the Doctor had no right to rob the Irish nation of St. Doulach, and to give him to the Danes, as he does *p.* 147, where he says that *Doulach* is a corruption of St. Olave, and thence concludes, that St. Doulach's church could not have been built before the 11th century. But St. Doulach, or rather Dulech, was an Irishman, son of Amalgad the son of Sinell, &c. and his memory was revered on the 17th of

November in the very spot, anciently called *Clochar*, on which the church is situated. (See *AA. SS. p. 598.*) The Doctor might have learned this much even from Archdall (at *St. Doulough*) without introducing his favourite Danes, and on inquiry he could have found, that *St. Doulach* must have lived a very long time before *St. Olave* was born. He refers to Harris, (*History of Dublin, p. 86*) who says that there was a *St. Olave's* church, at the end of *Fishamble-street*, vulgarly called *St. Tullock's*, or he adds, *St. Doolach's*. But Harris makes no mention of *St. Doulach's* in *Fingal*, with which place the vulgarly named *St. Tullock's* had nothing to do.

(63) Ware speaks of it (*Antiq. cap. 29.*) in such a manner as to seem to state, that it was at some time the cathedral of *Cashel*, and the same is hinted by Harris (at *Archbishops of Cashel*). But who can imagine that a chapel, the nave of which is only 30 feet in length and 18 in breadth, could have been a cathedral, particularly of a city which was the capital of *Munster*? *Cashel* was certainly as populous in *Cormac's* time as it was about 260 years after his death, when a new cathedral was erected on its rock adjoining *Cormac's* chapel, and which it was found necessary to make, at least, ten times larger than the chapel. The old cathedral must have been somewhere in the city at the foot of the rock, on which was the king's palace or castle during the period that kings resided at *Cashel*. It was there that *Failbhe Fland* had his habitation and court. (See the *Life of St. Pulcherius, cap. 21.* and above *Chap. xvii. §. 5.*) The rock was not originally applied to a religious Christian purpose, however it might have been anciently to a Pagan one, although *Dr. Ledwich* makes us laugh with telling us, (*Ant. p. 150.*) that *Cashel* (meaning the rock) was an ancient *Mandra*, that is, as he should have explained to his readers, inhabited by monks. Hear how he proves it; "There is a wall surrounding the summit of the rock; therefore monks dwelt there." He might as well maintain, that every old garden with a wall around it was a *Mandra*. The wall surrounding the summit of that rock is far from being ancient, and, supposing it to be ever so old, is it anywise strange, that a spot, on which was the king's castle, should be environed by a wall? It is, however, true that there was, as expressly mentioned, a wall around it in ancient times, whereas the royal residence was also a fortress. (See *Life of St. Pulcherius, loc. cit.*) Another argument is, that

the rock is elevated, and that the monastic spirit prevailed in Ireland; therefore the rock of Cashel was a *Mandra*. What prodigious antiquarian penetration! To follow up his theory, he ought to have added, that every high place, every mountain and hill, in Ireland was a *Mandra*. As he has made use of that Greek word, whence has come the title of *Archimandrite*, which we find given to some superiors of monks, he ought to have previously understood its ecclesiastical meaning. For it was not on account of surrounding walls, or inclosures of ground, as he supposed, that certain communities of monks got the name of *Mandra*. There were no such walls in the deserts of Egypt, and yet they contained *Mandras* and *Archimandrites*. But this is not the place to enter into these disquisitions.

§. VII. It is usually supposed that henceforth Cashel became a regular episcopal see; but the names of his successors are not known until about 180 years after the death of Cormac. The succession at Emly was still kept up, and Miscel, who died in 898, (64) was succeeded by Flan Mac-Conail, whose death is assigned to 903, after whom was Tiobruide, or Tibraid Mac-Moelfin, who had accompanied Cormac in his last expedition, and whom we find called *prince of Emly*. He died in 912, and next after him is mentioned Edchada Mac-Scanlain, who lived until 941. (65) Cormac, bishop of Saigir, died in 908. (66) In the same year a sacrilegious transaction occurred at Armagh. One Kernachan, son of Dulgen, dragged a captive out of the cathedral, where he had taken refuge, and drowned him in Lough Kirr near the city to the West. But he was soon punished by Niell Glundubh, then king of Ulster, and afterwards of all Ireland, who seized upon Kernachan and drowned him in the same lough (67)

About these times the body of St. Maimbodus, who is called martyr, because he was killed by robbers, was removed by order of Berengarius bishop of Besançon, to Monbelliard. (68) He was a native

of Ireland, (69) of a distinguished and wealthy family, and belonged to the clerical order. Having left his country for the sake of pilgrimage, he visited holy places, and led a very austere life. Arriving in Burgundy, he was entertained for some time by a nobleman, who conceiving a great esteem for him, on account of his sanctity, pressed him to accept of some presents. But Maimbodus refused to take any thing, except a pair of gloves in memory of him, and blessing him and his family took his leave. He stopped to pray in a church called St. Peter's, in the village of Domnipetra, eight miles distant from Besançon, where some robbers, observing that he wore gloves, thought that he had money about him, and waylaid him outside the village. They attacked him, and striving to extort money, which in fact he had not, beat and wounded him in such a manner that he died on the spot. His body being found by some faithful was buried in the above mentioned church, whence after some time it was removed to Monbelliard, and the bishop Berengarius decreed that the memory of St. Maimbodus should be celebrated in the diocese of Besançon on the 23d of January, the anniversary of his death, as it has been since that time. Several miracles are said to have been wrought at the tomb of this saint. (70) Another Irish saint, still more revered in that diocese, but whose times are more uncertain, was Anatolius (71) That he was a Scot is constantly asserted by the many writers, who have touched upon his history; and that he was an Irish one appears from his being described as a countryman of St. Columbanus of Luxeu, St. Deicolus, &c. (72) He was a bishop before he left Ireland. (73) Of his transactions, until a short time before his death, I find nothing more recorded than that returning from Rome he stopped at a mountain or rock over the valley and city of Salinae (Salins), in the diocese of Besançon, on which he prayed, in an oratory called from St.

Symphorian, martyr of Autun; that he liked the place, determined on remaining there, and died a few days after. (74) As to the time of his death I find nothing, that can enable us even to guess at it, except that his *natalis*, or the anniversary of it, was kept on the third of February. (75) Although St. Anatolius was a bishop, he was not attached to any see in France, nor does he appear to have even exercised episcopal functions in that country. (76) His memory is very famous for miracles said to have been wrought at his tomb, and has been greatly celebrated in the diocese of Besançon, particularly at Salins. (77) Besides his festival on the third of February, another is kept on the first of September, in commemoration of a translation of his remains. (78)

(64) Above, §. 1. (65) Ware, *Bishops at Emly*.

(66) *AA. SS. p. 473 ad A. 907* (908). Owing to an erratum, we there find 997 instead of 907, by which Ware was led astray so as to place (*Bishops of Ossory*) Cormac's death in 997; but this mistake has been corrected by Harris.

(67) *Tr. Th. p. 296. at A. 907* (908), and Harris, *Archbishops of Armagh at Maelbrigid*.

(68) Bollandus has published (at 23 January) the Acts of St. Mainbodus from Chifflet and a MS. of the church of Besançon. They have been republished by Colgan at said day. The time in which the saint lived is not mentioned, and can only be guessed at by its seeming, that it was not long before his remains were removed by order of Berengarius, who, as Bollandus and others state, lived about A. D. 900.

(69) This is clear from the *Scotia*, whence the *Acts* bring him, being represented as that, which was the country of St. Columbanus, St. Deicolus, and St. Columbinus, who had distinguished themselves in Burgundy. Colgan remarks that, instead of *Mainbodus*, some have called him *Maingolus*, and that *Maingol* was a common name among the ancient Irish.

(70) See the Acts and the notes to them.

(71) Colgan treats of St. Anatolius at 3d February, as do the

Bollandists much more diffusely. They have, besides their own observations, a short old Life by an anonymous author, and a sketch of one drawn up by Father Chifflet.

(72) In the Acts of St. Maimbodus after St. Columbanus and other saints from Scotia (Ireland), who had illustrated Burgundy, is mentioned Anatolius from the Scotia. "Post hos verò celeberrimum confessorem prædicamus Anatolium ex Scotia *videm genitum*, lumen tibi a Domino destinatum."

(73) In the anonymous *Life* (*ap.* Bolland.) we read of him; "Fuit igitur vir iste Scoticae regionis oriundus, pontificali officio, ut fert priorum assertio, præditus."

(74) *Ib.*

(75) According to an opinion of Chifflet in his little sketch of the Life of Anatolius, he should have lived early in the 5th century; but in that case he would have been a Greek or a Cilician. There was an Anatolius bishop of Adana in Cilicia, who took part with St. John Chrysostom against Theophilus of Alexandria, and of whom Palladius (*Dialog. de Vit. S. Chrys.*) says, that it was reported he had withdrawn to Gaul. Chifflet took it into his head, that he was the Anatolius so famous at Salins. And then to account for his having been universally called a *Scotus*, he says that he might be so denominated in the same manner as all foreigners were in old times vulgarly called *Scoti* in France. This is a truly pitiful evasion; for, in the first place Chifflet could not have proved this position; whereas, although there were in the middle ages very many Irish there, yet we know from the French writers of those times that all foreigners were not indiscriminately called *Scoti*. Were Alcuin, Theodulf, Claudius, Prudentius, &c. reckoned among the *Scoti* by the French? But, whatever vulgar mode of speaking as to foreigners might have prevailed after the sixth century, when the Irish began to be so generally known in France, surely it cannot be supposed that an oriental bishop, who lived before St. Patrick preached in Ireland, would have been called a *Scotus* by the inhabitants of Gaul. The Bollandists, wishing to pay a compliment to Chifflet, state that his opinion is probable; yet they lay down that the other of Anatolius having been a *Scotus*, ought not to be rashly disturbed after a possession of a long line of centuries. Camerarius (*Menol. Scot.*) and Dempster (*Hist. Eccl.*) have some fooleries concerning Anatolius of Salins.

in which he is confounded with Anatolius bishop of Laodicea, who lived in the third century and wrote on the Paschal cycle, or with Anatolius a patriarch of Constantinople in the fifth. It may be said, that *Anatolius* is not an Irish name. But might not this saint, being in the continent, have assumed it, as of more easy pronounciation, instead of his original one, which perhaps had the same meaning? Or, it might have been inflected by the foreigners, among whom he lived, from his real name beginning perhaps with *Ana*, but which they could not well pronounce. We have already seen, that many Irishmen were known in the continent by names, which they did not bear in Ireland.

(76) Molanus and Ferrarius thought that Anatolius was bishop of Besançon. Colgan and the Bollandists have shown that this is a mistake; and it is clear from the anonymous Life, that he had no see in France.

(77) The chief collegiate church of Salins, of which he is the patron saint, is called by his name, as is also one of the four parish churches of that city, on the mountain at the South side of which is the hermitage of St. Anatolius.

(78) In the 11th century the body of St. Anatolius was removed from the original tomb and placed in the principal church of Salins. About 200 years later, Nicholas, who was bishop of Besançon from A. 1229 to 1235, got it moved on a 1st of September into an elegant shrine in the same church.

§ VIII. In the early part of the tenth century is said to have flourished Sealbach, who is called secretary to Cormac Mac-Culinan. He is represented as a man of great piety and learning, and is said to have written a genealogical tract on the saints of Ireland. (79) Sealbach must have survived Cormac, if it be true that he wrote an account of his death and virtues, and even for many years after, if he was the author of that tract, or if it has not been continued by others. Although the Northmen, or, at least, the greatest part of them, had been driven out of Ireland in 902, (80) yet we meet with them again after some years. In 914 a party of them landed at Waterford, but were slaughtered by a prince or

chieftain who is called of Idrona. (81) In 915 they plundered Cork, Lismore, and Aghaboe. (82)

Flann Sinna, king of all Ireland, having died in 916, (83) was succeeded by Niell Glundubh (*black-kneed*) son of Aidus, or Edan Finnliath. Having reigned scarcely three years, Niell was killed in a great battle near Dublin by the Danes commanded by Ivar and Sitric. In this battle fell also Conor O'Maselseachlin, king of Meath, Aodh, Aidus, or Hugh, son of Eochagan king of Ulster, and many other princes and nobles. (84) Previous to this battle the Danes had sorely afflicted in 916 the people of Leinster, and among many others killed Angarv, son of Olioll king of that province. (85) But in the same year great slaughter was made of them in Munster; (86) and in the following year (917) they were defeated at Emly. (87) The battle, in which Niell Glundubh lost his life, was fought in 919; (88) and he was immediately succeeded by Dunchad or Donogh, son of Flann Sinna, who in the next year routed the Danes in so complete a manner that a greater number of them were slain than had been of the Irish in the former battle near Dublin. (89) Donogh was the second monarch of his name, and reigned 25 years until he died suddenly in 944. Next after him was Congelac or Congal II. son of Melmith a descendant of Congal, who was uncle to the king Cined or Kineth, that reigned in 724. Congal II. was killed, fighting against the Danes of Dublin, in 956, after a reign of 12 years. His successor was Domnald O'Niell, son of Murchertach and grandson of Niell Glundubh. He reigned 24 years, died at Armagh in 980, and was succeeded by Maelseachlin or Malachy II. a grandson of Dunchad or Donogh II. by his father Domnald. (90) This king, having reigned more than 20 years, surrendered the kingdom to Brian Boromhe, as will be seen hereafter.

(79) See Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 5. and Harris, *Writers at Selbach*. Colgan says, that this work is supposed to be the excellent old metrical *Menelogium Genealogicum* consisting of 22 chapters, which he often quotes.

(80) Above, §. 3.

(81) Annals of Innisfallen (Mr. O'Reilly's copy) at *A.* 914. This Idrona could scarcely have been the Idrona of the county of Carlow. There was a district not far from Waterford, called *Idrona* or *Drona*.

(82) *Ib.* These plunderings are assigned to *A.* 913 (914) in the Chronological index to *Tr. Th.*

(83) See *Chap. xx.* §. 8.

(84) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 916. See also Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 4. and O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* Part III. *cap.* 93.

(85) Annals of Innisfallen *ib.* and Ware *Antiq. cap.* 24. Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 598) calls this prince *Augurius*.

(86) *Ib.*

" (87) Annals of Ulster, *ap.* Johnstone, at *A.* 916 (917).

(88) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 919. Ware says, (*Antiq. cap.* 24) that this battle occurred in 918 on the 15th of September. Yet elsewhere (*ib. cap.* 4.) he assigns the death of Niell Glundubh to 919, as does also O'Flaherty, *loc. cit.*

(89) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 920.

(90) The Annals of Innisfallen (at *A.* 930) and Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 4.) confound this Domnald with Domnald O'Niell, the king who preceded Maelsechlin. But the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 448) and O'Flaherty (*loc. cit.*) distinguish them.

§ IX. During the above mentioned devastation of Leinster in 916, and for some time after, Leighlin was plundered in 917. (91) Kells in Meath was ravaged in 919, in which year died Scanlan, a scribe or learned man of Roscrea. (92) In 921 Godfrid, king of the Danes of Dublin, marched into Ulster, and plundered Armagh in the month of November. (93) He is said, however, to have spared the Churches, the Colidei (the officiating clergy of the cathedral) and the sick. (94) To the year 920 is assigned the death of a celebrated abbot of Derry

and Drumcliff, Kinaed or Kineth, who was considered as the great supporter of religion in Tirconnel; (95) and to 921 that of Paulinus or Mal-Paulinus, who is styled a bishop, anchoret, chief scribe of Leth-cuinn (the northern half of Ireland) and abbot of Indenen, (96) and who was, in all probability, the Paulinus to whom Probus addressed his Life of St. Patrick. (97) In the same year 921 died Cormac Aedan or Mac-Aedan, bishop of Clonfert. (98) Dublinterius of Kill-slepte, or Killevey, a priest of Armagh, was killed in 922 by the Northmen, and in the same year died Maeltul, a scholastic or teacher of Clonmacnois. (99) To 925 is assigned the death, on the 7th of February, of Colman Mac-Alild, a very wise doctor, who, besides being abbot of Clonard and Clonmacnois, was also a bishop. He erected a great church in the latter place, and is said to have been of a family of the Conals Murthemhne in the now county of Louth. (100) Next prior to him I find mentioned a bishop of Clonard, Rumond or Rumold son of Cathasach, who also is praised for his wisdom or learning, and is said to have died in 920. (101) Among the distinguished men of this period are likewise reckoned Mainach Mac-Siedul, abbot of Bangor, who is styled a most skilful writer, and Carpre Mac-Feredach abbot of Disert Dermot (Castledermot) to whom is given the title of *anchoret and chief of religion in Leinster*. The same year 920 is marked for the death of both these abbots. Another abbot of Bangor, Kelius Dabali, who is called bishop, writer, preacher, and celebrated doctor, is said to have died at Rome in 926 or 927. (102)

(91) *Ind. Chron.* to *Tr. Th.* at *A.* 916 (917).

(92) *Ib. ad A.* 918 (919)

(93) *Annals of Ulster* at *A.* 920 (921), of Innisfallen at 921, and Ware, *Ant. cap.* 24. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th.* p. 296.)

assign this devastation to A. 919 (920); but the other now quoted annals form better authority. Yet Ware, in contradiction to himself, following the 4 Masters and Colgan, (*Bishops, Armagh, Maelbrigid*) places a plundering of Armagh in 919, meaning the one by Godfrid; and Archdall (at *Armagh*) likewise following them, marked it at the same year. A devastation of Clonenagh is affixed by the 4 Masters (*ib. p. 633.*) to said year 919 (920).

(94) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p. 296.*

(95) *Ib. p. 503 ad A. 919 (920).*

(96) *Ib. p. 64 ad A. 920 (921.)* (97) See *Chap. III. §. 3.*

(98) Annals of Innisfallen (Harris's copy), and Ware, *Bishops at Clonfert,*

(99) Four Masters, (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 296. and 632.*) at A. 921 (922).

(100) *AA. SS. p. 407. at A. 924 (925)* and Ware, *Bishops at Meath and Clonmacnois.*

(101) Four Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 107. at 919 (920).* It is odd, that Colgan has not this bishop at *p. 407.* where he expressly gives a list of the prelates and other distinguished ecclesiastics of Clonard. Ware, not finding him in said list, has omitted him (at *Meath*); but Harris has added him to it.

(102) *Ib. p. 107. at A. 919 (920).* and for Keliuss, *ib. Not. 18.*

§. x. St. Maelbrigid of Armagh, who died in 926, or more probably in 927, (103) was succeeded by Joseph, styled *prince of Armagh*, a man of great learning, who having held the see for nine years, died in 936. (104) In the Irish annals he is represented as a scribe, anchoret, and very wise man. His successor Patrick, or Moelpatrick, a son of Maoltule, and who also is called prince of Armagh and a wise man, died in the same year after an incumbency of only five months (105) Next after Patrick was Cathasach the second, son of one Dulgan of Drumtorraig, who governed the see for 20 years and died in 957. (106) In these times I find three bishops of Derry, notwithstanding its being usually supposed that there was no regular and permanent see in that city until some time in the 12th century. This,

however, does not prevent there having been some bishops there occasionally, as was the case in many places, which never became regular sees. Those three were, 1. Cainchomrac Mac Maeluidhir, bishop and abbot, who died in 928 ; 2. Finnachta Mac-Kellach, bishop and abbot, a man deeply skilled in Irish antiquities, whose death is assigned to 938 ; and 3. Moelfinnian, who is simply called bishop and died in 949. (107) Kenfail, son of Lorcan, who died in 930, is called *comorban* of Clones and Clogher, and hence ought to be reckoned among the bishops of those places. (108) In the same year 930 died Crummnoel, bishop of Kildare, whose memory was revered on the 11th of December. (109) Laidgnen, who is called *comorban* of Ferns and Tallaght, was, I dare say, a bishop, and, at least, of Ferns. He died in 938, (110) and is the only person on record, who may with some degree of certainty be considered as bishop of Ferns between Killen, who died in 714, and Diermit Hua-Rodachan, who lived in the eleventh century. Yet it can scarcely be supposed, that the episcopal succession was not kept up in that see, notwithstanding all that it suffered from the Northmannic devastations. Ferns was not in those times the chief see, that is, in an honorary degree, of Leinster, whereas that rank had been transferred to Kildare, as early, at least, as the beginning of the ninth century, and the time in which Cogitosus lived ; (111) nor does it seem to have ever been restored to Ferns. (112) About these times died Malduin Mac-Kinnfalaid, bishop of Raphoe, and the first of whom I find any clear mention made as really bishop of that see ; and after him I meet with another there, Aengus Hua Lapain, whose death is assigned to 957 (958). (113) Condla Mac-Dunecan, who is called bishop and prince of Leighlin, died in 943, as did in 955 Maelbrigid a *comorban* of St. Macnesse, that is bishop of Connor. (114) Besides some scribes, or men of letters, already mentioned, several others are named

as belonging to this period, *ex. c.* Moelmoedoc of Gleannussen (King's county), who died in 916; Joseph of Armagh, in 937; Moelmochta of Clonard, in 941; Dubtach of said place, in 943, as also Angal in 952; Cathasach of Armagh, in 946; Dungal of Clonmacnois in 949; Moelpatrick Mac-Coscan of Armagh, in 952; and Moelnach, likewise of Armagh, in 955. (115) To these we may add Coenachair, or Probus, the author of the Life of St. Patrick, who had been chief master of the school of Slane, and was burned to death by the Danes in 949 or perhaps 950. (116) A holy abbess of Kildare, Muiriunn, or Murrena died in 917 on the 26th of May, or, according to another account, of April. (117)

(103) Above §. 1.

(104) The catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel allows 9 years for Joseph, and not only the 4 Masters but likewise the Annals of Uister place his death in 935 (936). Hence it appears that his accession to the see was in 927.

(105) *Tr. Th.* p. 296. and Ware, *Bishops at Armagh.*

(106) Ware, *ib.* Colgan fell (*Tr. Th.* p. 297.) into a great mistake concerning this Cathasach. Having found a Cathasach, bishop of Kinel-eogan (Tyrone), whose death is marked at 946, he confounded him with Cathasach of Armagh, and then strove to explain why he was called bishop of Kinel-eogan. Next he strangely tells us, that the 20 years, allowed by the Cashel catalogue for Cathasach of Armagh elapsed exactly between 936, in which Patrick died, and 946; as if a child did not know that this was an interval of only ten years. But, as O'Flaherty remarks (*MS. Not. ib.*) Colgan overlooked the real Cathasach of Armagh, who died, according to the 4 Masters, in 957, and accordingly committed not only this blunder, but likewise others with regard to the following succession and dates. Ware was so judicious as to pass by what Colgan has about Cathasach of Kinel-eogan; but Harris picked it up, and although he places, with Ware, the death of Cathasach of Armagh in 957, yet he confounds him with the one of Kinel-eogan, and then follows Colgan in the silly reason to show how he could be

called bishop of that district. Yet Harris had no right to introduce the 4 Masters as making the two Cathasachs one and the same person (a mistake to be left at Colgan's door), and stating that he, that is, the one of Kinel-eogain died in 956, whereas their date for his death is 946.

(107) 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 503. I have added a year to their dates. See also Ware, *Bishops at Derry*.

(108) He is mentioned by the 4 Masters, (*ap. AA. SS. p.* 742) at *A.* 929 (930). Ware has him among the bishops of Clogher. Clones, of which also he was bishop, had sometimes prelates of its own, and was at other times united with Clogher. We have seen (*Chap. ix. §. 2.*) that as far back as the early part of the sixth century St. Tigernach was bishop of both these sees; and thus Kenfail was his *comorban* or successor.

(109) *Tr. Th. p.* 630. at *A.* 929 (930).

(110) *AA. SS. p.* 223 *ad A.* 937 (938) and Harris, *Bishops at Ferns*. Ware has omitted Laidgнен, because he did not find him expressly styled *bishop*; but I think that the title *comorban* is alone sufficient to show that he was, and that it was used to indicate that he was in every respect a successor of St. Moedoc. Had he been only abbot of Ferns, why not designate him as such in the same manner as many others before and after him are in Colgan's list (*ib.*) from the 4 Masters? Whether Laidgнен were bishop also of Tallaght is not equally probable, because it was not a regular see, and he might have been merely abbot of its monastery.

(111) See *Not. 18. to Chap. viii.*

(112) The sort of ecclesiastical primacy observed in Leinster was first attached to the see of Sletty, whence it was removed to Ferns upon the ordination of St. Moedoc about the latter end of the sixth century. Next, but at what precise time cannot be ascertained, it was granted to Kildare. Colgan thought (*Tr. Th. p.* 308. and *AA. SS. p.* 218.) that it had been at Kildare earlier than at Ferns; but his only reason for this opinion was his erroneous supposition that Cogitosus, in whose time it was certainly at Kildare, flourished before *A. D.* 590. According to his system it would have been moved from Sletty to Kildare, then to Ferns, and afterwards back again to Kildare. But, as Cogitosus lived a long time after St. Moedoc, Colgan's hypothesis falls to the ground.

That said primacy returned at any time from Kildare to Ferns there is no authority whatever to prove. It was still at Kildare in the latter end of the eleventh century. But of this more elsewhere.

(113) *Tr. Th. p. 509.* Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Raphoe.*

(114) Ware, *ib. at Leighlin* for Conala; and for Maolbrigid see *AA. SS. p. 387 at A. 954 (955)* and Harris, *Bishops at Connor.*

(115) *Tr. Th. p. 632.* I have added a year to each date.

(116) See *Chap. III. §. 3.* and compare with below *Not. 140.*

(117) Colgan's text (*ib. p. 630.*) has Murena's death at 919, as if from the 4 Masters. But this must be an erratum; for O'Flaherty (*MS. not. ib.*) says, that they assign it to 916 (917). The day marked by them is May 26; but he observes, that the book of Clonmacnois has the 26th of April. According to Keating, she was abbes of Kildare at the time of Cornac Mac-Culinan's death in 908. If so, there is a mistake, (*ib. p. 629.*) where Colgan places before her the abbes Cobflatia as dying in 914 (915).

§. XI. The Northmen still continue to plunder and destroy various religious establishments. In 926 Kildare was despoiled first by those of Waterford, and afterwards by those of Dublin. (118) This town was a great object of their cupidity; for it was plundered again in 927 by the Danes of Waterford commanded by a son of Godfred, and afterwards in 928 on St. Brigid's day by Godfred himself. (119) Leinster was not as well defended as some other parts of Ireland. Auliffe, a son of Godfred, I suppose the same as the one just mentioned, was defeated in 926 by Murtogh Mac-Neill (a son of the king Neill Glundubh) and his Ulster men, who killed 800 Northmen, among whom were three of their chiefs Abdean, Aufer, and Harold. (120) Yet they afterwards penetrated into that province, and the same Auliffe, assisted by the Northmen of Lochcuain (Strangford-lough) plundered Armagh about St. Martin's festival 932. (121) A party of them

pillaged Clonmacnois in 935; and in the same year they burned the monastery of Mungret. In 937 they plundered the church of Kilcullen, and in the following year burned the monastery of Killachad and ravaged Clonenagh. (122) In 940 they pillaged the church of Inis-mochta, (123) and in 941 laid waste Ardraccon, at which year is marked also a plundering of Down and a conflagration of Clonmacnois. (124) In the same year the celebrated prince Ceallachan or Callaghan Cashel, at the head of the forces of Munster, defeated the Northmen in two battles, one in the Desies country and the other in Ossory, in which 2000 of their troops were killed. (125) In 942 Down, Clonard, Kildare, and the adjacent districts, were overrun by several of their armies; (126) and in 943 those of Limerick laid waste a part of Ossory. (127) In the same year the gallant Murtogh or Murchertach, son of Niall Glunndubh, and prince of Aileach, was killed on the 26th of March fighting at Athfera against the Northman king Blacar, a son of Godfred and brother of Auliffe, and consequently on the following day the Northmen plundered Armagh. (128) In 944 Congall II. king of all Ireland, at the head of the people of Bregh (now Fingal, &c.), and assisted by Bran Mac-Maolmordha and his Lagenians, took Dublin, plundered and exterminated the Danish inhabitants, and burning the town carried off much booty and treasure. (129) In the following year Ceallachan Cashel presented to the see and monastery of Clonfert plunder, which he had taken from the Northmen, and Blacar, having got some reinforcements, recovered Dublin, which he repaired. (130) In 946 Jomhar or Ivar, a Northman chieftain, arrived at Limerick, and, proceeding on the Shannon with his followers, set fire to the establishments of Muicinis, Iniskeltra in Lough-derg, Clonmacnois, and those of the islands of Lough-ree, &c. and thence marching into Meath devastated a

great tract of country. (131) In 947 some Northmen, probably those of Dublin, plundered the church of Slane; (132) and it was perhaps on this occasion that they were in said year attacked and routed by Congall II. (133) This king defeated them in another battle, the following year 948, in which their king Blacar and 1000 of his men lost their lives. (134)

(118) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 926. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 630.) assign this devastation to 924 (925).

(119) 4 Masters, *ib.* at 926 (927) and 927 (928).

(120) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 926. and Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24.

(121) Four Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 296, at *A.* 931 (932).

(122) *Ind. Chron.* to *Tr. Th.* I have added a year to the dates. The Annals of Innisfallen assign this devastation of Killachad and Clonenagh, together with that of Meath in general from its southern parts to as far as Clonard, to the year 639. They charge with it not only the Northmen, but likewise the famous Ceallachan or Callaghan Cashel, who, they state, was assisted by the Danes. The Killachad here mentioned could not have been that of the now county of Cavan, as laid down by Archdall (at *Killachad*), because this Killachad lay far to the North of Clonard. It was the Killachad-dromfoda, now Killeigh in the King's county, which had been founded by St. Sinell or Senchell. (See *Chap.* ix. §. 3.)

(123) *Tr. Th. ib.* at 939 (940). Archdall places Inis-mochta in the county of Louth for no other reason, I suppose, than that St. Mochteus or Mcchta lived in that country. But it is more probable, that it was the place now called Inismouthy, a vicarage in the barony of Slane, co. Meath. (See Seward *ad loc.*)

(124) *Tr. Th. ib.* at 940 (941).

(125) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 941.

(126) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24.

(127) Annals of Innifallen at *A.* 943.

(128) *ib.* at *A.* 943. and 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 296.) who assign this battle to 941 (942). Ware says, (*Ant. cap.* 24. at *A.* 943.) that Murtoch was killed on the 26th of February. His

English translator has rendered his words in such a manner as to make him seem to say, that Murtoth was killed not by the Danes but by the people of Ulster. Aileach, whence that brave prince had his title, was a castle of the Nialls three miles N. of Derry. As to Ath-ferd, it must have been not far from Armagh, which was entered by the Northmen on the day after the battle.

(129) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 944.

(130) *Ib.* at *A.* 945. and Ware, *Ant. cap.* 24.

(131) *Ib.* at *A.* 946. Colgan has (*Tr. Th. p.*: 633.) from the 4 Master at *A.* 944 (945) a devastation of Clonmacnois, which, we may be sure, was the same as that now mentioned, although they place it a year earlier. At the same date they have a plundering, by Northmen, of the church of Kilcullen.

(132) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron. ad A.* 946 (947).

(133) See Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24. at *A.* 947.

(134) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 948.

§. XII. These disasters of the Danes of Dublin probably contributed in some degree to their conversion to the Christian religion, which, it is said, occurred in the same year 948. (135) They were the first of their nation in Ireland, who, at least in any large body, received the divine doctrines of the Gospel, which, however, did not prevent them from afterwards practising ravages in the same manner as their predecessors had done. It has been conjectured, that Godfrid, who after the death of Blacar became head or king of the Irish Northmen, (136) was himself a Christian. He was the son of Sitric, who, according to this conjecture, was the Sitric king of Northumberland, to whom Athelstan king of England, gave his sister Editha in marriage on condition of his embracing the Christian faith. This Sitric had three sons, Reginald, Anlaf, or Auliffe, and Godfrid, the two latter of whom are allowed to have been born of a former marriage. Yet it has been thought probable, that Godfrid, in imitation of his father, also became a Christian. (137) Be this as it may, I find no reason to doubt

that the Danish inhabitants of Dublin received christianity at this time, but, generally speaking, not earlier; (138) yet it is not to be supposed, that the abbey of St. Mary, which is said to have been originally of the Benedictine order, was founded as early as the very first year of their conversion. (139) These new converts did not imbibe the meekness prescribed by the Gospel; for in 950 the Danes of Dublin plundered and burned Slane, so that many persons assembled in its belfrey, perished in the flames. (140) In the same year Godfrid was defeated at a place, called *Muine-Breacain*, by Ruraidhe or Roderic O'Cannanain, prince of Lethcuinn (the northern half of Ireland) and, having lost 1000 men, was forced to fly; but Roderick was killed in this battle. (141) To said year is assigned a devastation of Clonfert by the Northmen; (142) and also an expedition of Godfrid in the southern parts of Munster as far as Ross, in which he was assisted by a considerable fleet. (143) In 951 Godfrid took Dublin, ravaged Kells and Domnach-Patrick about four miles distant from it, Ardraccan, Tullen, Killskire, and some other religious places in Meath; but on his return he and his army were surprized by the Irish, routed, and obliged to leave their plunder behind. This was the last year of Godfrid's depredations; for, having proceeded to the Desies, he was killed, together with 500 of his followers (chiefly, I suppose, the Danes of Waterford,) by the united Munstermen, both Eugenians and Dalcassians. (144) Other Northmen still continued to plunder religious establishments. They pillaged Clonmacnois in 952, at which year is marked also a devastation of Inisdamle. (145)

(135) *Ib.* where they have; "This year the Danes of Dublin received the Christian religion and were baptized." Instead of *Dublin*, Ware (*loc. cit.* at *A.* 948.) has *Ireland*. But this is a mistake; and it is clear, from the subsequent history of Ireland,

that the conversion of the Danes was far from being general until a later period; nor would the annalist have confined the conversion in 948 to those of Dublin, had the Danes in other parts of Ireland become Christians at the same time.

(136) Ware (*ib.*) speaks of Godfrid as king of the Danes of Dublin; but I think he ought rather to be called king of those of all Ireland. For we shall see him fighting in Ulster and in Munster, in which province he was killed. Such circumstances do not agree with his having been king only of Dublin.

(137) See J. P. Murray, *De coloniis Scandicis in insulis Britannicis, et maxime in Hibernia*, §. 14. 15. in *Nov. Comment. Soc. R. Goetting. Vol. 3.*

(138) Keder (*Num. in Hibernia-cursorum Indagatio, p. 7.*) and Murray (*loc. cit.*) were wrong in making Ware attribute a coin of a christian king Anlaf to Anlaf king of Dublin, who died in 941. Ware merely calls it (*Antiq. cap. 25.*) "the silver coin of Aulaf or Anlaf king of Dublin," without stating which of the Anlafs he meant. For there were other Anlafs, at a later time, kings of Dublin; nor could Ware have alluded to the Anlaf, who died in 941, whereas he does not mention any conversion of the Danes previous to 948. The figure of the cross in two or three parts of it shows, that it was struck by order of an Anlaf a Christian. There was an Anlaf, king of Dublin, who retired to Hy in the year 980, and died there. He was the father of Sitric, king of Dublin, whose son Anlaf became king there in 1029. To either of these Anlafs that coin may be referred, without recurring, as some have done, to an Anlaf of Northumberland. For it is sufficiently clear, that it was struck in Dublin, as the name of the *monetarius* or mint-man marked on it is *Farman* or *Faereman*, which we find also on a coin (with the cross) of Sitric with the addition *Dyflin*. This Sitric was undoubtedly the one, who became king of Dublin in 989, and who was the son of one Anlaf, and father of another. It is remarkable that there is also a coin of Ethelred, king of England, with the same addition and the name of the said *monetarius*, having on one side *Aedelred Rex Anglo*, and, on the reverse, *Foereman Mo Dyfli*. Had Ethelred no mint of his own, and accordingly was obliged to get money coined in Dublin? (See Simon on *Irish coins*, p. 6, 7. and 9.) There is a coin, likewise with a cross, which Simon (*ib. p. 6.*) supposes to

be of a king Ivar, and whom he makes the same as Ivar, who died in 872. This is a downright mistake; for this Ivar, who had come from Norway in 853 with his brothers Anlaf or Amlaf and Sitric, was not a Christian. The coin is so worn, that it is almost impossible to explain it. Simon thought that it has the letters *R. Yflii*, which he interprets *Rex Dyflin*. I cannot perceive them in this order. In what he calls *Yflii* I see no *L*, but something like *I* three times; and, instead of *F* the letter is *G*. (Compare with Coin 7. *Tab. 4.* in Camden's *Britan. col. cxcv.* Gibson's *ed.*) The whole word might have been *Largy*, the old name of Waterford. Even the name *Ivar* is not sufficiently plain, excepting the two first letters *IF*. There was an Ivar king of Waterford, who died in 1000. (Ware, *ib. cap. 24.*) Should it be insisted that this coin belonged to Dublin, we find an Ivar governor or viceroy of the Danes of Dublin in 1038, (Annals of Innisfallen) to whom it may be fairly referred. Ware does not mention this Ivar; but who will be seen elsewhere. (Below *Not. 130 to Chap. xxiii.*) Ledwich (*Antiq. &c. p. 126.*) makes mention of this coin from Simon, and with strange confidence speaks of it, as if the words, *Ifarus re Dyflin*, were plainly discernible on it. Now even his own figure of it proves, that this is not the case. He follows Simon in attributing it to the Ivar, who came to Ireland in 853, and thence concludes that, as the cross appears on it, the Danes were then Christians, and that Ware was wrong in dating their conversion a hundred years later. But did he know that Ware was not the author of that date, which he took from the Annals of Innisfallen? (See above *Not. 135.*) Perhaps he did not; for Ware, according to a practice, in which he indulged too much, did not refer to his authority; and on the other hand the mighty antiquary did not trouble himself about Irish annals. He considered this as a most important discovery, and founded on it a heap of rubbish, which he has often here and there about St. Patrick having been brought to Armagh by the Danes or Ostmen in the 9th century, their introducing reliques in the 9th century, erecting stone chapels in the 9th century, and so on. Now, independently of the positive testimony of the quoted annals, we find the Ostmen of Ireland still called *gentiles* or pagans after the death of Ledwich's pretended Christian king Ivar. Thus the Ulster annals have; "Anno 878 (879) *Maicobus filius Crumvaili antiestes Armachanus, et Moc-*

theus lector, capti sunt a Gentilibus. (*Usher, Pr. p. 860. and Ind. Chron. ad A. 879.*)

(139) Ware treats of this abbey, *Antiq. cap. 24.* at *A. 948,* and *cap. 26.* but in a rather unsatisfactory manner. He has a story about its having been founded by king Maelseachlin I. who died in 862. But the Irish of those days had no Benedictines. Nor was it founded as early as 948; for, as Ware states, its fourth abbot did not die until April, *A. D. 1131*; and it cannot be supposed that four abbots could have filled up the long interval between this year and 948. In 1139 the monks of this house adopted the reform of the Cistercian institution.

(140) Ware, *ib. cap. 24.* This was undoubtedly the conflagration marked by Colgan from the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 219. and Ind. Chron.*) at *A. 948 (949),* in which he says, that Coenachair, or Probus, above mentioned (see *Chap. 111. §. 2.*) and many others were burned to death in a tower. Ware mentions that they were burned *in the church*; but he should have said *in the belfrey.* Coenachair is called by him *Cinaus,* and represented as a learned man and chief lecturer of Slane, by which title the 4 Masters designate Coenachair. Ware's date for this conflagration is more correct than Colgan's; whereas the Annals of Ulster, quoted by Dr. O'Connor (*Rer. Hib. Scriptores, 1 Proleg. p. 32.*) assign it to *A. 949 i. e. 950.* He observes also, that the 4 Masters mark it at the same year, so that there is a mistake in Colgan's reference to them. Instead of *tower* he ought to have said *belfrey,* for the word used by the 4 Masters and in the Ulster annals is *Cloiteach,* which literally means *bell-house.* Colgan's *tower* might lead one to believe, that it was an edifice of stone, which it could not have been; for it was burned itself, and accordingly was of wood. According to both Annals it was in said *Cloiteach* that Coenachair and his companions were burned to death.

(141) Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 950.* The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 449.*) assign this battle to 948 (949). They swell the number of the Northmen, that fell, to 6000, too great a multitude, I think, for the battles of those times. Where Muine Breccaine was situated I wish that either they or Colgan had informed us.

(142) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron. ad A. 949 (950).*

(143) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 950.

(144) *Ib.* at *A.* 951.

(145) See *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron. ad 951 (952)*. For Inisdamle see *Not. 1. to Chap. XXI.*

§. 13. Edchada Mac-Scanlain, bishop of Emly, who died in 941, (146) was succeeded by Huarach, who held the see until 953, and after him we find Mael-Kellach, who lived until 957. (147) Mael-finan, bishop of Kildare, died in 949 or 950. (148) A succession of bishops was still kept up at Louth, as appears from there being assigned to *A.D.* 949 the death of Finnacta Mac-Ectigern, who is styled bishop, scribe, and abbot of Louth, and the chief procurator of the church of Armagh in the southern parts; and before him is mentioned another bishop there, Moelpatric Mac-Bran, who died in 937. (149) One Cathmogan is named as bishop of Cork in these times, and he is said to have died in 961. (150) A Cormac, bishop of Tallaght, died in 963; but a more celebrated prelate of this period was Cormac Hua Killene, bishop and abbot of Clonmacnois, abbot also of Tomgrany (in Clare) and of Roscommon, who erected a church and steeple at Tomgrany, and, having lived to a very great age, died in 965. (151) St. Adhland, abbot of Derry, is greatly praised for his charity and liberality to the poor. He was a descendant of Conall Gulbanus and died in 951. (152) As abbot of Derry, he has been called a comorban of Columb-kille, and hence it has been erroneously supposed that he was abbot of Hy. (153) After Caincomrach, who died in 946, (154) the next, whom I find strictly called abbot of Hy, is Fiachra Hua-Hartaguin, who lived until 977. (155) A bishop of Hy, who must not be confounded with the abbot, named Fingin, and from his sanctity styled *anchoret*, died in 965, and his memory was revered on the 5th of March. (156) Kelius, an anchoret of Armagh, died in 951, to which year is assigned also the death of a celebrated Irish chronographer Flann

Hua Becain, archdeacon of Drumcliffe; and in 952 Colga likewise an anchorite of Armagh. (157) I shall close this series of distinguished ecclesiastics with the holy Alild Mac-Moenach bishop of Swords and Lusk, who died in 966, and Muredach O'Connor, bishop and abbot of Clonenagh, who died in 971, prior to whom I find two other bishops there, Tiprad and Kellach, whose deaths fell within said century in 910 and 941. (158) Henceforth and down to the beginning of the twelfth century the accounts of the succession to the see of Armagh are greatly confused and very obscure. It had already got into the possession of one powerful family, the members of which held it for about 200 years, reckoning from the death of St. Maelbrigid, who died in 926, or 927, until the accession of the great St. Malachy. (159) This family was most probably that of the dynasts of the district of Armagh, whose ancestor Daire had granted to St. Patrick the ground, on which the church and other religious buildings, &c. of that city had been erected. (160) And it is remarkable, that the two first bishops of this long succession, viz. Joseph and Moelpatrick are styled *princes of Armagh*; (161) a title, which strongly indicates, that they were really chieftains as well as bishops of that city. (162) After them care was taken that the see should not be conferred except on members of that ruling family. This pernicious system gradually produced horrid abuses, insomuch so, that during this usurpation eight married men, who, although not illiterate, were not in holy orders, assumed the title, rank, and prerogatives of the archbishop of Armagh; and thus, although there were at times no clergymen belonging to that family, yet it gave to the see persons called *bishops*. (163) It seems, however, that these lay usurpers retained regular bishops to act for them as suffragans, while they enjoyed the church livings; and hence we find in the subsequent period several persons called by

some writers bishops of Armagh and omitted by others; whereby it becomes very difficult and, I may say, impossible to arrange the succession in a correct manner; to which must be added the diversity of dates, that occur in our old writers as to the duration of the incumbencies of said bishops, whether real ones or not. (164)

(146) Above §. 7. (147) Ware *Bishops at Emly*.

(148) *Idem at Kildare*.

(149) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 736*. I have added a year to their dates.

(150) Ware, *Bishops at Cork*.

(151) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 360*, at *A. 962* (963), and *A. 964* (965). Ware and Harris have Cormac Hua Killeme at *Bishops at Clonmacnois*. He is called comorban of Kieran and Coman, alluding to Clonmacnois and Roscommon, and also of Cronan, whence Harris deduced that he seems to have been abbot likewise of Roscrea. But I believe that he was so styled relatively to Tomgrany, of which he is expressly called abbot, without any mention of Roscrea. And hence we may infer, that Tomgrany, the origin of which has been hitherto obscure, was founded by St. Cronan. For we know, (see *Chap. xvii. §. 2.*) that this saint had been on the West side of the Shannon, and had formed some religious establishments, before he had settled at Roscrea. Harris was wrong in saying, that Cormac was the founder of the Church of Tomgrany. There was a church there very long before his time, and all he did was to build a new one.

(152) *Tr. Th. p. 480 and 503. AA. SS. p. 107. at A. 950* (951).

(153) Colgan speaks of him (*Tr. Th. p. 480.*) as abbot of Hy, but elsewhere calls him abbot only of Derry.

(154) Above, §. 2.

(155) 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 500.*) at *A. 976* (977). The Annals of Ulster have at 958 (959) Dubhduin a comorban of Columbkil; but from this title it does not follow, that he was abbot of Hy. He was probably abbot of Derry and the immediate successor of St. Adhland.

(156) *Tr. Th. ib. at A. 964* (965).

(157) *Ib. Ind. Chron.* adding a year to the dates.

(158) For Alild see *ib.* and *p.* 509. at *A.* 965 (966). According to some accounts we should admit six bishops of Lusk, in the 9th and 10th centuries, prior to Alild. Archdall has their names at *Lusk*. I find nothing about them in Colgan's works. For the bishops at Clonenagh see *AA. SS. p.* 356.

(159) See above §. 10. St. Bernard says in the Life of St. Malachy (*cap.* 7. *al.* 10.) that said family retained the see for about 200 years, after having observed that there were about 15 generations of them. If this is to be understood, as seems most probable, of natural generations, each of them must be computed as consisting of only 14 years. Some have supposed his meaning to be, that there were 15 successive bishops, or persons calling themselves bishops, of that family. Colgan has endeavoured (*Tr. Th. p.* 302.) to make out a catalogue of 15 bishops; but his list does not exactly agree with the catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel, as one of those, whom he mentions, is omitted in it.

(160) I agree with Colgan, (*ib. p.* 303.) that this is the most probable opinion, and that the chieftains of that tract seem to have claimed a right to the see as if an advowson of their family. He observes that said family of usurpers could not have been that of the Neills, or Mac Mahons, or Maguires, or O'Hanlons, as some had conjectured, whereas St. Bernard, who severely inveighs against it, states (*Vit. S. Mal. cap.* 8.) that it was extinct at the time he was writing.

(161) Above § 10.

(162) A predecessor of Joseph, Cathasach Mac-Robartach is also called *Prince of Armagh*. (See *Chap.* XXI. §. 13.) Ware thought, that this title was given to him merely as bishop. But if that were the reason of it, why was it not given likewise to every other bishop of that see? Or if it was given to indicate, as Mac Mahon states, (*Jus Prim. Armac.* §. 336.) the primatial prerogative, why has it been confined to no more than three prelates of Armagh? I think it much more probable, that it meant, according to its obvious signification, a person invested with civil authority, and that Cathasach, &c. were really chieftains of Armagh. Peter Talbot of Dublin, against whom Mac Mahon was arguing, says that the title of *prince* was given to those bishops in consequence of the usurpation of 15 generations, as St. Bernard

calls it. But this is a mistake ; for Cathasach, who was not a usurper, and between whom and Joseph there were, at least, two bishops of Armagh, is marked by the same title. Nor can Joseph, the first bishop of that uninterrupted line and the successor of St. Maelbrigid, who was of a quite different family, (above §. 1.) be called a usurper, if we consider how highly he is praised in the Irish annals. Perhaps Maelpatrick deserves that appellation. I may here observe, that two bishops of Emly, Eugene Mac-Cenfeolad and Tiobruide, who are styled *princes of Emly*, (above §. 1 and 7.) were probably so called for a similar reason, *i. e.* as they might have been temporal lords of that district.

(163) St. Bernard writes; (*ib. cap. 7. al. 10.*) “ Et eo usque firmaverat sibi jus pravum, imo omni morte puniendam injuriam, generatio mala et adultera, ut, etsi interdum defecissent clerici de sanguine, illo, sed episcopi nunquam. Denique jam octo extiterant ante Celsum viri uxorati et *absque ordinibus*, literati tamen.” The archliar Toland, having quoted this passage (*Nazarenus, Letter 2. §. 12.*) adds, that the Irish clergy derived ordination from those lay, so called, archbishops. This he knew to be false. And as they had no orders themselves, how could they have conferred them on others.

(164) With regard to the points now alluded to the 4 Masters often differ from the catalogue of the Psalter of Cashel, and Colgan himself is very obscure, *Tr. Th. p. 297. seqq.* Nor do the Ulster annals sufficiently agree with that catalogue, which is nearly followed by Ware, yet with some variations. O’Flaherty in a long *MS* note (opposite to *p. 319. Tr. Th.*) has a catalogue of the bishops of Armagh taken from his unpublished and, I am afraid, lost work *Ogygia Christiana*. As to the series of the usurping bishops it is almost the same as that of Ware. According as we proceed, I shall touch upon some of these differences, without entering deeply into them, partly because they are scarcely worth the trouble of doing so, and partly because, as far as I can judge, not one of said catalogues is on the whole correct.

§. XIV. The great abuse of mere laymen calling themselves archbishops of Armagh did not begin in the early part of the usurpation, nor is there any appearance of it until the commencement of the ele-

venth century. Cathasach the second, who died in 957, (165) was a real bishop, and so was his successor Muredach Mac-Fergus, who is said to have held the see for nine years; after which he was deposed in 966. (166) After him was Dubdalethe the second, who died on the 2d of June, *A. D.* 998. in the 83d year of his age, and thirty-third of his consecration. (167) It is very remarkable, that Dubdalethe was elected in 989, by the Columbians both of Ireland and North Britain supreme ruler of all their monasteries; and hence he has been called comorban not only of St. Patrick but likewise of St. Columba. (168) Hence it appears, that the Columbians must have by this time departed from, or at least dispensed with, their primitive and long observed system of not allowing any one, except a priest, to be abbot of Hy or chief superior of the order. And in fact I find mentioned after Fiachra Hua Hartagain, who died in 977, a doctor and bishop Mugron, who, unless there be some mistake in the matter, is called *abbot of Hy*, and whose death is assigned to *A. D.* 979. (169) But neither among the former abbots, nor among those who lived after Dubdalethe, is there one to be found, who as long as he remained abbot was also a bishop.

St. Moelfinnian Mac Huactain was bishop of Kells in the latter half of this century. He is called also comorban of St. Ultan and of St. Carnech; and his death is assigned to 968. (170) Tuathal, bishop and abbot of Clonmacnois, died in 969. (171) as did also Daniel, bishop of Leighlin, and Eugene Mac-Cleirig, who is called bishop of Connaught, and hence supposed to have been of Tuam. (172) Becan Mac Lachtan, who died in 972, is styled comorban of St. Finnian of Clonard; but whether he was such as bishop or only as abbot, I shall not pretend to decide. (173) Mael-Kellach, bishop of Emly, having died in 957, was succeeded by Foelan, son of Cellaid, who lived until 981; and after him

we find Cenfada, who died in 990. (174) The blessed Annchad, bishop of Kildare, died at an advanced age in 981, and his successor Muredach Mac-Flann in 986. (175) Columba Mac-Ciaracain, bishop of Cork, and perhaps the immediate successor of Cathmogán, who died in 961, lived until 990. (176) Prior to these prelates, I find at length, a bishop of Dromore, Maolbrigid Mac-Cathasagh, who died in 973. (177) Among the many ecclesiastics, who were killed in the course of this century by the Northmen, are mentioned, besides some already spoken of, the names of Bran Mac-Colman, abbot of Roscrea in 930; Ardmed, abbot of Coleraine, in 931; Suibhne Mac-Conbrettan, abbot of Slane, in 939; Tanud Mac-Uder, abbot of Bangor, in 957; Mured Mac-Foilán of the royal house of Leinster, and abbot of Kildare, in 966; Ferdalac, abbot of the island of Raghlin, in 974; and Maelkieran O'Maigne, abbot of Derry, who was cruelly put to death in 986 by the garrison consisting of Danes from Dublin. (178)

(165) Above, §. 10.

(166) The Cashel catalogue, which is followed by Ware, allows 9 years for Muredach, and thus his incumbency would have lasted until 966. But O'Flaherty says in the quoted *MS.* catalogue, that he resigned the see after seven years, and accordingly in 964, adding that he died in the 9th year of his consecration.

(167) Ware at *Dubdalethe* II. Here again O'Flaherty, in consequence of what he has about Muredach, differs from Ware, and assigns (*ib.*) the accession of Dubdalethe to 964, yet placing his death in 998 by allowing him 33 *complete* years of incumbency. The Cashel catalogue marks for him the number xxxiii; but its numbers are not always complete. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 297.*) have in these times two Dubdalethes, one, who is named at *A.* 988 (989), and appears as succeeded by two bishops, after whom comes also a Dubdalethe, whose death is assigned to 998. But from a circumstance which they mention of both Dubdalethes being called comorbans of Columbkil it is clear, that they were

not different persons. O'Flaherty has made some MS. notes on these confused statements; but it is not worth while to trouble the reader with any thing further about them.

(168) See *Tr. Th. ib.* and *p.* 503. at *A.* 988 (989),

(169) *Ib. p.* 500 *ad A.* 978 (979). I strongly suspect, that there is a mistake in calling Mugron abbot of Hy. The title given to him in Smith's catalogue (*Append. to Life of St. Col.*) is *Coarb* (comorban) of *Columbkil in Ireland and Scotland*. He might have been abbot of Derry, and thus like some others, styled comorban of Columbkil; besides which place he might have governed a Columbian house in the mainland of Scotland. The title *Comorban of St. Columba* has been more than once misunderstood as meaning abbot of Hy, when in fact it applied merely to abbots of Derry, as, for instance, in the cases of St. Maelbrigid and St. Adhland. (See above *Notes* 10 and 153.) If Mugron was abbot of Derry, we shall have, as he was likewise a bishop, one more to add to the three bishops, whom we have met with there in the century we are now treating of. (See above §. 10.)

(170) *Ib. p.* 508 *ad A.* 967 (968). As to his being comorban of St. Ultan, this must refer to his having presided also over Ardbraccan either as bishop or abbot; and his being called comorban of St. Carnach shows, that he was abbot of Tulen, where a St. Carnech founded a monastery in the 5th or 6th century. (*AA. SS. p.* 783.) Harris has not this monastery; but it certainly existed and to a late period. Archdall, calling it *Tuileim*, (where he found this name I cannot tell) places it in the King's county. But it is clear from the Annals of Innisfallen, that it was somewhere not far distant from Kells. At *A.* 951. they reckon among other religious places, which Godfrid, son of Sitric, plundered, besides Kells, &c. Tullen as in that range of country; (see above §. 12.) and at *A.* 1170 they make mention of it as plundered and burned, together with Kells, Slane, &c. by Mac-Murrough and Strongbow. If I am not mistaken, it was the place now called *Duleene* or *Dulane* in the barony of Kells, and lying not far from the town of Kells on one side, nor from Killskyre on the other.

(171) Colgan, *AA. SS. p.* 106. from the Annals of Clonmacnois, and Ware, *Bishops at Clonmacnois*.

(172) Ware at *Leighlin* and *Tuam*.

(173) See the 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 407. ad A. 971 (972).* Ware (at *Meath*) reckons Becan among the bishops of Clonard in consequence of his being called *comorban of Finnian*. This deduction should be admitted, were it certain, as Ware supposed, that Finnian had been a bishop. But we have seen, (*Chap. x. §. 5.*) that this is rather a doubtful matter.

(174) Ware at *Emly*.

(175) *Tr. Th. p. 630. at A. 980 (981) and 985 (986).* Ware (at *Kildare*) has changed the date 980 into 981, but for what reason I know not, retained 985.

(176) Ware at *Cork*.

(177) *AA. SS. p. 387. at A. 972 (973.)* Ware (at *Dromore*) has not this bishop; but Harris makes mention of him.

(178) *AA. SS. p. 107.* I have added a year to each date.

§. xv. To the said century belonged a very distinguished saint, Dunchad O'Braoin. (179) He was of an illustrious family of the Nials, and born in the district called *Breghmuine* (now barony of Brawny) in Westmeath. He embraced the monastic state at Clonmacnois, where he made wonderful progress in piety and learning. Being very fond of retirement, and wishing to shun the applauses of men, he secreted himself as much as he could, leading the life of an anchorite. But on the death, in 969, of Tuathal, who had been both abbot and bishop of Clonmacnois, Dunchad was fixed upon as his successor to the abbacy, and being dragged from his retreat, was forced to accept of it. He was not, however, raised to the episcopacy, (180) but governed the monastery for some time merely as abbot, until, longing for a more retired state, he withdrew from the management of it, and, to be out of the way of the persons, by whom he was much admired in that part of Ireland, repaired to Armagh in the year 974 there to remain sequestered and unnoticed. But his reputation was soon spread throughout that city, and so much respect was paid to him that he determined on leaving it. His intention being dis-

covered, the principal inhabitants deputed some venerable persons to request of him that he would stay with them for one year longer. He complied with their wish; but when at the end of the year he was bent on departing, a similar request was made, and so on annually, until at length he died there on the 16th of January, *A. D.* 987. It is said that through his prayers the Almighty restored to life an infant son of a woman, who, having left the dead child at the entrance of the saint's cell, retired apart so as not to be seen, hoping that he would pray for the infant's resuscitation, as in fact it is stated that he did. (181)

Several lecturers of various schools are named in the Irish annals as having died in the second half of this century, for instance, Colman of Kildare in 963; Cronmail of Tallaght in 965; Conchobar of Kildare in 966; Flann of Clonmacnois in 978; (182) Muredach Hua Flannagain of Armagh in 984; (183) Fogartach of Devenish in 985; Longsech of Clonmacnois in 989; Diermit of Kildare in 992; Dunchad O'Huactain of Kells in 993; and Odran of Clonmacnois in 995. (184) Hence, and from what we have seen heretofore, it is clear that learning continued to be cultivated during this whole period, notwithstanding its having been dreadfully troubled by almost constant wars between the Irish and the Danes, or between the Irish themselves. Amidst this havoc divers religious establishments were plundered by the Danes, and some even by the Irish while devastating the places where they were situated. The monastery of Devenish was pillaged by the Northmen or Danes in 962; (185) and either in the following year or in 964 those of Dublin ravaged Kildare unmercifully, making a great number of ecclesiastics and others captives, of whom very many were ransomed by Neill Oherluibh (186) In 968 and again in 969 Kells was plundered by the Leinster men and Danes united. (187) In 979 the

people of Ossory burned Lismore, and plundered Cloyne and Leighlin. (188) They were punished not long after for these proceedings. Brian Bo-roimhe, then king of Munster, entered Ossory in 980, seized upon the prince Mac-giolla-Patrick (Fitzpatrick), and compelled all the chieftains of that country to give him hostages. (189) Brian had succeeded in 976 his gallant brother Mahon, who after having, together with Brian, defeated the Danes of Limerick, Cork, and Waterford on many occasions, particularly in the great battle of Sulchoid not far from Limerick *A. D.* 968, was murdered in said year 976 by some dynasts of the now county of Cork, although he was under the protection of Columba Mac-Ciaracain, bishop of Cork, who accordingly issued a malediction against all those, that were concerned in bringing about the king's death. (190) Another instance of the devastation of religious places was that of Hy by Northmen on Christmas eve in 986, on which occasion the abbot, whose name is not recorded, and fifteen of the elders were put to death. But in the following year those Northmen paid dearly for their atrocities, as 360 of them were killed, by whom, however, we are not particularly informed. (191) In 990 some Northmen plundered Derry, and again in 997, in which year the Danes of Dublin pillaged Kells, and in 999 also Kildare. (192) Other instances of similar depredations might be adduced; but these are sufficient to show, with what calamities Ireland was afflicted.

(179) Colgan has the Acts of this saint at 16 January from a short Life in the possession of Mac-Carthy Riabhach and from a still shorter one in the chronicle of Clonmacnois.

(180) Harris (*Bishops at Clonmacnois*) thought that Dunchad was also bishop there. For this opinion there is no foundation whatsoever, and some words, which he quotes from Colgan, prove nothing more than that Dunchad was placed over the monastery as abbot. Throughout his Acts, or wherever else he is

spoken of, Dunchad is never called bishop, but merely abbot and anchoret. At Clonmacnois, as well as in some other great monastic institutions, the abbots were not always bishops, nor *vice versa* were the bishops regularly abbots. Thus Moeldar and his successor St. Corpreus, bishop of Clonmacnois, (see *Chap. xxi. §. 15.*) do not appear to have been abbots there; and Archdall, misquoting Colgan, was wrong in giving them that title, while he omitted their real ones.

(181) This miracle is alluded to by Tigernach, author of the Annals of Clonmacnois, who lived in the eleventh century. He says, that Dunchad was until his time the last of the Irish saints, through whose intercession God restored a dead person to life. (See Dunchad's Acts.)

(182) *Tr. Th. p. 632.* adding a year to the dates.

(183) *Ib. p. 297. at A. 983. (984).*

(184) *Ib. p. 632. and Ind. Chron. adding a year, as usual.*

(185) *Ib. Ind. Chron. ad A. 961 (962).*

(186) *Ib. p. 630. ad A. 962 (963)* The Annals of Innisfallen assign this devastation to *A. 964.*

(187) *Ib. p. 508. at A. 967 (968) and 968 (969).*

(188) Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 978.*

(189) *Ib. at A. 980.*

(190) *Ib. at A. 976.* For the battle of Sulchoid see *ib. at A. 968*, where it is stated, that three thousand of the Danes were killed, and Limerick afterwards burned and pillaged.

(191) See the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 501*) at *A. 985 (986)* and *986 (987).*

(192) *Ib. p. 503, 508, and 630.* adding a year to the dates.

CHAP. XXIII.

Irish support their character for piety and learning, notwithstanding the troubles occasioned by the Danes—at the same time a priest could not be found in England capable of writing or translating a Latin letter—For the restoration of learning in England some erudite Irishmen formed a community at Glastonbury—St. Dunstan educated by them—St. Maccallin, an Irishman, in France—St. Cadroe, a British Scot, in France—Columbanus, an Irish abbot, dies in the monastery of Ghent—Duncan, an Irish bishop, distinguished in France—St. Maccallin founder of the monastery of Walciadorus—St. Forum, who had been archbishop of Armagh, became fourth abbot of Walciadorus and continued so till his death on 30th April, A.D. 982.—Several illustrious Irishmen who flourished on the Continent at that period—St. Fingen abbot of St. Felix at Metz—died in the year 1004—succeeded by his disciple Richard, dean of the diocese of Rheims—St. Gerard, an Irishman, bishop of Toul, gave in 985 a retreat in his diocese to some Greeks, who, mixed with Irishmen, performed the Church service in their own language—Succession of bishops in Ireland, particularly those of Armagh, Emly, and Cork—Deaths of several remarkable persons in Ireland—the Danes defeated in several battles by Brian Boroimhe—Brian compels the Lagenians to give him hostages—Maelseaghlain plunders the Dalcassians—Brian marches against him, and forces him to acknowledge his sovereignty over Leath Mhogha—After several battles with various success Maelseaghlain is dethroned and Brian becomes monarch of Ireland in the year 1001—Several acts of Brian—Total overthrow of the Danes, and death of Brian at

the battle of Clontarf in 1014—Interment of Brian in Armagh—dispute between the Eugenian and Dalcassian tribes—Maelseachlain restored to the Monarchy—Interregnum under the government of Cuan O' Leochan the poet, and Corcran a clergyman—Christian religion gradually spread over the remaining Danes of Ireland—Maelmuire Machi Eochad, archbishop of Armagh, succeeded by Amalgaid, who was said to be a layman—Amalgaid's visitation of Munster—Dubdalethe III. succeeds Amalgaid—Deaths of several bishops—Several learned men who flourished in Ireland during this period—Deaths of several illustrious persons who had been distinguished for their learning, piety, &c.—Some Danes still continue to commit depredations on religious establishments in Ireland—Donatus first bishop of Dublin—Church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, built—and endowed by Sitric, Danish king of Dublin—No proof that Donatus was consecrated by Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, as sometimes stated—See of Dublin confined to the city until the Synod of Kells under cardinal Papiro—Death of St. Gormgal, abbot of Ard-oilean.

SECT. I.

WHILE the Irish were struggling at home against the impediments, which the misfortunes of the times opposed to the cultivation of piety and learning, and while they upheld their character in these respects even during that century, which is usually called *obscure*, and indeed justly so, if we look to the corruption of morals and ecclesiastical discipline, and the shameful ignorance by which said century has been rendered infamous in some other parts of Europe, many of them highly distinguished themselves in foreign countries by their sanctity, Chris-

tian zeal, and knowledge, both sacred and literary. In that age we find numbers of them teaching in England, where after the death of Alfred down to the times of St. Dunstan, learning had so declined, owing, it seems, to the troubles caused by the Danes, that at length a priest could not be found capable of either writing or translating a Latin letter.

(1) The monastic institutions, which Alfred had endeavoured partly to restore, having ceased to exist, there were no public schools established in their stead, and hence it is not to be wondered at that ignorance became so universal. Some time before 940 it happened providentially for the restoration of learning, and consequently of religious improvement, that several Irishmen, remarkably skilled in every department of science and erudition sacred and profane, retired to Glastonbury, and there formed a community. For the purpose of contributing towards their support they received young noblemen under their care, whom they instructed in the liberal studies, and among others Dunstan the most celebrated of their pupils. With the help of these masters he acquired a great degree not only of classical and philosophical knowledge, but likewise of ecclesiastical learning, and remained with them until being well accomplished even in the fine arts, such as music, painting, &c. he was introduced by his uncle Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury, to the king Ethelstan. (3) The exertions of this great and holy man were afterwards of most essential service to religion and learning in England.

(1) Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* at A. 940. from Spelman.

(2) Osbern, *Life of St. Dunstan*, ap. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. II. p. 91. Having observed that at said period the monastic observances were scarcely heard of in England, Osbern adds that, if any one wished to lead a life of mortification, he used to go to some foreign country. He then takes occasion to state that it had been and was in his time quite usual and, as it were, natural for

the Irish to go on pilgrimages in foreign parts, and then treats of those who were settled at Glastonbury, &c. As the passage is curious, I shall here quote as much of it as is connected with the present subject; "*Hicque mos cum plerosque tum vehementer adhuc manet Hibernos; quia, quod aliis bona voluntas in consuetudinem, hoc illis consuetudo vertit in naturam. Quorum multi atque illustres viri, divinis ac secularibus literis nobiliter eruditi, dum relicta Hibernia in terra Anglorum peregrinaturi venissent, locum habitationis suae Glestoniam delegerunt, propterea quod esset a civili multitudine sequestratus, et humanis usibus accommodus, et (quod maxime affectabant peregrini) Patricii religiosa veneratione gloriosus.—Cum ergo hi tales viri talibus de causis Glestoniam venissent, nec tamen quicquid sibi necessarium erat sufficientissime in loco reperissent, suscipiunt filios nobilium liberalibus studiis imbuendos; ut, quod minus ad usum loci ubertas exhiberet, eorum quos docebant liberalitate redundaret. Adest ergo nobilissimus in Christo puer Dunstanus, inter alios unus, immo prae aliis solus, ubi paullo diligentius quam imbecilla aetas ferre posset literarum studio intentus,*" &c. Then he tells us how Dunstan fell sick, &c. This, by the bye, was not the first time, in which there were distinguished Irishmen at Glastonbury; many of them had been there long before.

(3) See Mr. Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon church*, ch. 12.

§. II. St. Maccallin, or, as some call him, *Maccallan*, *Malcallin*, or *Malcallan*, an Irishman, was in France, together with St. Cadroc and some others, in, it seems, 945 or 946 (4) His history is much connected with that of St. Cadroe, on which accordingly, although he was not an Irish but a British Scot, I must say a few words. (5) Cadroe was of the royal house of the Scots of North Britain, and was placed at an early age under the direction of a very pious relative, named Bean, who instructed him in religion and watched over his morals. When grown up, it was thought adviseable to give him what would be now called a university education; and, as there were then no schools in Scotland, in which it could be acquired, Bean sent him to Armagh. (6)

There he applied himself to the classical and philosophical studies, including natural history, astronomy, &c. and, as he was gifted with a fine genius, became a great proficient in them. Having finished his literary and scientific course he recrossed the sea, (7) and returned to his cousin Bean. Being full of zeal for the instruction of his countrymen, he set about teaching them so as to form school-masters for every part of Scotland, all of whom were indebted to him for their knowledge. (8) While Cadroe was thus employed in teaching what are called the liberal arts, without thinking of retiring from the world, it is said that both he and Bean had visions, in which it was announced that he should quit his native country, remove to foreign parts, and exercise himself in monastic discipline, as it was the will of God that he should become the spiritual father of others. He determined on obeying the summons, and was preparing to set out, when the people of every condition, and even the king Constantine (9) requested him not to leave his country, remonstrating with him on the injury which his departure would cause to all Scotland, where he was doing so much good. These expostulations made such an impression on him, that he delayed for some time; but afterwards returning to his former determination he opposed all their exertions to detain him, until at length it was agreed upon to let him go abroad and even to supply him with money, clothes, horses, and every thing necessary for his journey. Having passed the frontiers of the then Scottish kingdom, he entered the British one of Cumbria lying to the south of the Clyde, (10) where he was very kindly received by its king Dovenald, (11) a relation of his, who, having kept him for some time at his court, conducted him to the city of Loida, situated at the boundary of the Cumbrians and Normans, where Cadroe was received by Gunderic, a nobleman, who accompanied him to York and introduced him to

the king Eric, whose wife was related to him. (12) Thence he went to London, and proceeded to Winchester, where he was treated with honour by king Edmund, who got him conducted to a harbour called *Hymen*. After some delay there caused by bad weather, he sent back to Scotland some of his companions, among whom was a nephew of his, and having embarked arrived safely at Boulogne. Thence he went to St. Fursey's monastery of Peronne, where he prayed to God that he would, through the merits of St. Fursey, point out to him a place, where he should stop. On the following night the saint appeared to him in a vision and told him, that he must go to some other spot.

(4) Colgan has made up some Acts for St. Maccalin, or as he names him, Malcallan, at 21 January. The Bollandists treat of him at said day. There is an account of him also in the *Acta Bened. Sec. v. p. 548*. He is expressly called an Irishman, *natione Hibernus* in the Appendix to the chronicle of Frodoard at *A. 978*. and in the Anglican martyrology; and that he was the Bollandists maintain, both at 21 January and 6 March, in their observations on the Life of St. Cadroe, where they state that the Scotch have no argument in favour of making him their countryman. Yet in the Benedictine account, either by Dachory or Mabilion, it is said that he was rather a British than an Irish Scot, notwithstanding the authority of the Appendix to Frodoard there quoted. For this opinion no reason is assigned, nor, I believe, could there, except that Maccallin happened to be in France together with Cadroe, who was certainly a native of N. Britain. But this, as will be soon seen, is far from affording any proof of it. As to the time of Cadroe's arrival in France, it is universally allowed that it was about 945.

(5) There is a rather large Life of St. Cadroe, or *Cathroe*, as Colgan thought he ought to be called, written by one Reiman or Ousman, seemingly a French or German monk, not very long after the saint's death. It has been published by Colgan at 6 March, at which day it is also in the collection of the Bollandists, who omitted as useless some stuff in the beginning of it relative to

certain migrations of the primitive Scots. Thence it was republished in the *Acta Bened. Sec. v.* Colgan has lost his time in endeavouring to show, that Cadroe was an Irish Scot, whereas it is quite clear that he was a British one; and accordingly he is considered as such by the Bollandists and Mabillon.

(6) It is remarked by Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 944.*) that the reason, why Cadroe was sent to Armagh, was that studies were at that time neglected in Scotland. Compare with *Not. 27 to Chap. xx.*

(7) *Aequore remenso.* (*Life, cap: 12.*) Colgan struggles to explain these words as if meaning, that he sailed on a lake or crossed the Shannon on his return to some part of Ireland, in which as Colgan imagined, his relatives lived. But the author of the *Life* understood Latin sufficiently well not to call a lake or a river *aequor.*

(8) It is observed in the *Life, (ib)* by allusion to the words of St. Paul *I Cor. iv. 15.* that, although Scotland might have thousands of pedagogues yet it had not many fathers, whereas Cadroe was the person, who begat them; *in disciplinis enim artium hic illos genuit*; and that from the time of his arrival (or return to his country) none of the wise men had crossed the sea but still lived in Ireland. This is marked to prove, that Cadroe was then the only great teacher in Scotland. It is strange, that Colgan could, with such circumstances before his eyes, have persisted in making Cadroe an Irishman, and living and teaching in Ireland; as if there had not been numberless great masters or fathers in Ireland for centuries before Cadroe was born, or as if he could have been called the only father in Ireland, while the very persons or fathers, by whom he himself had been taught, at Armagh, not to mention so many others elsewhere, were still alive.

(9) This was Constantine III. son of Ethus, who, having resigned the throne in 943, became superior of the Culdees of St. Andrews. (*Buchanan, Rev. Scot. ad Reg. 75.* and *Usher, Intd. Chron. ad A. 943.*) Colgan strives to get rid of this argument in favour of Cadroe having been a British Scot by introducing a Constantine O'Neill, who was chieftain of Inishowen some time in the tenth century; as if Inishowen could be supposed to be a large kingdom, such as the author of the *Life* alludes to.

(10) Compare with *Not. 74 to Chap. xxi.*

(11) This Dovenald was the king, whom old English writers call Dunmail, and whose country the English king Edmund made over to Malcolm I. king of the British Scots in 946, and accordingly after Cadroe had travelled through it. (See Usher, p. 664 and *Ind. Chron.* at A. 946.) What Colgan has concerning him is so confused, that it is not worth remarking upon.

(12) *Life*, cap. 17. In this narrative there are some points well worthy the attention of British antiquaries. As it is not my business to enlarge on them, I shall only observe that the people called by the author *Normans* were the Northumbrians, who were then ruled by Norman or Danish kings, of whom Eric was one.

§. III. Not far distant from Peronne there lived a pious, wealthy, and noble matron, named Hersendis, who was very kind to pilgrims. On hearing that some such persons had arrived in her neighbourhood, she sent to them requesting that they would call to see her. They complied with her wish, and on conversing with her said that all they wanted was a retired place, where living by their labour they might serve God. She then gladly showed them a spot in the forest called *Theorascensis* near the river Oise in the diocese of Laon and adjoining the frontiers of Hainault, (13) and where there was a church under the name of St. Michael. They liked the place, and Hersendis got the church enlarged and habitations erected for their use. Among these pilgrims, who in all were thirteen, was Maccallin, a man of superior goodness, (14) and whose name now occurs for the first time. Where he met with Cadroe we are not informed, nor whether he had travelled with him all the way from Scotland, although it is not improbable that he had. (15) For there was a great intercourse between the Scots of Ireland and those of N. Britain, so that many of the former were to be found in the latter country, and *vice versa*. Wheresoever these two worthy men first met, they and their companions being settled

at St. Michael's, it was proposed to appoint a superior, and Cadroe was fixed upon for that purpose. But, as he could not be induced to accept of that office, Maccallin was then compelled to submit to it. Having lived for some time in this manner, assisted by the munificence of Hersendis, Maccallin and Cadroe were seized with a desire to become Benedictine monks. For the attainment of this object they were helped by Hersendis, who directed Maccallin to Gorzia, a monastery in the diocese of Metz, recommending him to the abbot Agenald, and Cadroe to the celebrated monastery of Fleury sur Loire, then governed by Erchembald a very religious man. When Maccallin had received the monastic habit, Hersendis sent to Agenald, requesting that he would permit him to proceed to the place, which had been already intended for him. This place was Walciodorus, now Vassor, near the Meuse between Dinant and Givet, where Eilbert, the husband of Hersendis, had erected a monastery about *A. 945*, and about the same time that Hersendis had formed the establishment of St. Michael's. (16) Maccallin, on his return, was placed as abbot over Walciodorus, still retaining the management of St. Michael's. Having sent for Cadroe, he appointed him prior of the monastery. After some time Maccallin, finding that the direction of two establishments was too much for his strength, begged of Cadroe to become abbot of Walciodorus. With great difficulty Cadroe agreed to this proposal, having been pressed to do so by Otho, king of Germany, who was afterwards emperor. This occurred about 950. (17) Cadroe was afterwards abbot of the monastery of St. Clement, *alias* St. Felix at Metz, and died *A. D. 975* or 976, after the 70th year of his age and 30th of his peregrination or abode in a foreign country. (18) He was buried in the church of his monastery at Metz, and his memory was revered on the 6th of March.

Maccallin, having returned to St. Michael's in the forest *Thearascensis*, spent the remainder of his life there until his death on the 21st of January in the year 978. He was buried in the church of St. Michael, and his name is mentioned with great praise by old writers and in various martyrologies. (19)

(13) See Bollandus at 21 January, where he treats of St. Maccallin. Colgan was mistaken in assigning that place to the diocese of Verdun.

(14) Life of St. Cadroe, *cap.* 20.

(15) The author of Cadroe's Life calls (*ib.*) Maccallin a companion of Cadroe's pilgrimage. This may seem to insinuate, that they had gone together from Scotland. Yet they might have first met in England, or perhaps in France, where many Irishmen were then to be found; and in either hypothesis Maccallin might still be called a companion of Cadroe's pilgrimage (*peregrinatio*), which, strictly speaking, did not begin until they were settled, as pious foreigners, at St. Michael's. For, as far as I have been able to observe, the acceptance of *peregrinatio*, which so often occurs in lives of saints of those times, is not so much *travelling as living for pious motives in a foreign land*. For instance in the passage from Osbern, (above *Not.* 2.) the words, *relicta Hibernia in terra Anglorum prepergrinaturi venissent*, plainly mean that the persons there alluded to left Ireland for the purpose of leading a life of peregrination, that is, absence from their own country, in England. Our English word, *pilgrimage*, does not exactly correspond with the *peregrinatio* of the writers of the middle ages.

(16) See the Bollandists at St. Cadroe, 6 March.

(17) *Ib.*

(18) Life of St. Cadroe *cap.* 25. Compare with Mabillon, *Observ. pract.* at said Life in *Acta Bened. Sec.* v.

(19) We read in the Appendix to Frodoard's chronicle; "Anno 978 *vir Domini Malcallinus natione Hibernicus in vigilia S. Vincentii Levitae et martyris vitam transitoriam, quam habebat exosam, deseruit, et cum Domino, cui indesinenter, dum adhuc viveret, serviverat, vivere feliciter inchoavit. Qui praefatus abbas in corpore humatus quiescit in ecclesia B. Michaelis archangeli, cujus abbatiam, dum corporaliter in hoc seculo maneret, pio mo-*

deramine rexit." The words *vir Domini*, or as in the *MS. vir dni*, have been mistaken for *Virduni*, and hence some have said that Macallin was abbot of St. Michael's at Verdun, and that he died in that town. But there was no such monastery at Verdun. In a history of the foundation of Walciodorus it is mentioned, that he died in 990; but the other is the true date and is followed by the Bollandists and Benedictines.

§. 4. An Irish abbot, named Columbanus, shut himself up and became a recluse on the 2d of February, *A.D.* 957, in the cemetery of the monastery of Ghent, and remained there until his death on the 15th of February in 959. (20) Whether the monastery, which he had governed, was in Ireland or in the continent, is not sufficiently known; but it is universally allowed that he was an Irishman. (21) His remains are in St. Bavo's church at Ghent, and his memory is famous in Belgium, where his name occurs among those of other saints in a litany of the Belgic churches. Israel, an Irish bishop, but I know not of what diocese, (22) lived in the eastern part of France during the first half of the 10th century. He assisted at a synod held at Verdun in 947, (23) at which was present also the celebrated Bruno, brother of the king, and afterwards emperor Otho. Bruno was then abbot, but a few years later became archbishop of Cologne. One of the masters of this great and learned prelate was Israel, concerning whom I do not find any further account. Duncan, likewise an Irish bishop, was distinguished as a teacher in France some time in the said century. It is not known whether he was consecrated there or in Ireland. He taught in the monastery of St. Remigius at Rheims, (24) and wrote for the use of his students a Commentary on the nine books of Martianus Capella on the liberal arts, in the title of which he is called an Irish bishop. A copy of this work was transcribed by one Gifardus, and was in the library of said monastery, but is now among the royal

MSS. in the British Museum. Duncan wrote also Observations on the first book of Pomponius Mela on the situation of the earth, which likewise are still extant. (25)

St. Forannan, (26) who had been consecrated at Armagh bishop of a place, called *Domnach-mor*, arrived at Walciodorus 23 years later than St. Maccallin had become its abbot, and accordingly in 970, reckoning from 947 the year, in which, according to every appearance, Maccallin, Cadroe, and some Irish monks began to live there. (27) It is therefore a great mistake to suppose, as some writers have done, that Forannan had been in that place before Maccallin, and that he was the founder of the monastery. (28) From what we have seen above it is evident, that Macallin was the first abbot of Walciodorus, who, on his resignation, was succeeded by Cadroe in about 950. On Cadroe's removing to Metz in 954 or 955 he left an abbot there, whose name is unknown, but who is said to have permitted a relaxation of discipline. After his death Forannan was appointed abbot. (29) Thus Forannan was, in fact, the fourth abbot of Walciodorus, which he governed until his death on the 30th of April in 982, (30) having re-established the vigour of monastic discipline, and left a great reputation for sanctity.

(20) Colgan treats of this St. Columbanus at 2 February, and the Bollandists more probably at 15 of said month.

(21) Dempster, with his usual effrontery, making him a Scotchman and a writer, says that he always lived in Scotland, and refers to Molanus, who has not a word of what that liar pretended to take from him. (See *AA. SS. p. 238.*) The Belgic writers agree that he was a native of Ireland. By them he is called *abbas Hibernicis*, without telling us whether in Ireland or elsewhere; but Menard understood that appellation as meaning, that he had been an abbot in Ireland.

(22) Fleury in one place (*Hist. Eccl. L. 55. §. 35.*) calls him a

bishop of Great Britain, and in another (*ib.* §. 43.) a Scotch bishop, *eveque Ecossois*. But the Benedictine authors of the *Histoire Letteraire*, who were better acquainted with the history of those times, expressly state, (*Tom. vi. p. 305.*) that he was an Irish bishop.

(23) Fleury, *ib.* §. 35.

(24) Dr. Ledwich very learnedly brings (*Ant. &c. p. 165.*) the monastery of St. Remigius to Down, and makes Duncan teach there. There was no monastery of St. Remigius in Ireland. But the Doctor, or some one before him, had stumbled on a passage in Usher (*Pr. p. 910, or London ed. 472.*) where he speaks of this work of Duncan, *alias Dunchat*, as being in the library of the church of Worcester with the following title; “*Commentum Dunchat pontificis Hibernicensis, quod contulit suis discipulis in monasterio S. Remigii douns, super astrologia Martiani Capellae Varronis.*” Usher left this title, as he found or thought he found it, imagining, as appears from his making *d* a capital letter, that *douns* was a local or proper name. Thence it was deduced, that it meant Down in Ireland. But there can be no doubt, that *douns* is an erratum for *docens*, which I should rather ascribe to the copyist of said title than to Usher’s being mistaken in the spelling of the words as he met with it.

(25) See *Histoire Letteraire, Tom. vi. p. 549.* and Warton’s *History of English poetry, Vol. II. p. 75.*

(26) The Bollandists have a Life of St. Forannan at 30 April, and from them it has been republished in the *Acta Ben. Sec. v. p. 586 seqq.*

(27) See the Bollandists, *Notes at St. Forannan, ib. p. 819, 820.*

(28) Among others Colgan fell into this mistake, and promised to prove at 30 April, that Forannan had preceded Maccallin. (See *AA. SS. p. 153 and 238.*) How he could have endeavoured to prove it I do not know, as he did not live long enough to publish Forannan’s Life at said day.

(29) See the Bollandists, *ib.* and *p. 808.* and at *St. Cadroe, 6 Mart. p. 471.*

(30) This is the date marked for it by Mabillon, (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 982.*) and, as it is probably the true one, further inquiries may be omitted.

§ v. About these times there was also an Irish monastery at Cologne. Warinus, archbishop of Cologne, built or repaired a monastery of the Scots (Irish) in an island of the Rhine near the city, over which he placed Mimborin, who is said to have governed it for fifteen years. (31) Marianus Scotus says, that in 975 Erberger, archbishop of Cologne, made over to the Scots, for ever, this monastery called St. Martin's, and that its first abbot was Mimborin, a *Scotus*, who presided over it for twelve years, reckoning, I suppose, from the date of the perpetual grant made by Erberger. Accordingly Mimborin's death, which occurred on the 18th of July, must be assigned either to 987, or, if the twelve years were not complete, to 986. (32) He was succeeded by Kilian likewise an Irishman, after whom, as it was an Irish establishment, we find it governed by St. Helias, (33) who had belonged to the monastery of Monaghan, and of whom more will be seen elsewhere.

A very celebrated Irish abbot was Fingen, (34) who succeeded St. Cadroc as abbot of St. Felix, *alias* St. Clement, at Metz, in about the year 976. Besides the government of this monastery he was invested also with that of St. Symphorian, likewise at Metz, in the year 991. This old abbey was rebuilt by Adalbero II. then bishop of Metz, who, having a great esteem for Fingen, placed him over it, and, with the assistance of the empress dowager Adelhaid a protectress of Fingen and the Irish Benedictines, and grandmother of Otho III. as yet only king, obtained from this sovereign a confirmation of the rights and possessions of this establishment on condition, that the Irishman Fingen, its first abbot, and his successors, should not have any other than Irish monks as long as they could be found, but, in case they could not, allowing the admittance of monks of any other nation; and that prayers should be constantly offered there for the king's

soul, those of his parents, and of the then bishop and his successors. This deed was signed by the king at Frankfort on the 25th of January, *A. D.* 992, in the ninth year of his reign. (35) Not long after Fingen was sent to re-establish the monastery of St. Peter and St. Vitonus, now St. Vannes, at Verdun, where he fixed some Irish monks, of whom seven were there under his direction, when the celebrated Richard, dean of the diocese of Rheims, and Frederic, who had been count of Verdun, applied to him in 1001 for permission to become members of this house. (36) As they were persons of high rank in the world, he was at first loth to receive them, being afraid that they would not put up with the poverty and discipline of the monastery. At length, however, he complied with their request, (37) and instructed and trained them so well, that they became, especially Richard, two of the greatest and most useful men of their times. St. Fingen died in the year 1004, and was succeeded by his holy disciple Richard. (38) There is a short letter of his, still extant, in the library of St. Remigius of Rheims, to Fastradis a nun, concerning a monk named Guilier (39)

To this account of Irish ecclesiastics distinguished in foreign countries during the tenth century, I shall add only a curious circumstance related of St. Gerard, bishop of Toul, who in 986 gave a retreat in his diocese to several Greeks, who, mixed with Irishmen, performed the Church service in their own language, and according to the Greek rite. (40) Hence we see, that the Irish still continued to cultivate Greek literature.

(31) Mabillon, *ib. ad A.* 974.

(32) Florence of Worcester places it in 986.

(33) See Mabillon, *loc. cit.* and Colgan *AA. SS.* p. 107.

(34) Colgan treats of St. Fingen at 5 February. His account of him is very imperfect. The Bollandists have omitted him, placing

him among the *Praetermissi* at 5 February, and observing that Colgan had not a sufficient reason for giving him the title of *beatus*, as he had found him called only *virtuosus*. But the Fingen, styled *virtuosus*, was in all probability different from the one we are now treating of; nor did Colgan state that they were the same, although the cause of his placing St Fingen at 5 February was, that the name of a Fingen, the *virtuous son of Odran Fedhla*, occurs at said day in some Irish calendars. Mabillon did not scruple to consider Fingen as a saint, and often speaks of him as a most religious man, *ex. c. Annal. Ben. ad A. 1001*. And the authors of the *Histoire Letteraire* expressly call him *St. Fingen an Irishman*, &c. (*Tom. vi. p. 437.*) where they tell us, that there was a large account of him in a Life of Thierrî, bishop of Metz, which unfortunately has been lost.

(35) Colgan, having got a copy of this diploma from the archives of the church of Metz through the kindness of Meuris, bishop of that see, has annexed it to the Acts of Fingen. It begins thus; “ *In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, Otto divina favente clementia rex.*” After three or four lines it proceeds; “ *Quapropter omnium fidelium nostrorum praesentium scilicet et futurorum noverit industria, quomodo Adalbero Metensis ecclesiae venerabilis episcopus ad nos venit, dicens quod abbatiam quamdam, foras muros Metis civitatis sitam, jam longo tempore destructam, pro Dei amore et sancti Symphoriani martyris noviter coepit reaedificare, humiliter deprecans nostram excellentiam, ut eandem abbatiam cum suis pertinentiis nostrae autoritatis praeceptione confirmemus. Nos vero ob interventum dilectae aviae nostrae, Adalheidis videlicet imperatricis Augustae, piaie petitioni illius benignum assensum praebentes, eidem abbatae S. Symphoriani omnia loca a regibus, vel imperatoribus, vel aliis religiosis personis antea unquam tradita, vel qua iam ipse dilectus Adalbero episcopus illic moderno tempore adauxit et adhuc addere desiderat, aliorumque Dei fidelium bona adiungere studuerit, regia denuo nostra munificentia donamus, atque confirmamus, ea videlicet ratione, ut abbas primus nomine Fingenius Hiberniensis natione, quem ipse praelibatus episcopus nunc temporis ibi constituit, sui que successores Hibernienses monachos, habeant, quamdiu sic esse poterit; et si defuerint ibi monachi de Hibernia, de quibuscumque nationibus semper ibi monachi habeantur; et nostri*

nominis, animaeque nostrae, parentumque nostrorum, et praesentis episcopi successorumque illius memoria ibi nunquam deficiat." Then after a few words comes the signature, &c. See also Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 991*. Fleury could not have seen these Annals at the time he was writing the history of those times; but it is odd, that he seems to have been ignorant of the now quoted diploma, whereas otherwise he would not (*Liv. 58. §. 60.*) have called Fingen an *Ecossois*, Scotchman. Mabillon adds, that Otho confirmed also the possessions, &c. of the monastery of St. Felix.

(36) Mabillon *ib.* and at *A. 1001*.

(37) An anonymous author of a Life of Richard pretends, that on his and Frederic's first going to Fingen's monastery of St. Vannes they did not find the regular observance, which they expected to see, and that they went to Clugni to consult St. Odilo on what they should do, who, however, advised them to return thither, as they accordingly did. Mabillon (*ib.* at *A. 1001.*) rejects this story about the defect of regular observance, and shows that Fingen was a very holy man, who could not be deficient in enforcing regularity. And, in fact, following the story itself, would Odilo have counselled them to place themselves under Fingen, were his discipline not strict? Fleury (*loc. cit.*) picked up this story among other mistakes concerning Fingen and his Irish monks, whom he calls *Ecossois*. His saying that Odilon sent Richard and Frederic back to St. Vannes under the persuasion, that they would reform the establishment, is a poor evasion; for how could they expect to do so, while they remained simple monks? The truth is, that Richard's and Frederick's reason for having consulted Odilo was, that on their first going to Verdun they found another monastery there lately founded by bishop Wigfrid, which seemed to them more convenient, although the monastic observance was not as regular as in Fingen's of St. Vannes, which was small and deficient in buildings. On applying to Odilo to learn from him which they should prefer, he gave them the above mentioned advice.

(38) Mabillon, *ib. ad A. 1004*. Another mistake of Fleury, (*loc. cit.*) is his stating, that Fingen died about three *months* after he had received Richard into the monastery. He should have said, about three *years*; for Richard's reception was in 1001. It is

singular, that in the Irish annals the death of a Fingen, called abbot of Roscrea, is marked at *A.* 1005. (*AA. SS. p.* 258.) The date comes so near that of the death of St. Fingen, that it might be suspected they were one and the same person. Might it be that Fingen had gone from Roscrea to superintend the establishment of St. Felix at Metz? The day of his death was probably the 8th of October, at which he is praised in the Necrologium of St. Clement of Metz, as abbot, &c. and buried in its church.

(39) Mabillon, *ib.*

(40) *Histoire Letteraire, Tom. vi. p.* 638.

§. VI. Cenfada, bishop of Emly, who died in 990, (41) was succeeded by Columba Mac-Lagenan, who held the see until 1003. After him was Serbrethae, who lived until 1027. (42) From these times forward we find what appears to be a regular account of the succession in the see of Cork; and accordingly it is very probable, that Columba Mac-Ciaracain, who died in 990, (43) had as immediate successor Cellaeh Hua-Sealbaugh, a very wise and learned man, who, having lived to a great age, died, it is said, in pilgrimage *A. D.* 1026. (44) Dubdalethe II. archbishop of Armagh, who died in 998, (45) was succeeded by Muregan, who after three years' incumbency, or rather in the third year, resigned the see in 1001. (46) He had made a visitation of the northern parts of Ireland, and in his stead was placed Maelmury, that is, *servant of Mary*, the son of Eochad, while, according to another account, the Maelmury, his immediate successor, was the son of Scanlan (47) Be this as it may, Maelmur, the son of Eochad, was certainly archbishop of Armagh, and he is usually said to have held the see for 19 years. (48) His death, which occurred on the 3d of June, *A. D.* 1020, is supposed to have been caused by grief for the destruction of a great part of the city by fire in said year. (49) This prelate is spoken of in terms of high approbation, being styled *the head of the clergy of western Europe, the chief*

of the holy orders of the West, and a most wise Doctor. (50) Hence it is clear that he was not, as some have imagined, one of those lay usurpers, who arrogated to themselves the title of *archbishop of Armagh*, but really in holy orders and a real bishop. (50) There is some reason to think, that Amalgaid, who is called his successor, belonged to that class; but of this more hereafter. Maelbrigid, Hua-Rimed, abbot of Hy, died in 1005, and was, it seems, succeeded by Flann-Abhra, who lived until 1025 or 1026. (52)

Some persons, eminent for piety or learning, are marked as having died in the early part of the eleventh century. Aengus abbot of Aghaboe, who had retired to Armagh, died there in 1004. (53) To the same year is assigned the death of Eochad O'Flanagan, the chief and best antiquary of Ireland; (54) but where he lived or died I do not find recorded. Aidus or Aedh, abbot of Trefot (Trevet in Meath not far from Tara) had also retired to Armagh. He is called a scholastic or lecturer, bishop, and wise man. Having led a very holy life he died in 1005, and was buried there with great honour. (55) Muredach Mac-Crichan, a comorban of St. Columba and St. Adamnan, that is, abbot of Derry and Raphoe, died also at Armagh on the 28th of December, *A. D.* 1011. in the 74th year of his age. He was a bishop, and lecturer of theology at Armagh. Owing to his great reputation, his remains were deposited with great solemnity near the great altar in the cathedral of that city. (56) In the next year a great pestilence broke out at Armagh, which raged from All-saints day until May following, and carried off Kennfaelad of Saball or Saul, a bishop and anchoret, Maelbrigid Mac-an-Gobhann, a lecturer of Armagh, Scholag-Mac-Clerchen, a distinguished priest, and a vast number of elders and students. (57)

(41) See *Chap. xxii. §. 14.*

(42) Ware, *Bishops at Emly.* Harris has inserted between Columba and Serbrethae a bishop Cormac Hua-Finn, but without sufficient authority. He is called by the 4 Masters, who mark his death at 1020, (*ap. AA. SS. p. 360.*) merely *the most erudite bishop of the Momonians.* It does not hence follow, that he was bishop of Emly, as the words seem to mean nothing more than that he was a very learned man and bishop somewhere in Munster, or that he was the most learned of the Momonians. Ware's catalogue of the prelates of Emly, which is well kept up, must not be departed from on slight grounds.

(43) *Chap. xxii. §. 14.*

(44) This is the date marked by Ware, *Bishops at Cork.* In Colgan's text (*AA. SS. p. 335.*) The date is, as if from the 4 Masters 1036. This is probably a typographical error. At any rate it is wrong; for there were other bishops of Cork between Cellach's death and 1036. The 4 Masters do not mention his dying in pilgrimage, but call him *bishop, comorban of St Barr, &c.*

(45) *Chap. xxii. §. 14.*

(46) The catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel allows for Muregan three, seemingly incomplete, years, not four as Harris says in his additions to Ware. Colgan thought (*Tr. Th. p. 302.*) that Muregan was one of the lay usurpers not really bishops. (See *Chap. xxii. §. 13.*) But his argument is a very poor one. He met with a Muredach, prior of Armagh, who is called son of Muregan, and who died in 982 or 983. He then supposed that this Muregan was the same as the one styled *archbishop.* Might not there have been divers Muregans? Or why suppose, that a man, who died in 982, was the son of a person, who was not called archbishop of Armagh until 998, and who, after he had resigned, lived until 1006? Or admitting that the archbishop Muregan was the father of said Muredach, will it follow that he was still a layman in 998? The fact is, that it is impossible to identify all those laymen so called archbishops. I believe that they were chiefly among those, whose names do not occur in the Cashel catalogue, but who are mentioned by the 4 Masters.

(47) The 4 Masters have both these Maelmurs, as bishops of

Armagh, placing the son of Scanlan before the other. (See *Tr. Th. p. 297, 298.*) In the Cashel catalogue only one Maelmur is mentioned without the addition of his father's name. Ware omits the son of Scanlan, as does also O'Flaherty in his MS. catalogue (*at Tr. Th. p. 319.*) Yet it is highly probable, that he was for some time in possession of the see; and perhaps he was one of the lay usurpers. The dates marked for him and for some others under the title of bishops of Armagh by the 4 Masters, are so confused, that they cannot be reconciled with those of the Cashel catalogue or of Ware, &c. They have also one Hermedac, whom they call bishop and scribe of Armagh, and whom they assign to part of the time, during which, according to others, Maelmur son of Eochad was the actual bishop.

(48) The Cashel catalogue marks 19 years for Maelmur simply so called. The Maelmur meant in it was, in all appearance, the son of Eochad. If there was any other bishop, or person called bishop of Armagh during part of these 19 years, it might have overlooked them.

(49) Ware (*at Maelmur*) assigns his death to 1021; but it must have been in 1020, whereas it is marked by the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 298.*) at this year, as having fallen on the Friday before Pentecost. Now in the year 1020 Pentecost or Whitsunday, was on the 5th of June. In said year about a month earlier that great fire happened, in which the cathedral and some other churches, besides a great number of houses and much property, were consumed. Yet, according to the 4 Masters, it was not universal as Ware says; for in one of the four quarters of the city the only edifice destroyed was the library.

(50) 4 Masters, *ib.*

(51) Colgan striving (*Tr. Th. p. 302*) to find the eight married laymen so called bishops among the persons mentioned in the Cashel catalogue, reckons as one of them, Maelmur, son of Eochad. And why? Because Dubdalethe III. whose accession was in 1049, is called son of one Maelmur. But was the son of Eochad the only Maelmur in Ireland? And, supposing that Dubdalethe III. was the son of a man called *bishop*, might not his father have been the Maelmur son of Scanlan? (See *Not. 47.*) It is odd, that Colgan could have supposed that the son of Eochad

was not in holy orders, notwithstanding his having been distinguished by the title of *chief of the holy orders, &c.* Ware did not follow Colgan in his hypothesis concerning this Maelmur and Dubdalethe III.; but Harris has added something relative to it.

(52) *Tr. Th. p. 501. at A. 1004 (1005) and 1025* the date of the 4 Masters, not 1015 as appears *ib.* through an erratum. Smith (*App. to Life of St. Columba*) has copied this mistake. I am doubtful whether 1025 ought to be changed into 1026; for about these times the 4 Masters begin not to differ as much as usual from the generally received Christian era. Thus we have seen (*Not. 49*) that their date 1020 for the death of bishop Maelmur is correct; whereas those of a few years earlier are sometimes not so, for instance, that for the battle of Clontarf, which they assign to *A. 1013*, although it is certain that said battle was fought in 1014.

(53) *Ib. p. 297 ad A. 1003 (1004).*

(54) *Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1004.*

(55) *Tr. Th. p. 297 ad A. 1004 (1005).*

(56) *Ib. and p. 298 ad A. 1010 (1011).*

(57) *Ib. ad A. 1011 (1012).*

§. VII. Meanwhile a great political change had taken place in Ireland. Hitherto we have seen the monarchy of *all* Ireland retained in the house of the Nialls of one branch or another down to Mael-seachlin II. whose reign began in 980. (58) Between this sovereign and Brian Boromhe, who became king of Munster in 976, (59) various wars had been carried on, in which Brian was generally victorious. Sometimes, however, they united against the Danes, or against other enemies. Brian was perpetually engaged in humbling his opponents. In 977 he defeated the Danes of Limerick at Inniscathy, plundered all the islands which they possessed in the Shannon, and overthrew with dreadful slaughter in Hy-figente (in the now county of Limerick) Donovan dynast of that territory and his allies the Danes of Munster. In this battle Auliffe,

king of those Danes, and Donovan were killed. In 978 the Eugenians, who opposed him as being a Dalcassian, having joined against him under Maolmhuadh together with the Munster Danes, he fought the great battle of Beallach-Leachta, somewhere it seems between Mallow and Macroom, in which the allies were worsted, and besides Maolmhuadh and a great number of the Irish, 1200 Danes lost their lives. Having settled matters with the Eugenians, Brian was attacked in 979 by Donall O'Faolan, prince of the Desies, assisted by the Danes of Waterford. He came up with them at a place called *Fanmaccurra*, and putting them to flight pursued them into Waterford, where great slaughter was made of the Danes. On this occasion O'Faolan was killed. After this exploit he got hostages from all the princes and chiefs of Munster; and every part of the province submitted to his authority. (60) In 980 he made Mac-Gilla-Patrick prisoner, and compelled all the Ossorian chieftains to deliver up hostages to him. In said year the king Maelseachlin II. defeated at Tara the Danes of Dublin, commanded by the sons of Auliffe or Anlaf their king. In this battle there was a dreadful slaughter of them, and among others were killed Reginald the king's eldest son, and Irlavra the governor of Dublin. This disaster affected Anlaf so much, that he retired to Hy, where he died in the course of this year. (61) In 981 Brian reduced the Lagenians to the necessity of giving him hostages; and the two kings of that province submitted to him. In 982 Maelseachlin plundered Dalgais, the hereditary property of Brian, and cut down the famous tree in the plain of Adair, under which the Dalcassian princes used to be inaugurated; and in the following year he ravaged Leinster then under the protection of Brian. Incensed by these proceedings, Brian marched against Maelseachlin and forced him to agree to a treaty, by which it was stipulated that Brian should be recog-

nized king of Leath-Mogha, or the southern half of Ireland, the other half to be held by Maelseachlin, and that Donald Claon, king of Leinster and the Danes of Dublin should be subject to Brian. (62)

(58) See *Chap. xxii. §. 8.* (59) *Ib. §. 15.*

(60) Annals of Innifallen at *A. 977-978-979.*

(61) *Ib. at A. 980. and Ware, Antiq. cap. 24.* His English translator has greatly confused his meaning, making him say that the battle of Tara was not fought by Maelseachlin, but by the monarch his predecessor. But the Annals of Innisfallen, which he follows, expressly state, that Maelseachlin was the commander, and when king of Ireland. For Anlaf compare with *Not. 138 to Chap. 22.*

(62) Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 981-982-983.*

§. VIII. After various battles and depredations, such as that of Connaught by Maelseachlin in 985; the defeat of the Momonians and Danes of Waterford by the Connacians in 988, in which year Brian plundered Meath and part of Connaught; the defeat of the Danes of Dublin by Maelseachlin in 989; and some other fighting here and there, Maelseachlin ravaged Connaught again in 991, upon which Brian at the head of the Munster and Connaught troops laid waste a great part of Meath. Yet in 994 Maelseachlin gained a victory over Brian, who retaliated on him in the following year by a complete one, in consequence of which peace was concluded between them in 997, and Maelseachlin was again obliged to recognize Brian's title to the sovereignty of Leath-Mogha. These two kings then united, and, having forced the Danes of various parts to give them hostages, marched into Connaught in 998, whence also they took hostages, and then attacked the Danes of Dublin, whom they routed with great slaughter and the loss of their principal chiefs, Artulac son of Sitric, Harold son of Auliffe, &c. &c. (63) Notwithstanding this defeat, the Dublin Danes assisted

in 999 Maelmurry, son of Murchard, in compelling Donogh, king of Leinster, to resign his crown to him, and plundered Kildare; upon which Brian marched to Dublin, punished them severely, burned many of their houses, banished their king Sitric, and, having remained there a week, carried off much booty. (64) In the same year Maelseachlin committed depredations in Leinster, and this was probably one of the reasons why Brian determined to wage a serious war against him. Accordingly he raised in 1000 a very considerable army composed of Munstermen, southern Connacians, Ossorians, Lagenians, and Dublin Danes, with whom he marched towards Tara, having sent forward a corps of Danish cavalry, who skirmished with the enemy. On Brian's coming up with his main force, Maelseachlin found it adviseable not to risk a battle, and yielding to Brian's terms promised to give him hostages. It seems that Maelseachlin did not fulfil his engagements; for Brian with the same army marched again in the following year, and arriving at Tara compelled him not only to submit and give hostages, but likewise to resign the throne of Ireland to Brian, and to content himself with his principality of Meath. Thus Brian became king of all Ireland in the year 1001. (65)

(63) *Ib.* from *A.* 984. to 998.

(64) *Ib.* at *A.* 999. and Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24.

(65) Said Annals at *A.* 1000-1001. The 4 Masters also (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 448.) assign Brian's accession to this year. They say that Maelseachlin had reigned 23 years; but it is to be observed that they place the commencement of his reign not in 980 but in 978.

§. ix. In 1002 Brian proceeded to Connaught, where he received hostages, and returning through Meath got some there also from Maelseachlin. He then marched at the head of his numerous forces, to which were now added those of Meath commanded

by Maelseachlin, as far as Dundalk, where he was submitted to by all the princes and chieftains of Ulster, who gave him hostages. Afterwards we find him engaged in checking some attempts at revolt or disobedience particularly in the North. On one of these occasions he stopped for a week at Armagh in the year 1004, (66) and left a gold collar, weighing 20 ounces, on the great altar of the cathedral as an offering. Thence he went with his army to Rath-mormuighe, the royal seat of the Dalriedans in the now county of Antrim, whence he brought hostages. But it would be too long, and not within my plan, to follow all the movements of this great king; yet, as a matter belonging to our ecclesiastical history, I must not forget, that being in 1011 with a great army and a number of Irish princes in the now county of Louth, where he again received hostages from the chiefs of Ulster, to which he assigned two kings, he and the assembled princes, &c. granted glebe lands to the churches of Ireland, (67) thus repairing part of the ravages committed by the Northmen. A great storm was now gathering, the cause of which was as follows. Maelmurry Mac-Morogh, or the son of Murchart, who, as we have seen, usurped the crown of Leinster in 999, marched into Meath in 1013 at the head of a powerful army of Lagenians and Danes of Dublin, and ravaged some parts of it. Maelseachlin, in retaliation, set fire to the neighbouring districts of Leinster as far as the hill of Hoath, but being met by Maelmurry and Sitric king of Dublin, was defeated with considerable loss. He then called upon Brian at his residence, and requested assistance from him against the united Lagenians and Danes, who were in the habit of plundering his principality. Accordingly Brian set out with a great army, and, having on his way laid waste Ossory, detached his son Morogh with a large party towards Glendaloch, who plundered the country as he went along and brought

many prisoners and much spoil to Brian then encamped at Kilmainham near Dublin, where he remained from the beginning of August until Christmas without being able to bring either the Danes or Lagenians to battle, and consequently returned to Munster. Meanwhile a new fleet of Northmen arrived and burned Cork ; and there was much fighting here and there between those foreigners and the Irish. (68)

(66) *Ib.* at *A.* 1004. The same year is marked also by the 4 Masters, and must not be changed into 1005.

(67) *Ib.* at *A.* 1011.

(68) *Ib.* at *A.* 1013.

§ x. The Danes and Lagenians, availing themselves of Brian's absence, used the utmost exertions to collect troops and auxiliaries from every quarter that they could. A great number of Northmen came to their assistance from Norway and other parts of Scandinavia, from Scotland, the Orkneys, Hebrides, &c. and from the isle of Man, who were joined also by Britons from Cornwall and elsewhere. Brian marched to oppose them, taking with him Maelseachlin, who, however, intended to betray him. For this purpose he sent to Maelmurry, to inform him, that Brian had dispatched his son Donogh, at the head of the Dalcassian troops and of a third part of the Eugenian forces, to ravage Leinster and Hy-Kinselagh, and that he himself with his 1000 Meath-men would desert Brian on the day of battle. Accordingly it was determined to attack Brian before Donogh could come up. He was then encamped on the plain near Dublin with a smaller army than he otherwise should have had. His opponents formed themselves into three divisions ; the first consisting of 1000 Northmen, covered with coats of mail, commanded by two Norwegian princes Charles and Henry, and of Dublin Danes under Dolat and Conmaol. The second division consisted

of Lagenians, about 9000 strong, commanded by their king Maelmurry, and under him by some minor princes, such as Mac-Tuathal or Toole of the Liffey territory, the prince of Hy-falgy, &c. together with a large body of Danes. The third division was formed of the Northmen collected from the islands, from Scotland, &c. and of Britons. It was commanded by Lodar, earl of the Orkneys, and Bruadair admiral of the fleet, which had brought the auxiliary Northmen, &c. to Ireland. Brian was not dismayed by this mighty force, and depending on Providence and the bravery of his troops, prepared for battle, dividing his army likewise into three divisions; one to oppose the enemy's first division under his son Morogh, who had along with him his son Turlogh and a select body of the brave Dalgais, besides four other sons of Brian, Teige, Donald, Conor, and Flann, and various chieftains, Donchuan, Lonargan, &c. together with a body of men from Conmacne-Mara, a western part of Connaught. To this division Mael-seachlin was ordered to join his followers. Over the division, which was to fight the second of the enemy, Brian placed Cian and Donald, two princes of the Eugenic line, under whom were the forces of Desmond and other parts of the South of Ireland, including the now county of Kerry, the most of those of Cork and Limerick, and that of Waterford, headed by their respective chiefs. To this division belonged also O'Carrol and his troops of Ely O'Carrol, and it was joined by another O'Carrol prince of Orgiel in Ulster and Maguire prince of Fermanagh. The division opposed to the third of their antagonists consisted chiefly of Conacians, under O'Conor as chief commander, with whom were O'Heyn, O'Kelly, O'Flaherty, O'Cadhla, &c. and their forces, assisted by various bodies of men from divers parts of Tipperary, Limerick, Clare, &c.

commanded by their chieftains, Fogartach, O'Doyle, Mac Donagan, Mac Dermot, &c. (69)

(69) *Ib.* at *A.* 1014.

§. XI. I have been more minute, than perhaps my object being ecclesiastical would allow, merely to show that greater unanimity prevailed among the Irish on this occasion than for a long time preceding. In fact it was absolutely necessary for the preservation both of the country and of religion. For the intention of the Northmen, who were still half pagans, was to become masters of all Ireland. (70) Brian and the majority of the Irish princes, who, with a view to the encouragement of foreign trade, had very imprudently permitted parties of them to continue in Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, Cork, &c. instead of driving them entirely out of the country, as they might have done, perceived at last, that nothing less would do than to crush them in such a manner as would prevent their being afterwards able to disturb the tranquillity of Ireland. This they would, in all probability, have been able to accomplish effectually, had not Maelmurry and the people of Leinster entered into an unnatural confederacy with those foreigners. The Northmen from the islands, &c. who had arrived under Bruadair at Dublin on Palm-sunday A. D. 1014, insisted on the battle being fought on Good Friday, which fell on the 23d of April, a day on which, on account of its sanctity, Brian would have wished to avoid fighting. (71) Yet he was determined to defend himself even on that day, and holding the Crucifix in his left hand, and his sword in the right, rode with his son Morogh through the ranks, encouraging his army to put an end forever to the oppressions of those tyrants and usurpers, who had committed so many cruelties and sacrileges in Ireland, so that the day, on which Christ suffered death for our sake, should be the last of their power

in this country, and declaring that he was willing to lose his life in so just and honourable a cause. As soon as the engagement began, Maelseachlin with his Meath men withdrew from the scene of action, and remained as a mere looker on. His defection did not disconcert Brian and the other Irish, who fought like heroes from sunrise until the dusk of the evening, and gained a complete victory, which has been and ever will be memorable in Irish history under the name of that of Clontarf. (72) According to one account the Northmen lost between killed and drowned 13000 men, and the Lagenians 3000. (73) The 1000 men that wore coats of mail, are said to have been all cut to pieces, together with their commanders Charles and Henry, besides Dolat and Conmaol. (74) Among the slain were also Bruadair and two of the Danish princes of Dublin, to whom we have to add Maelmurry king of Leinster, the prince of Hy-falgy, &c. (75) But this was a dearly purchased victory; for, besides a great number of the Irish troops, Brian, his son Morogh, and his grandson Turlogh fell on this memorable day, (76) together with many chieftains of Munster and Connaught. Brian was in the 38th year of his age, and Morogh in the 63d. (77) Although almost constantly engaged in military expeditions, Brian was of a very religious disposition, (78) and is praised as having erected or rebuilt churches, *ex. c.* those of Killaloe and Iniskeltra, religious houses, schools, &c. He indemnified the institutions and families, which had been plundered by the Northmen, with lands of which he dispossessed them, established a system of just administration, put a stop to robberies, fortified the royal residence of Cashel and several other places, and improved the internal communication throughout his kingdom by means of roads, bridges, &c. (79)

(70) In the chronicle of Ademar monk of St. Eparchius of An-

gouleme (*ap. Labbe, Nova Bibl. MSS. libr. Tom. 2.*) there is a curious passage (*p. 177.*) relative to the views of the Northmen at that time, in which it is stated that they came with an immense fleet, meaning to extinguish the Irish, and to get possession of that most wealthy country, which had twelve cities, great bishoprics, &c. “ His temporibus Normanni supradicti, quod patres eorum nunquam perpetrasse ausi sunt, cum innumera classe Hiberniam insulam, quae *Irlanda* dicitur, ingressi sunt una cum uxoribus, et liberis, et captivis Christianis, quos fecerant sibi servos, ut, Hirlan-*landis* extinctis, ipsi pro ipsis inhabitarent *opulentissimam* terram, quae XII civitates cum amplissimis episcopatibus et unum regem habet, ac propriam linguam, sed Latinas literas; quam S. Patricius Romanus ad fidem convertit,” &c. Ademar, as appears from the sequel, alludes to the preparations for the battle of Clontarf, which it is plain was the one that he meant; for just after his account of it he speaks of Canute the great, and his coming to England, which was about the same time. Labbe thinks, that this chronicle was written before 1031; if so, it is the oldest document I know of, in which the name *Irlanda, Ireland*, is to be found. Compare with Usher, *Pr. p. 734.*

(71) The *Niala Saga* in Johnstone's *Ant. Celto-Scand.* has (*p. 120. seqq.*) a curious account of the battle of Clontarf. In it are mentioned the above circumstances, and it is stated, that Bruadair had been informed by a sort of pagan oracle, that, should the battle be fought on Friday, the Northmen would be victorious.

(72) That this was a real and great victory is attested in the Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 1014.* and in the best Irish documents. Yet Ware (*Ant. cap. 24.*) has some doubts on this point, as if towards the end of it the Danes became uppermost. Without entering into further particulars, I shall oppose to these doubts the testimony of the *Niala Saga*, which represents the Northmen as flying in all directions, and large parties of them totally destroyed. And in Ademar's chronicle, after the words quoted (*Not. 70.*), it is represented as even greater than it really was; for it is said that *all* the Northmen were killed, and it is added that crowds of their women threw themselves into the sea. Yet it is true, that of some of their divisions not a man was left alive.

Ademar makes the battle last for three days; but this does not agree with other accounts.

(73) Annals of Innisfallen, *ib.* But those of Ulster, (*ap.* Johnstone) without mentioning the loss of the Lagenians, state that, besides many chiefs, among whom is reckoned Bruadair, about 6000 of the Danes were killed or drowned.

(74) Annals of Innisfallen, *ib.* In the *Niala Saga* a northern prince is introduced asking some time after the battle, what had become of his men. The answer was that they were all killed. This seems to allude to the division in coats of mail.

(75) See *ib.* The *Niala Saga* states that not only Broder (Bruadair) but likewise all his pirates (the sea-faring Northmen) were killed.

(76) The person, who killed Brian, was Bruadair, and among the various accounts of how he chanced to get the king into his power, the best is perhaps that of the *Niala Saga*, according to which Bruadair, who had fled into a wood with a party of his followers, happened to see the king in a retired spot attended by only a few men, and rushed upon him unawares, after which he was soon after killed himself. Morogh was, say the Annals of Innisfallen, treacherously stabbed by the Norwegian Henry, who was lying on the ground and in the act of being relieved by Moragh. This brave prince had just time to make his confession and receive the holy Viaticum.

(77) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1014.

(78) Marianus Scotus, mentioning his death, has these words; "Brianus rex Hiberniae Parasceve Paschae, sexta feria 9 Calendas Maii, *manibus et mente ad Deum intentus necatur.*"

(79) See Keating, *Book 2.*

§. XII. After the battle was over Teige, son of Brian, withdrew with the remnant of the Irish army to the camp at Kilmainham. On the next day, Holy Saturday, Donogh arrived, bringing with him great booty from various parts of Leinster, and on the same day the inhabitants of Swords came up and took the body of Brian for the purpose of having it interred at Armagh, whither Donogh sent many rich offerings. From Swords it was brought to

Duleek, and thence by the people of that place to Louth, whither Maelmur Mac-Eochad, archbishop of Armagh, came with his clergy and many others, bearing reliques, to meet it and convey it to Armagh. (80) Along with it was carried also the body of Morogh, beside the head of Conaing, a nephew of Brian by his brother Dunchuan, and, according to another account, (81) that of Mothla prince of the Desies. The funeral obsequies were celebrated with great pomp, constant watching and the exposure of the reliques of St. Patrick, during twelve days and nights. (82) Brian's remains were deposited in a stone coffin at the North side of the cathedral, those of Morogh, &c. being placed at the South side. (83)

A dispute, of that kind so common between the Eugenic and Dalcassian lines, soon occurred in consequence of Brian's demise. The Eugenic prince Cian claimed a right to the throne of Munster, in virtue of the old compact of alternate succession in those branches of the royal house, alleging also that he was older than either Donogh or Teige. Donogh refused to acknowledge this claim, and, as Cian was not able to enforce it, marched off quietly with his troops for Munster, meeting with no opposition except, when passing through Ossory, a show of opposition on the part of Fitzpatrick. But before the end of the same year he and his brother Teige quarrelled among themselves, and a battle was fought between them and their parties, in which Donogh was defeated. (84) Meanwhile Maelseachlin was again saluted king of all Ireland, a title which, as far as I can judge, was not recognized by the O'Brian's and people of Munster. This prince, notwithstanding his not having fought against the Danes at Clontarf, was still a determined enemy of theirs. In 1015 he attacked the remnant of those of Dublin, and burned almost the whole city; and in 1016, after predatory and incendiary excursions of the said Danes, commanded by

their king Sitric, against Kildare, Glendaloch, Clonard, Swords, and Armagh, he defeated them with much loss. (85) The Lagenians soon found, what little dependance could be placed on the friendship of that people; for their king Bran, son of Maelmurry, had his eyes put out in Dublin by Sitric in the year 1018. (86) Roused to a feeling of patriotism, Augurius or Ugair, son of Dunluing, and king of Leinster, overthrew Sitric and his Danes with great slaughter at Delgany in 1021 or 1022. (87) In this year 1022 Maelseachlin died on the 2d of September, in the monastery of the Island of Inisainingin, after having some time before retired from the world to do penance for his sins and make his peace with God. (88) After him there was no king recognized as of *all* Ireland for many years; but his principality of Meath and, it seems, some adjoining districts fell, after his death, under the administration of Cuan O'Leochain, arch-poet and chief antiquary of Ireland, and of Corcran a clergyman. Their power did not last long, whereas Cuan was killed by the Lagenians in 1024, and Corcran is said to have become an anchorite, and to have died at Lismore in 1040. (89) With regard to the other parts of Ireland let it suffice to mention, that Donogh O'Brian, son of Brian Boromhe, became king of Leth-mogha (the southern half of Ireland) in 1026. (90)

(80) While the Annals of Innisfallen represent the archbishop Maelmur, &c. as having advanced no farther than Louth, the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 298.*) tell us that they proceeded all the way to Swords. The other statement is, I am sure, the true one.

(81) That of the 4 Masters, *ib.*

(82) Innisfallen and Ulster Annals at *A.* 1014.

(83) Annals of Innisfallen, *ib.* (84) *Ib.*

(85) *Ib.* at *A.* 1015. 1016.

(86) *Ib.* at *A.* 1018. Ware (*Antiq. cap. 24.*) has added a year to this date, but, I think, without reason. Instead of the

name Bran, which was the real one, and rather usual in the royal house of Leinster, he has *Brienus* or *Brennus*, rendered *Brien* by his translator, thus causing a confusion with the Munster Briens or rather *Brians*.

(87) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 313.* and Ware *loc. cit.*

(88) 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 298.*) and Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 1022*, which have *Lough-Ainin*, that is, I think, *Inisaingin*, or the Island of All Saints, in Lough-ree. See also O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. Part. III. cap. 93.* Ware was wrong (*Ant. cap. 4.*) in adding a year to this date, placing Maelseachlin's death in 1023.

(89) See O'Flaherty, *ib. cap. 94.* I very much doubt, whether he is right in making this Corcran the same as the anchoret and theologian of Lismore.

(90) Annals of Innisfallen at 1026.

§. XIII. From this detail of political occurrences, which I have been forced to enter into, it appears that a real revolution took place in Ireland at this period. The anciently established system of succession to the throne of the whole kingdom was overturned, and there remained no paramount power authorized to controul the provincial kings or minor chieftains. Amidst those wars one good effect was obtained, *viz.* the humiliation of the Northmen, who, although numbers of them still remained in various parts of Ireland, were much weakened, and henceforth attempted fewer depredations than in former times. But unluckily the Irish were, during a great part of this century, the eleventh, engaged here and there in wars between themselves, and we find now and then one or other party of them assisted by the Danes, as they are usually called, settled in Dublin or elsewhere. The Christian religion became no longer confined to those of Dublin, by whom it began to be better observed, but gradually spread among the other Danes of Ireland.

Maelmur Mac-Eochad archbishop of Armagh, who died in 1020, (91) was succeeded by Amalgaid, who is stated to have visited Munster in 1021. (92)

He was present in 1022 at the death of king Maelseachlin. (93) It is said that he was one of the laymen who assumed the title of Archbishops of Armagh; whereas among his successors we find Maelisa and Donnald, who are called sons of Amalgadius. (94) Yet the matter is not certain; and if it be true, that Amalgaid administered the sacrament of Extreme Unction to Maelseachlin, he must have been more than a layman. (95) It may also be objected, that his visitation of Munster implied real archiepiscopal power; but it must be observed, that it was probably relative merely to the exaction of certain dues, which used to be paid to the church of Armagh according to the regulation called *the Law of St. Patrick*. Whether he was a real or nominal archbishop, he held that title 29 years until his death in 1049. (96) During his time Moeltule, who is called bishop of Armagh, died in 1032; but it is probable, that he was merely a suffragan bishop; (97) and hence an additional argument may be deduced to suppose, that Amalgaid was not a real bishop, but that Moeltule officiated in his stead. On the very day of Amalgaid's death Dubdalethe III. son of one Maelmur, (98) and professor of theology at Armagh, was appointed his successor. (99)

(91) Above §. 6.

(92) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p. 298.* (93) *Ib.*

(94) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 302.*) insists upon this circumstance as a proof that the Amalgaid was an unordained so called archbishop. But supposing that he was the same as the Amalgaid, father of Maelisa and Donnald, might they not have been born before he got that title? Ware has (at *Amalgaid*) a passage, which seems to favour Colgan's opinion. It is taken from the Annals of the Priory of the island of All Saints at *A. 1019*, and runs thus; "Amalgaid, comorban of St. Patrick, having spent 29 years in this *principality*, rested penitentially in Christ." The word, *principality*, seems to allude to his having been rather a prince than a real bishop. The title *comorban of St. Patrick*, is

not sufficient to show, that Amalgaid was in holy orders, for, as will be seen more fully elsewhere, in the later times of the Irish church, and perhaps from the period we are now treating of, the name *comorban* was sometimes given to laymen, who kept possession of the church lands belonging to sees and monasteries.

(95) To this Colgan replies, that Maelseachlin was indeed anointed, while in the hands or arms of Amalgaid; but that it is not stated, that the ceremony was performed by him.

(96) This is the date marked not only by the 4 masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 298.*) but likewise by the above quoted Annals (*Not. 94.*) and O'Flaherty in his *MS.* catalogue; and accordingly, as is marked in said authorities, the incumbency of Amalgaid lasted 29 years. Yet the Cashel catalogue allows for it thirty, which must be understood of his having died in the 30th year; for in said catalogue incomplete years are reckoned as complete.

(97) See *Tr. Th. p. 298.* and Ware, *Bishops at Amalgaid.* Moeltule's name is not in the Cashel catalogue.

(98) See above *Not. 51.* (99) *Tr. Th. p. 298.*

§. XIV. With regard to the other sees of Ireland, I shall here give the names of such bishops, whose deaths I find marked before about *A. D. 1050.* Carmacan O'Muilcashel, bishop of Killaloe, the first of that place, whom I meet with after St. Flannan, died in 1019. (100) Neil O'Malduibh, of Cork, the successor of Ceallach Hua-Sealbaugh, (101) died in 1027, and after him Airtri Sairt in 1028, succeeded by Cathal, whose death is assigned to 1034. (102) O'Mail-Sluaig, bishop of Lismore, died in 1025, as did his successor, Moriertach O'Selbach in 1034. (103) Tuathal O'Dunluing, bishop of Clonard, died in 1028 or 1029. (104) The death of Maelmartin, of Kildare, was, according to one account, in 1028, and according to another, in 1030. (105) His successor Maelbrigid lived until 1042. (106) Murchad O'Nioc, bishop of Tuam, died in 1033. (107) Maelfinan of Emly, most probably the immediate successor of Saerbrethach, (108) died in 1040, as did after him O'Flanachuain in 1047, and Clothna Muimnech in 1049.

(109) Flahertach, bishop of Down, died in 1043, and Moelmacte of Louth in 1044. (110) Cleiric O'Muinic, bishop of Leighlin, died in 1048, and to the same year is assigned the death of Ceili, bishop of Ardagh. (111) In the same year some place the death of Diermit O'Rodachan, bishop of Ferns, which others affix to 1050. (112) It can scarcely be doubted that Dunchad O'Kelechuir, who is called *comorban* of St. Kieran of Saigir, who died in 1048, was bishop of that place. (113) From these instances it may be inferred, that the episcopal succession was kept up, as regularly as the state of the times would allow, in the now mentioned sees, and it is very probable that it was maintained also in other old sees, although the names of their prelates are very seldom to be met with. For example Dungal, a bishop of Ross (in the county of Cork) is marked as the 27th in succession after St. Fachtnan, the founder of that see, (114) who lived in the sixth century. As to bishops appointed occasionally in places, which were not permanent sees, we may be certain that there were, as usual, some of this description in the first half of the century we are now treating of. Thus we find a bishop at Swords Marian O'Crinen, who is called a wise man, and whose death is assigned to 1025. (115)

(100) Ware, *Bishops at Killaloe.* (101) Above §. 6.

(102) Ware at *Cork.* (103) *Idem* at *Lismore.*

(104) *Idem* at Meath. See Harris' addition.

(185) Ware (at *Kildare*) has 1028; the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 630.*) have 1030.

(106) *Ib. Ib.* (107) Ware at *Tuam.*

(108) See above §. 6. (109) Ware at *Emly.*

(110) For Flahertach, see Ware at *Down.* He was the first bishop of that see whom Ware met with from the times of St. Fergus, who died in the sixth century. (See *Chap. XII. §. 1.*) But Harris, referring to the 4 Masters, adds that a Fingen, bishop of Down, is mentioned as having died in 962. For Moelmocte see *AA. SS. p. 736.*

(111) Ware at *Leighlin* and *Ardagh*.

(112) Ware at *Ferns*. The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 223.*) have *A. 1050*.

(113) See *AA. SS. p. 473*. Ware has omitted him at *Ossory*; but he is marked by *Harris*.

(114) See *Harris, Bishops at Ross*.

(115) *Tr. Th. p. 509*.

§. xv. Learning continued to be still cultivated, and many distinguished scholastics or doctors are mentioned as having belonged to this period. Dunchad, scholastic of Clonmacnois died in 1005 and Coenchomrac of Gleannussen in 1015. Flann O'Tegain of Durrow (King's county,) a man, celebrated for his knowledge, died in 1022, as did also Cathasach, a scholastic or teacher at Clonmacnois; and Christian of Devenish in 1025. (116) Eochad Mac-Cethenin, who is called comorban of St. Tigernach, and the wisest doctor in Ireland, died at Armagh in 1030. (117) Moelodar, scholastic of Killachad, died in 1032; and Aengus of Clonmacnois in 1034; and Macnias O'Huactain of Kells in 1035. (118) Flanagan, scholastic of Kildare, Cunden of Connor, and Alill of Durrow, died in 1038. (119) The death of Corcran, an anchorite and a very eminent and pious theologian of Lismore, and of Dunchad O'Hanchanige, a celebrated lecturer of Armagh, is assigned to 1040; and that of Maelpetrus O'Hailechain, likewise a lecturer there and chief director of the students, to 1043. (120) Longsech, scholastic of Clonard, and Eochagan, archdeacon of Slane, lecturer at Swords, and a chronographer, died in 1042. (121) Three scholastics of Kells are mentioned as having died not long after each other; Maelmartin in 1045; Cudul Mac-Gaithen in 1047; and Moelan in 1050. (122) At the year 1046 is marked the death of a very distinguished and holy man Moelpatrick O'Beloige, the

chief lecturer and director of the schools of Armagh. (123) O'Ballen, scholastic of Roscrea, and Gilla-molaisse of Louth died in 1047. (124) There were undoubtedly in these times many other lecturers and teachers in the other establishments and schools of Ireland; and to this period are assigned the deaths of two eminent antiquaries. One was Mac-Liag, who is called an *Ollamh*, that is a Doctor and man of letters, and who wrote some works, among which was a Life of Brian Boroinmhe. He died in 1016. (125) The other was Macbeth, son of Annire, and chief antiquary of Armagh, who died in 1041. (126) A pious prince, Cathald, son of Roderic, and chieftain of West Connaught, who had retired to Armagh in 1037, for the purpose of leading the life of a pilgrim, died there in 1043. (127) The spirit of pilgrimage spread itself among the Danes of Dublin, and Sitric their king set out for Rome with a view to that object, but died on his way in 1029. (128) His son Amlaf, or Auliffe, also king of Dublin, undertook a pilgrimage to Rome in 1035, but was killed in England. (129) He was succeeded by another Sitric, his son, who went beyond sea, probably to Rome, in 1036, and left the government of Dublin in the hands of one Eachmharcach, after whom we find an Ivar governor of Dublin in 1038. (130) Sitric returned to Ireland and died in 1041 or 1042. (131)

(116) *Ib. Ind. Chron.*

(117) *Ib. p. 298.* The title *comorban of St. Tigernach*, is explained by Colgan as meaning *abbot of Clones*. But, if the St. Tigernach, whose comorban Eochad was, were the one of Clones, I should think that Eochad was rather a bishop; for St. Tigernach had been bishop of Clones as well as of Clogher.

(118) *Ib. Ind. Chron.* (119) *Ib. p. 632.*

(120) See *AA. SS. p. 206.* and *Tr. Th. p. 298.*

(121) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron. and p. 509.*

(122) *Ib.* p. 508. (123) *Ib.* p. 298.

(124) *Ib. Ind. Chron.*

(125) See Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1016. and Harris, *Writers at Mac-Liag.*

(126) *Tr. Th.* p. 298. (127) *Ib.*

(128) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24. Yet the Annals of Innisfallen, after mentioning his departure for Rome in 1028, state that he returned to Ireland, and exhibit him as plundering Ardraccan in 1031.

(129) Ware, *ib.* The Annals of Innisfallen, instead of 1035, have 1034. I suspect that Ware has added a year to dates at times when he should not have done so.

(130) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1036 and 1038. Ware makes no mention of the absence of Sitric, nor of Eachmharcach or Ivar. This is the Ivar, governor of the Danes of Dublin, to whom I alluded in a part of *Not.* 138. to *Chap.* xxii. Ware's silence concerning those persons and circumstances forms no argument against the statement of the Annals.

(131) Ware *ib.*

§. xvi. Notwithstanding a certain progress made by the Danes in piety and religious practices, yet we find them now and then, even during this period, committing depredations in religious places. Besides some already alluded to, (132) they plundered Kells in 1018, and Duleek in 1023 and again in 1037, (133) besides Ardraccan in 1031, whence they brought much booty and many prisoners. (134) But on the whole it appears, that their manners became gradually much softened, of which we have a very strong proof in the memorable fact of a bishop being for the first time appointed for the Danes of Dublin about the year 1040. This bishop, whose real name seems to have been *Dunan*, or perhaps *Donagh*, although it has been latinized into *Donatus*, (135) was, judging from the name, most probably an Irishman. Sitric, king of Dublin, had already returned from his tour, or perhaps pilgrimage, during which he had probably planned the erection of this new see.

In the Black book of the church of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ-church in Dublin, there is a document, which runs thus ; “ Sitricus king of Dublin, son of Ableb (Anlaf) earl of Dublin, gave to the Holy Trinity, and to Donatus first bishop of Dublin, a place, where the arches or vaults were founded, to build the church of the Holy Trinity on, together with the following lands ; *viz.* *Bealdulek, Rechen, Portrahern*, with their villains, cattle, and corn. He also contributed gold and silver enough, wherewith to build the church and the whole court thereof.” (136) This must have occurred about 1040 (137) before the death of Sitric, and about the time that Donatus was named to this see. It has been said, that Donatus was consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury ; but of this I meet with no proof whatsoever, unless it should be considered as such, that some of his successors were consecrated in that city. Now this system, according to which the bishops of Dublin acknowledged themselves subject to the see of Canterbury, did not, as far as I can discover, begin until the time of the archbishop Lanfranc, who came over to England during the reign of William the Conqueror many years after the appointment of Donatus ; and which system was introduced for two reasons ; first, because William and his Normans, being masters of England from the year 1066, were considered by the Irish Danes as their countrymen ; and second, because Lanfranc’s reputation was so great, that, when the Dublin Danes found it necessary that their bishop should be subject to some metropolitan, they made choice of him for that purpose. (138) This new see was confined to the city, and did not extend beyond its walls until later than the synod of Kells under Cardinal Paparo, held in 1152, as will be seen in its proper place. Donatus having built the church, erected also an episcopal palace adjoining it, on the site, where the late *Four Courts* stood, and a chapel,

which was called St. Michael's. He lived until A. D. 1074. (139) I shall conclude this chapter with just mentioning the death of a very holy abbot, who belonged to the period, of which we have been now treating. St. Gormgal, abbot of Ardoilen, one of the Arran islands, who was considered the chief spiritual director of all Ireland, and who died in 1017 on the 5th of August, the anniversary of which was sacred to his memory. (140)

(132) Concerning those of the year 1016 see above §. 12.

(133) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron.*

(134) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1031.

(135) Usher quotes (*Not. ad Ep. 25. Sylloge, &c.*) a passage from the Annals of Dublin, in which he is called *Dunan*. This is a well known Irish name, and certainly not Danish. It is highly probable, that the Danes had as yet scarcely any clergymen of their nation in Ireland.

(136) See Ware, *Bishops at Dublin*, and *Antiq. cap. 24.* and 29. Bealdulek, Rechen, and Portrahern were, I suppose, the places now called Baldoyle, Ratheny, and Portrane, all lying at the North side of Dublin, where the Danes possessed lands.

(137) Ware says, about 1038; but it is probable, that Sitric had not yet returned to Ireland in said year, in which we have seen that Ivar was governor of Dublin. Camden was mistaken (*col. 1368*) in referring the erection of the church, &c. as related by Ware, to about 1012. There was indeed a Sitric son of Anlaf at that time; but, as Donatus held the see until 1074, is it to be supposed that he was a bishop since 1012? Nor, if that deed be genuine, can it be attributed to a Sitric later than the one, that died in 1041 or 1042; for there was not after him any other Sitric king of Dublin during the life time of Donatus.

(138) Usher and Ware, who are the best authorities on the subject of Donatus, have not a word concerning his having been consecrated by an archbishop of Canterbury; nor indeed could they, as not even an allusion is to be found relative to such a circumstance. And it will be seen lower down, that Patrick, the immediate successor of Donatus, was the first bishop of Dublin, who was consecrated by an archbishop of that see, or who, at least from the

time of his appointment, had promised canonical obedience to him. To me it seems more than probable, that Donatus was a bishop, perhaps of some monastery, before he was placed over Dublin. Usher (*Discourse on the Religion, &c. ch. 8.*) states, that the Ostmen or Danes of Ireland did not begin to have any connexion with Canterbury until after William the conqueror became possessed of England, that is, until after 1066. He is there remarking on a most ignorant assertion of Campion, which, however, has been followed by other English writers, *viz.* that persons appointed to sees in Ireland used to be directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, to be consecrated by him. On this Usher observes that it is wrongly extended by him to the bishops of all Ireland, whereas it was peculiar “to the Ostmann strangers, that possessed “the three cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. For these “being a colony of the Norwegians and Livonians, and so country- “men to the Normans, *when they had seen England subdued by “the Conqueror, and Normans advanced to the chief arch- “bishopric there, would needs now assume to themselves the name “of Normans also, and cause their bishops to receive their conse- “crution from no other metropolitan but the archbishop of Can- “terbury.* And forasmuch as they were confined within the “walls of their own cities, the bishops, which they made, had “no other diocess to exercise their jurisdiction in, but only the “bare circuit of those cities,” &c. And in the same chapter he attributes the forbearance, for some time, of the Irish hierarchy with regard to the bishops of the Danish towns being connected with Canterbury, to the esteem they had for Lanfranc and Anselm, “with whom they themselves were desirous to hold all good correspondence;” yet, he adds, they could not well brook this system, which they considered derogatory to the dignity of their own primate. But of this more elsewhere. Meanwhile it is plain that Usher knew nothing about any dependance of the see of Dublin on Canterbury until the times of Lanfranc, as in reality there was not.

(139) Ware, *Bishops of Dublin.* See also Harris’s additions. p. 301.

(140) *AA. SS.* p. 141. and 715.

CHAP. XXIV.

Various distinguished Irishmen still continue to visit foreign countries—Colman and others leave Ireland with intent to visit Jerusalem—taken up as a spy and put to death—honoured as a martyr, and his body deposited with great pomp in the churchyard of Stockereau in Austria—Marianus Scotus, Helias, Annchad and several other learned and pious Irishmen in the Continent—Dubhdaleithe III. archbishop of Armagh, said to have been a layman—was a learned man and wrote annals of Ireland, and an account of the archbishops of Armagh down to his own time—Eight married bishops of Armagh—Succession and deaths of bishops in several sees in Ireland—Ferdornach called bishop of Leinster—Domnald O'Heine bishop of Cashel—Death of Donat bishop of Dublin—Clergy and people of Dublin elect for his successor Patrick, a Priest, and send him to Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury to be consecrated—Letter of the clergy and people of Dublin to Lanfranc—Patrick professes obedience to Lanfranc, and is consecrated by him—this profession a new practice—Practice of giving the holy Eucharist to infants after baptism—Archbishops of Canterbury never possessed a metropolitan power over the Irish church—Ireland not included in the grant of Legatine jurisdiction granted by the pope to Augustine—Donogh son of Brian Boromhe, king of Leth-Mogha, dethroned by his nephew Torlogh—goes to Rome and there dies a great penitent—Torlogh proclaimed king—extends his kingdom—Pope Gregory VII. writes to Torlogh—Lanfranc's letter to Torlogh—Chorepiscopi consecrated by a single bishop—Baptizing without chrism—Patrick, bishop of Dublin, shipwrecked and drowned—succeeded by Donogh

O'Haingly, who was elected by Torlogh and the people of Dublin, and consecrated by Lanfranc—Death of Torlogh—succeeded by his son Mortogh—Mortogh dethroned, and his brother Dermot placed over Munster in his stead—Mortogh took holy orders, and died in the Monastery of Derry—Distinguished ecclesiastics at the close of the 11th century—Moeliosa O'Broilchain—Tigernach O'Braoin, the annalist—Ireland still famous for learning—English resort to Ireland for education—Several religious establishments plundered and destroyed both by Irish and Danes.

SECT. I.

VARIOUS distinguished Irishmen still continued to visit foreign countries. Colman, or as usually called by continental writers, Coloman, who is styled patron of Austria, (1) left Ireland early in the eleventh century, (2) together with some other persons, for the purpose of a pious visit to Jerusalem. (3) He arrived *A.D.* 1022. in the eastern part of Norica, now Lower Austria. Its inhabitants were then at variance with the neighbouring nations of Bohemians, Moravians, &c. On Colman's stopping at the small town of Stockerau he was seized as a spy sent by the enemies of Austria, and thrown into prison. On the next day he was strictly examined, but although he told the plain truth, would not be believed. He was then most cruelly tortured, and at length, on his persisting in declaring his innocence, was hung from an old tree together with two robbers. While his body remained suspended from his gibbet, it continued sound and entire; and it is said that his hair and nails continued to grow. The hay or twig rope, by which his head was fastened, and even the old tree, are stated to have bloomed and revived. These

extraordinary phenomena excited great attention, which was much enhanced by the circumstance of blood flowing from his body on occasion of a part of his flesh having been cut off for the purpose of being used in effecting a certain cure. It was now concluded, that Colman was a truly holy man, and that he had been unjustly put to death. Accordingly he was honored as a martyr, and his body was taken down and deposited with great pomp in the churchyard of Stockerau. Several miracles are said to have attested his sanctity, and Henry, marquis of Austria, was so moved by them, that he had the body removed to his residence Medicum, *alias* Medlica, or Mellica, now Melk. (4) On its removal it was found entire, and was placed in St. Peter's church of that town on the 7th of October *A. D.* 1015, three years after Colmán had been murdered. A Benedictine monastery was soon established there in honour of this saint, which has become very famous and still exists in great splendor. Erchinfrid, who has written the Acts of Colman, (5) was the third abbot of this monastery. He relates, in addition to what has been hitherto stated, several miracles wrought after his death, which it would be too tedious to repeat. He constantly calls him a *Scotus*, by which appellation, although he does not make mention of Ireland, or name the land of his birth, it may, considering that the Irish were then universally called *Scoti*, and that they were greatly in the habit of going abroad on pilgrimages, be fairly presumed that Colman was an Irishman. Erchinfrid has nothing about his having been of royal parentage, as some later writers have announced. (6) The name of this saint as a martyr is in the Roman martyrology at 13 October.

(1) Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 105.) calls him *apostle of Austria*; but there is no reason for giving this title; for, besides Austria having been a Christian country before the arrival of Colman, it

does not appear that he preached there, or that he had even time to do so. Nor do I find, that Colman was an ecclesiastic. The title given to him by German writers is that of *patron of Austria*. The most detailed account of him is that by the abbot Erclinfrid, who was contemporary with him, or very nearly so, and which has been published by Lambecius, *Commentariorum de Bibliotheca Caesar. Vindobon. Lib. II. cap. 8*. Colman is treated of also by Ditmar and other chroniclers, by Baronius, *Annal. &c. at A. 1012*, and other writers.

(2) According to Erchinfrid's account Colman's departure from his own country must have been only a short time before his death, which occurred in 1012. Colgan says, (*ib. p. 107.*) that he had left Ireland before the close of the tenth century. I wish he had told us, where this information is to be found.

(3) Baronius was mistaken in saying, that Colman had been often at Jerusalem. But he had not seen the narrative of Erchinfrid.

(4) Mabillon says (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 1017.*) that Colman's body was buried at Melck, which he calls *Mezelikim*, by order of the then emperor. This is a mistake, grounded on authority inferior to that of Erchinfrid, who positively states, that Henry, marquis of Austria, was the prince, by whose order that was done. He was also wrong in assigning Colman's death to said year 1017.

(5) See above *Not. 1.* The miraculous circumstances relative to Colman's remains are attested also by Ditmar, who was bishop of Mersburg and a contemporary of his, as he died in 1019.

(6) Surius has at 13 October an ode written in honour of St. Colman by John Stabius, historiographer of the emperor Maximilian I. It begins thus :

Austriæ sanctus canitur patronus,
Fulgidum sidus radians ab Areto,
Scoticae gentis Colomannus acer
Regia proles.

Ille dum sanctam Solymorum urbem
Transiit, dulcem patriam relinquens,
Regios fastus, trabeam, coronam,
Sceptraque tempisit.

Propter et Christum peregrinus exul
 Factus in terris alienis ultro
 Caelicam pura meditatus aulam
 Mente fideque.

Then comes an account of Colman's transactions much in the manner as related by Erchinfrid; for instance,

Austriæ terras agitabat amens
 Tunc furor : fortes Moravos, Bohemos,
 Pannonos bello simul implicabat
 Inferus hostis,
 Ergo dum sanctum hospitio recepit
 Oppidum nostro Stockheran vocatum
 Patrio ritu, &c.

It was, I dare say, on the authority of this ode that Baronius said that Colman was of a royal family. Dempster, wishing to make Colman, a Scotch prince, fabricated a story of his having been a son of Malcolm I. king of Scotland. To that shameless liar it is sufficient to oppose the silence of Buchanan, who, although he makes mention of more than one son of Malcolm, has nothing about this celebrated St. Colman. Harris, (*Writers at Colman of Lindisfarne*) remarking on Dempster's assumption, fell, as indeed some others had before him, into a strange mistake, confounding Colman of Austria with the one of Lindisfarne. He did not know that the former was killed in 1012, whereas the latter lived in the seventh century.

§. II. St. Helias, or Elias, an Irishman, who has been mentioned already, (7) was in the year 1022 abbot of St. Martin's of Cologne and also of the monastery of St. Pantaleon in said city. He was the third abbot of the former establishment, and the fifth of the latter. St. Heribert, archbishop of Cologne, who had an extraordinary esteem for Helias, insisted on being attended by him, when on his death bed in 1021, as he accordingly was. Helias had been at Rome, and was the first who brought thence the

Roman note or Church music to Cologne. (8) Piligrin, the successor of St. Heribert, was induced to conceive a dislike for Helias and his Irish monks, and accordingly intended to expel them, in the year 1035. His dislike was chiefly occasioned by his supposing, that the discipline maintained by them was too strict. Piligrin was then absent from the city; but, on the Irish being informed of his intention, Helias and his companions said; "If Christ is in us foreigners, may Piligrin not return alive to Cologne." And in fact it turned out so; for Piligrin died soon after. (9) Helias was a rigid observer of monastic discipline, which he carried so far that, a French monk of St. Pantaleon having written, without having asked permission to do so, a neat copy of the Missal for the use of the community, he burned it, lest others should presume to act without previous licence. (10) According to the usage of that period, he is called, as well as Colman, a *Scotus*, that is, an Irish one, as is clear from his having belonged to the monastery of Monaghan before he went to the continent. He died in great reputation of sanctity on the 12th of April, A. D. 1042, (11) at which day his name is marked in various calendars. His immediate successor was probably Molanus, or Molua, who, according to Florence of Worcester, died in 1061. A monastery was erected for the Irish at Erford in Germany by the bishop Walter de Glysburg in 1036. (12) In these times there were many Irish monks at Fulda, (13) the most celebrated of whom was St. Annichad or rather Annchad. (14) It is probable, that he was of the family of the Siolnannchad and of the district of said name, now called the barony of Longford in the county of Galway, adjoining the Shannon. (15) This district lies not far from the island of Iniskeltra (in Lough Derg) in which Annichad was a monk. The occasion of his leaving Ireland was as follows. Being entrusted with the care of strangers, he happened on a certain

occasion to entertain some brethren with the permission of his superior, whose name was Corcran. (16) After they had taken food, and some of them had retired, others, who remained sitting near the fire, asked him to drink something. (17) He refused, alleging that he could not without obtaining leave. At length, being much solicited by them, he consented to do so, but previously sent some of the drink to the superior to be blessed by him. On the next day Corcran inquired of him, why he had sent him that drink, and on Annichad's telling him the whole of what had occurred he immediately, slight as the transgression might appear, ordered him to quit Ireland. Annichad obeyed, and went to Fulda, where, becoming a recluse, he led a very holy life until his death on the 30th of January, *A. D.* 1043. Marianus Scotus, from whom this narrative is taken, (18) adds that he got the account of it from his own superior Tigernach (19) on occasion of his having committed some small fault. He relates, that lights were seen and psalmody heard over Annichad's tomb in the monastery of Fulda, and that, when a recluse there, he celebrated mass over it every day for ten years. He then states, that a most religious monk, named William, did, in his hearing, pray to Annichad, who was already buried, to bless him, and that the saint did so that same night in a vision, as the monk assured him, while Marianus himself during that night felt a very sweet and delicious scent. The reputation of St. Annichad has been very great, and his name is in divers calendars at 30 January.

(7) *Chap.* xxiii. § 5.

(8) See Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* ad *A.* 1021–1022.

(9) Marianus Scotus writes at *A.* 1035; “*Propter religionem districtam disciplinamque nimiam, et propter aliquos Scotus quos secum habebat Helias Scotus abbas, qui monasterium S. Pantaleonis et S. Martini in Colonia pariter regebat, Pilgrinus Colonien-*

sis archiepiscopus invidiosis viris instigatus Heliam abbatem voluit expellere et omnes Scotos monachos, quos secum habebat. Helias Scotus abbas statim, cum de aula regia revertisset, dixit cum cacteris Scotis; *Si Christus in nobis peregrinis est, nunquam vivus ad Coloniam veniat Piligrinus.* Et ita Deus complevit. See also Mabillon, *ib. ad A.* 1035.

(10) Florence of Worcester, at *A.* 1042.

(11) Marianus Scotus has at *A.* 1042. "Helias Scotus obiit 2. *id Aprilis*, vir prudens et religiosus." Florence of Worcester, following him as usual, has the same. In various Irish annals, quoted by Colgan, (*AA. SS. p.* 107.) we read at said year; "Elias or Elill, from the monastery of Monaghan, head of the Irish monks, died at Cologne."

(12) See the Bollandists at Marianus and Murcherat, 9 February, where they have an excellent dissertation concerning the Scot or Irish monasteries founded in Germany in the 11th and 12th centuries. They prove, that all those monasteries were inhabited by Irishmen, with scarcely an exception, although in later times, when the Irish ceased to crowd to foreign countries, they were usurped by the Scotch in consequence of the equivocation of the name *Scots*. Of this more hereafter.

(13) Marianus Scotus, having mentioned the death of Richard, abbot of Fulda, in 1039, adds, "*Hic etiam multos Scotus secum habebat.*"

(14) Colgan and Bollandus treat of this saint at 30 January.

(15) Colgan observes, that *Siolnamchadha* signifies the race of Anmchad, a chieftain, from whom that noble family descended. Harris says (*Antiq. ch.* 7.) that it was called also *Silanchia*, and that the district was the country of the O'Maddens.

(16) This Corcran wrote a tract concerning the relics and virtues of St. Gormgal, who died in 1017, (see *Chap. xxiii. §.* 16.) which Colgan, who had a copy of it, calls divine. He thinks that he was the same as the celebrated Corcran, who died at Lismore in 1040. (See *ib. §.* 15.) But Corcran of Lismore is not called an abbot, nor even a monk. He is indeed styled *anchorit*; but, considering the manner in which he is spoken of as a distinguished *ecclesiastes* and chief master, or public professor, he was in all probability a secular priest.

(17) *Bibere ab eo petierunt*. Colgan explains these words as if the strangers had asked him to take part of what they had before them. Yet they might be understood as meaning that, although the meal was over, they applied to him for some drink, a demand which was probably not conformable to the discipline of the house.

(18) At *A.* 1043. The whole of it is not in any printed copy of Marianus' chronicle, that I have seen; but it is quoted from his text by Florence of Worcester at said year.

(19) Who this Tigernach was will be inquired lower down.

§ III. The same Marianus relates, that there was in these times a very famous man in Ireland, and of an extraordinary way of acting with regard to religion, Alderic, or rather Aidus, surnamed *barbosus*, or the bearded. (20) He used to tonsure women and little boys like clergymen, and to announce that converted women ought not to wear veils. Of them, and of girls, boys, and laymen he had a great school. On account of these singularities he was obliged to leave Ireland in 1053. (21) Whither he went we are not informed, nor why some have reckoned him among the Irish writers. (22)

At the year 1058 he gives us an account of the extraordinary conduct of Paternus a Scot, that is, most probably an Irish monk and recluse of a monastery of Paderborn. There were two monasteries in that city, one annexed to the cathedral, and the other consisting merely of monks (23) in which was Paternus, who had lived there as a recluse for many years. A fire broke out in Paderborn on the Friday before Palm Sunday, which was in said year the 10th of April. It had been foretold by Paternus, and seems to have continued for some days. By it the whole city and the two monasteries were consumed; but, while it was raging, Paternus could not by any means be induced to quit his cell, and remained there for the purpose of obtaining, as he

supposed, the crown of martyrdom. Whether he was right in this notion is a very questionable point; unless it be maintained, that the vow, which he had made of never leaving his cell, may be considered as an apology for his determination to let himself be burned to death, as in fact he was. Be this as it may, some persons looked upon him as a real martyr; and one of them was Marianus himself, who set out from Cologne not many days after, *viz.* on the Monday after Low Sunday, for Paderborn, and having visited his tomb on account of the good things that were said of it, prayed on the very mat, on which Paternus had been burned. Thence Marianus went to Fulda together with the abbot of that monastery, who, it seems, had visited Paderborn for a similar purpose. (24)

Marianus, now referred to, who is surnamed *Scotus*, according to the style of the times, was a native of Ireland and born in 1028. (25) He retired from the world in 1052, and became a monk in, as seems very probable, the monastery of Clonard; for he makes mention of one Tigernach as superior of the establishment he belonged to before he left Ireland. Clonard was governed from the year 1055 until 1061 by Tigernach Borchech, the successor of Tuathal O'Fellarmuin. (26) Tigernach was a very holy man, (27) and there is great reason to think, that he was the superior (28) who, as we have seen above, related to Marianus the reason of St. Amnichad's having gone abroad, and which probably induced him also to quit his country, as he did in 1056, in which year he joined on the 1st of August, the Irish monks of St. Martin at Cologne. There he remained until 1058, when he visited Paderborn, and thence went to Fulda. Somewhat early in 1059, he was ordained priest at Wurtzburg, and not long after became a recluse at Fulda, in which state he spent there ten years.

(29) Concerning this great man more will be seen hereafter.

(20) Florence of Worcestester (at *A.* 1054) calls him *Aedd clericus barbosus*, or bearded clerk. See also Ware and Harris (*Writers* at the eleventh century).

(21) At said year Marianus has ; “ Atdericus” (an erratum, it seems, for *Aidus*) “ barbosus in Hibernia, vir valde famosus et mirae religionis ; ipse enim foeminas et puerulos more clericorum coronando tondebat ; et coronas et non velata capita foeminas conversas debere praedicabat ; earumque scholam et puellarum et puerorum et laicorum multam scholam habebat. Ob id ex Hibernia projectus est.” The words, *mirae religionis*, are rather equivocal ; for it is difficult to suppose, that Marianus meant to exhibit him as a man of wonderful true religion. Perhaps his meaning was, that said Aidus led a very austere life, or, what seems more probable, that he had some strange superstitious notion relative to the utility of the tonsure. The notorious liar Bale, quoted by Harris adds, what Marianus does not even hint at, that he clothed the females in boys apparel for the purpose of carrying on intrigues with them. By *foeminas conversas*, converted females, Marianus meant the same class as that which the French call *converties*, and the Italians *convertite*, who wear a peculiar sort of dress, and live retired in establishments similar to our asylums. That there were institutions for persons of this sort in Ireland at that period may be collected from this narrative.

(22) See Ware and Harris, *ib.*

(23) Mabillon (*Annal. Ben ad A.* 1058.) calls it *monasterium Abdinchofense*.

(24) See Marianus’ chronicle at *A.* 1058, and compare with Florence of Worcester at said year, and Mabillon, *loc. cit.*

(25) He tells us himself at *A.* 1028, that this was the year of his birth. It would be superfluous to enter into a long argument to prove, that Marianus was an Irishman. This is attested by his follower Florence of Worcester, who has (*Chron. ad A.* 1028) ; “ Hoc anno natus est Marianus *Hibernensis* probabilis Scotus ; cuius studio et labore haec chronica praecellens est de diversis libris coadunata.” Florence was partly contemporary with Maria-

nus, who died in 1086, whereas Florence did not live beyond 1118. Usher quotes (*Pr. p. 735.*) from a chronicle of the Cottonian library a passage of the same import; “Anno 1028. Marianus chronographus *Hibernensis* Scottus natus est, qui Chronicam Chronicorum composuit.” The Scotch themselves formerly allowed, that Marianus was an Irish Scot, as Usher shows (*ib.*) from the allegation of John de Merton in the year 1301. But in later times some Scotch writers, actuated by a silly national vanity, have pretended that he was a British Scot. And as such he is treated of by Mackenzie, *Lives of the Writers of the Scots nation, Vol 1. p. 99, seqq.* in a rhapsody not worth animadverting upon. What are we to think of an author, who makes even Rabanus Maurus a Scotchman? Labbe, *De Scriptor. Eccles.* Dupin, and the editors of Moreri, not to mention others, hold that Marianus was a native of Ireland.

(26) See Harris (*Bishops of Meath, p. 140.*) and Archdall at *Clonard*.

(27) In the Annals of Clonmacnois, followed by the 4 Masters, on occasion of mentioning the death of Tigernach Borchech in 1061 it is stated, that he was a great spiritual director, an anchoret, and comorban of St. Finnian. (See *AA. SS. p. 206.*) Colgan adds, that his name is in some Irish calendars at 13 March. His being called *comorban* of St. Finnian might lead one to think, that he was bishop of Clonard; but, as I have observed elsewhere, it is doubtful whether Finnian was a bishop; and it is remarkable, that in the list of the superiors of Clonard (*ib. p. 407.*) some are called bishops and others only comorbans. If those comorbans had been all bishops, why were they not styled so?

(28) It might be suspected, that Tigernach the superior of Marianus was the celebrated abbot and chronographer of Clonmacnois. But, besides his having outlived Marianus, it is to be observed that he was not abbot before Marianus left Ireland.

(29) For these respective dates, &c. see his chronicle and that of Florence of Worcester.

§. iv. Dubdalethe III., who was appointed archbishop of Armagh in 1049, (30) was succeeded in his professor's chair by Aidus or Hugh O'Fairreth. It is said, that Dubdalethe was only a nominal arch-

bishop and one of the eight laymen, mentioned by St. Bernard, who enjoyed the emoluments of the see, although not in holy orders. (31) This supposition seems to be confirmed by the circumstance of Aidus O'Foirreth having been made bishop and called *bishop of Armagh* until his death on the 18th of June, A. D. 1056. (32) To reconcile this with Dubdalethe's being then in possession of the see, it must be supposed that Aidus was only a suffragan, and acting as such, probably, in consequence of Dubdalethe's not being authorized to exercise spiritual functions. Add, that Dubdalethe is stated to have died a great penitent, as if he had been guilty of some serious fault, perhaps the usurpation of the archiepiscopal title and rights. And it appears certain, that he resigned, at least in part, the see three years before his death, which occurred on the 1st of September in 1064. (33) For, although some Irish annals bring down his incumbency to the now mentioned date, thus allowing for it 15 years, another account gives him but twelve, and places next after him Cumascach as archbishop of Armagh, to whom it assigns three years. (34) Dubdalethe was a man of learning, and wrote certain annals of the affairs of Ireland, besides an account of the archbishops of Armagh down to his own times. (35) On his death in 1064, and apparently on Cumascach's withdrawing himself from the government of the diocese, Moeliosa (*servant of Jesus*) son of Amalgaid, that is, as usually supposed, the archbishop of that name, (36) *took possession of the See* according to the expression of the Annals of Ulster. (37) whereby an allusion seems to be made to his having been a merely nominal archbishop. And it can scarcely be doubted, that he was one of the eight married laymen above spoken of. (38) Yet in 1068 he visited Munster and made a circuit through it, the object of which must have been to exact the dues formerly established conformably to the so called *Law of St. Patrick*. He is, however,

expressly reckoned among the archbishops of Armagh, and held that title for 27 years. (39)

(30) *Chap. xxiii. §. 13.*

(31) Colgan was of this opinion; but the only argument, which he adduces (*Tr. Th. p. 302.*) is, that Dubdalethe was, as he supposed, the father of one Aidus, archdeacon of Armagh, who died in 1108, and who is called son of Dubdalethe. This Aidus was, had he lived longer, expected to be raised to the see. These are, however, not better than conjectural proofs.

(32) *Tr. Th. p. 298.* Aidus O'Foirreth is not in the catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel. He died in the 75th year of his age, and was buried at Armagh. In his epitaph, written in Irish, he is styled an excellent elder and a modest bishop.

(33) Ware was mistaken (*Bishops at Dubdalethe III.*) in changing 1064 into 1065. O'Flaherty (*MS. catalogue*) has retained the 1064 of the Ulster annals; for the rule of adding a year to their dates does not generally apply to this period. Add, that the Annals of Innisfallen assign Dubdalethe's death to *A. 1064.*

(34) The Cashel catalogue *ap. Tr. Th. p. 292.* Cumascach is not mentioned in the annals either of Ulster or of the 4 Masters as archbishop of Armagh; but in the latter I find Cumascach O'Heradhain, who is called abbot of Armagh, and died in 1075. (See *ib. p. 298.*) O'Flaherty also has left Cumascach out of his catalogue. Yet it is difficult to believe, that his name would appear in the Cashel catalogue without any foundation; and the Annals of Innisfallen state, that Cumascach O'Heradhain was in 1060 substituted in place of Dubdalethe. The probability is that, although Dubdalethe might have been honoured with the title until his death, Cumascach, acting as his suffragan, exercised such extensive powers during the last three or four years of his incumbency, that he might have been considered as the real archbishop. Harris strove (*Additions to Ware*) to reconcile the Cashel catalogue, as to the 12 years for Dubdalethe, with the Annals, which allow him fifteen, by introducing one Gilla-Patrick Mac-Domnald, who died in 1052, and by making him archbishop before Dubdalethe. But this is contrary to every other account; nor do the 4 Masters, as Harris asserts, or Colgan, when expressly treating of Armagh, call Gilla-Patrick *archbishop of Armagh*; they give him

only the title of *Prior of Armagh*. (See *Tr. Th.* p. 289. and *Ind. Chron.*) It is true, that in *AA. SS.* p. 200 said Gilla-Patrick is named as *archbishop*. This must be a mistake; for, had he been such, this title would appear somewhere in *Tr. Th.* ex. c. p. 302.

(35) See Ware (*Bishops and Writers at Dubdalethe III.*) and Colgan, *loc. cit.*

(36) See *Chap. xxiii.* §. 13.

(37) See Ware, *Bishops at Dubdalethe III.*

(38) See Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 302. St. Celsus, who became archbishop of Armagh early in the 12th century, was a grandson of Moeliosa, and a Flanagan, son of Moeliosa, is marked as having died in 1113, after, as was supposed, he was to be appointed abbot of Armagh.

(39) Catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel, and Ware, *Bishops at Moeliosa.*

§. v. As to the other old and regular sees, the accounts of the succession of their prelates during the second half of this century are in general far from being perfect. One O'Gernidider, bishop of Killaloe, died in 1053; Mugron O'Mutan of Cork was murdered, it seems, by robbers in 1057. Mac-Airthir, bishop of Lismore, died in 1064, and Celecair of Clonmacnois in 1067. (40) Maelmorda, bishop of Emly and successor of Clothna Muimnech, (41) died in 1075 and was succeeded by Maeliosa O'Haractain, who lived until 1093. (42) At length we meet with bishops of Ardferit. The bishop Dermot, son of Maol-Brenan, died in 1075, and his successor Mac-Craith O'Heardain in 1099. (43) Kellach *Ramhar*, or the fat, bishop of Saigir and abbot of Birr, died in 1079. (44) Another bishop of Killaloe, Thady O'Thady, died in 1083. (45) The death of Aidus or Hugh O'Hoisin, bishop of Tuam, is marked at 1085, and at 1086 that of his successor Erchad O'Maelomair, who was succeeded by Cormac O'Cairill, who died in 1091. (46) The episcopal succession seems to have been regularly

kept up at Glendaloch. A very distinguished bishop of this see was Gilda-na-Naomh, (*the servant of the saints*) or Nehemias. He was a native of Leinster, and after some time, resigning his see, became abbot of the monks (Irish) of Wurtzburg, where he died on the 7th of April *A. D.* 1085. (47) To the same year is assigned the death of a bishop of Cork, Clerech O'Selbaic, (48) and that of Fin Mac-Gussan, bishop of Kildare. (49) Fin must have been succeeded by Ferdornach, who was certainly bishop of Kildare in 1096, (50) and seems to have resigned the see in said year. For, the death of Moelbrigid O'Brolcan, who is called bishop of Kildare and Leinster, and a celebrated man, is marked at 1097, although it is known that Ferdornach lived until 1101. The title of *bishop of Leinster* had been assumed also by Ferdornach in consequence of Kildare having been then considered the most respectable see in that province. After Moelbrigid O'Brolcan the next bishop was Aidus O'Heremoin, who died in 1100, and then is mentioned at 1101 the death of Ferdornach. (51) Another bishop of Lismore, Maelduin O'Rebecain, died in 1091, and O'Malvain of Cloyne in 1095, in which year died also Carbre O'Kethernuigh (Kearney) bishop of Ferns. (52) One O'Burgus, who died in 1081, is called comorban of Inniscatthy; (53) but I cannot decide whether he were bishop of that place, as I think I could, were he styled comorban of St. Senan its first bishop. Idunan, who together with some others signed, in 1096, a letter, of which lower down, to St. Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, styling himself bishop of Meath, (54) was in all probability bishop of Clonard, and, it seems, the first of that see who assumed the title of Meath, which after some time became the usual one of his successors. (55) Concerning Idunan I cannot find any thing further, nor even the year of his death. In the same manner as he called himself bishop of Meath, so I meet with

a bishop under the title of Leinster in general, Kelius son of Donagan, who is represented as a distinguished elder among those of Ireland, and died in the reputation of sanctity at Glendaloch in 1076. (56) It might seem, that he was bishop of Kildare, as Ferdonnach was who gave himself said title; but it is to be observed, that his name does not occur in the catalogues expressly drawn up of the prelates of Kildare, (57) and it is probable that the title, *bishop of Leinster*, means no more than that he was a Leinster bishop, and that he was so called in consequence of there not remaining any record of the particular see or place, which he governed.

(40) Ware, *Bishops* at the respective sees. Harris has added two bishops of Clonmacnois in these times, viz Ectigern O'Ergain, who died in 1052, and Alild O'Harretaigh, who died in 1070. He found them in *AA. SS. p. 407*, under the title of comorbans of St. Kieran of Clonmacnois, and as having both died in pilgrimage at Clonard. But he had no right to make them bishops; for, *comorban of St Kieran*, &c. means only *abbot of Clonmacnois*, whereas that St. Kieran had not been a bishop.

(41) See Chap. xxiv. §. 14. (42) Ware at *Emly*.

(43) Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 1075* and *1099*; and Ware at *Ardfert*. In said Annals I find under *A. 1010* these words; "The primate of Ireland in Aghadoe died." Have they a reference to some Kerry bishop of that period? I am equally at a loss to understand another passage at said year; "Marcan son of Kennedy, supreme head of the clergy of Munster, died." I find no Marcan at Emly during that period, and I am much inclined to think, that Marcan was bishop of Cashel, which see had, partly as the civil metropolis of Munster, and partly in memory of Cormac Mac Culinan, probably acquired an ecclesiastical ascendancy. Marcan's being called son of Kennedy in the very part of those annals, where Brian (Boroimhe) is so often named as son of Kennedy, seems to indicate, that he was a brother of his. (See *Chap. xxii. §. 4.*) For Marcan see more below, *Not. 120.*

(44) He is called *comorban* of Kieran of Saigir, and hence

may be supposed to have been a bishop. See *AA. SS.* p. 473. and Harris, *Bishops*, at *Ossory*.

(45) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Killaloe*.

(46) *Ib.* at *Tuam*, and *Tr. Th.* p. 308.

(47) *AA. SS.* p. 200. where Colgan calls him *Nehemias*, and Harris, *Bishops at Glendaloch*, Harris next before him makes mention of Cormac, son of Fithbran, not *Fitzbran* as he has, who died in 925. He doubts whether he were bishop of Glendaloch; and indeed justly; for, as far as I know, all that is said of him is what the 4 Masters have (*ap. AA. SS.* p. 386); *Cormac of Glendaloch, son of Fithbran, died in 925*. Of the Irish monastery of Wurtzburg more will be seen hereafter.

(48) Ware and Harris at *Cork*. Ware has added, but I believe without sufficient reason, a year to the date 1085 of the *Annals of Loughkee*.

(49) Colgan says, (*Tr. Th.* p. 630.) that this bishop died in the church of *Killachad*. Ware (*Bishops at Kildare*) has *Achonry*. I think that he should have rather said *Killeigh* (in the King's county), where there was, as we have often seen, a very ancient and famous monastery, and where Ware himself tells us that a bishop of Kildare died in 1160.

(50) Usher, *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 1096.

(51) *Tr. Th.* p. 630. Ware (*Bishops at Kildare*) says, I know not on what authority, that Ferdornach returned again to the see, meaning after the death of Aidus O'Heremoin. Is it because, where his death is marked at 1101, he is called *bishop of Kildare*? But he might have been called so without having resumed the office, remaining, as we would say, an ex-bishop. I suspect, that Ware was mistaken in changing the date 1101 into 1102.

(52) Ware, *Bishops at said sees*, and *AA. SS.* p. 223.

(53) *AA. SS.* p. 542. and Harris, *Bishops* p. 502.

(54) See *Ep.* 34. in Usher's *Ep. Hib. Syll.*

(55) See Ware, *Bishops at Meath*. Were we to allow that, persons, called comorbans of Finian of Clonard, were bishops, we should add for that see in those times Tuathal O'Follanmuin, who died in 1055, and one or two more, whose names are mentioned by Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 407. and Ware and Harris, *Bishops ib.* But they were probably only abbots. (See above *Not.* 27.)

(56) 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 308.*)

(57) Kelius is not mentioned in Colgan's minute list of the prelates, &c. of Kildare, (*Tr. Th. p. 229. seqq.*) and consequently is omitted by Ware and Harris.

§. VI. A very illustrious prelate of this period was Domnald O'Heine (58) bishop, or, as some have called him, archbishop of Cashel. He was of the royal house of the Dalcassians, and is most highly praised in our annals as an excellent bishop, exceedingly learned, pious, and charitable. He died on the 1st of December, A. D. 1098, in the 70th year of his age. (59) He was succeeded by Moelmurry O'Dunain, who is also called archbishop. But of this title more elsewhere. Domnald was undoubtedly the Irish bishop Domnald, to whom there is extant a letter or answer of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, written in 1081. (60) And hence it appears that those were highly mistaken, who thought, that this Domnald was archbishop of Armagh, as likewise others, who confounded him with Donatus bishop of Dublin. (61) Domnald had, together with some other persons, written a letter to Lanfranc, in which, as appears from the answer, he expressed a wish to know, whether it were true that in England and some other countries an opinion was held, that infants, although baptized, could not be saved without actually receiving eucharistical communion. It seems, that, as the practice of giving the holy Eucharist to infants after baptism continued for many centuries, as was certainly the case in some parts of France down to perhaps the tenth, there was a question in the Irish schools concerning the necessity of that practice; and accordingly Lanfranc was applied to as a theologian highly capable both of deciding upon it and of declaring the doctrine held in other countries on this point. His answer, though short, is excellent; and he shows, that Eucharistical communion is not in all cases

whatsoever necessary for eternal salvation. With regard to some literary topics, which Domnald had proposed to him, Lanfranc observes that he had given up studies of this nature since he became charged with pastoral duties. Domnald was also, as will be seen, one of the persons, who signed the letter to St. Anselm in 1096.

(58) Ware (at *Archbishops of Cashel*) says, that he was called O'Hene or *Buahein*. This *Buahein* is a droll mistake for *Hua-Hein*, or *O'Hein*, which was Domnald's real surname, or, as in the Annals of Innisfallen, *O'Heine*.

(59) The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 308.*) have; "A. 1098. " Domnald Hua-Henne, of the Dalcassian family, a chief director of consciences and a noble bishop, second to no Irishman " in wisdom or piety, source of religion to Western Europe, the " most able doctor of the Irish in the Roman or Canon law, " ended this life on the 1st of December in the 70th year of his " age." And at the same year we read in the annals of Innisfallen; " Donald O'Heine, archbishop of Cashel, and the most " celebrated for piety, wisdom, and charity throughout the whole " kingdom, died." It is odd, that Ware assigns his death to 1090 or 1097. I wish he had not neglected, as he too often does, to give us his authority for either of these dates.

(60) This letter was published by Usher in the *Ep. Hib. Syll.* (No. 28.) and afterwards by Dachery among the works of St. Lanfranc, where it is marked *Ep. 33.* Usher observes from the Annals of Canterbury, in which the name *Domnald* is expressly mentioned, that it was written in the eleventh year of Lanfranc's episcopacy, which was *A. D. 1081.*

(61) Usher himself in his note on said letter fell into the error of supposing, that Domnald, to whom it was addressed, was archbishop of Armagh. He seems not to have known, or to have forgot, that Domnald of Armagh was not archbishop there until 1091. Even Ware (at *Domnald* or *Donald* of Armagh) has committed the same mistake, notwithstanding his having marked the year of Domnald's accession; but he seems to have overlooked the date of the letter. Harris (*ib.*) has copied this mistake. Dachery says, that Domnald was either of Armagh or of Dublin, as

a metropolitan of Ireland; but Lanfranc does not give him any such title; nor was the bishop of Dublin at that time a metropolitan. This, together with some other points touched upon by Dacherly in his note, shows that he was very little acquainted with the ecclesiastical state of Ireland in old times. Some English writers make Domnald the same as Donatus bishop of Dublin, in consequence, it seems, of the name *Domnald* not being, in some MSS., written full at the head of the letter, but, instead of it, only the capital *D*. Had they reflected on what Usher quoted from the Annals of Canterbury, they would have found, that *D*. stood for *Domnald*, a very different name from that of Donatus, which was originally *Dunan* or perhaps *Donagh*. (See Chap. xxiii. §. 16.) Next it is evident that, as it was written in 1081, it could not have been directed to Donatus of Dublin, who died in 1074. Wilkins, who published it, (*Concil. M. Br. &c. Vol. 1. p. 361.*) as if addressed to Donatus, has given it, seemingly to ward off this difficulty, a wrong date, viz. *A. 1073*. Harris, although he had followed Ware in confounding Domnald with the one of Armagh, yet elsewhere (*Bishops of Dublin at Donat*) joins Wilkins in making him the same as Donatus. All this bungling would have been avoided, had due attention been paid to what the Irish annals state concerning Domnald of Cashel. He was the only bishop, at least of any note, in Ireland, of that name, in the year 1081.

§. vii. Donatus, or rather Dunan, (62) bishop of Dublin, died on the 6th of May, *A. D. 1074*, and was buried in his cathedral of the Holy Trinity near the great altar at the right side of it. (63) The clergy and people of Dublin then elected as his successor a priest, named Patrick, who, in all probability, was not, as is usually said, a Dane but an Irishman. (64) He had been recommended to them by Gothric, then king of Dublin, (65) who is supposed to have been the same as Godred, surnamed Crouan, king of the Isle of Mann, who, sometime before, had conquered Dublin and part of Leinster. (66) Patrick was sent by Gothric to Lanfranc, to be consecrated by him, bearing a letter from the clergy and people of Dublin in these terms; (67) “*To the*

“ venerable metropolitan of the holy church of
 “ Canterbury Lanfranc the clergy and people of
 “ the church of Dublin offer due obedience. It is
 “ known to your paternity, that the church of
 “ Dublin, which is the metropolis of the island of
 “ Ireland, (68) is bereft of its pastor and destitute
 “ of a ruler. We have therefore chosen a priest,
 “ named Patrick, very well known to us, of noble
 “ birth and conduct, versed in apostolical and ec-
 “ clesiastical discipline, in faith a Catholic, cautious
 “ as to the meaning of the Scriptures, and well
 “ trained in ecclesiastical dogmas ; who, we request,
 “ may be ordained bishop for us as soon as possible,
 “ that under the authority of God he may be able
 “ to preside over us regularly and be useful to us,
 “ and that under his government we may be able to
 “ combat with advantage. For the integrity of
 “ superiors constitutes the safety of the subjects,
 “ and, where there is the healthfulness of obedience,
 “ there the form of instruction is salutary.” On
 his arrival Patrick was examined, as usual, by Lan-
 franc, and, being found well qualified for the episcopal
 office, was consecrated by him in St. Paul’s church,
 London, (69) after having previously made the fol-
 lowing profession of obedience. (70) “ Whoever
 “ presides over others ought not to scorn to be
 “ subject to others, but rather make it his study to
 “ humbly render, in God’s name, to his superiors
 “ the obedience, which he expects from those, who
 “ are placed under him. On this account I Patrick,
 “ elected prelate to govern Dublin the metropolis of
 “ Ireland do, reverend father Lanfranc, primate of
 “ the Britains, (71) and archbishop of the holy
 “ church of Canterbury, offer to thee this charter of
 “ my profession ; and I promise to obey thee and
 “ thy successors in all things appertaining to the
 “ Christian religion.” The preamble to this pro-
 fession sufficiently indicates, that it was a new prac-
 tice, and that Patrick was the first bishop of Dublin,

who, at least previous to his consecration, declared his obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury. What necessity would there have been for such parade about not scorning to be subject to others, and talking of offering a charter of profession, if such a circumstance had occurred before? For, if it had, Patrick would have been obliged, whether he would or not, to declare his obedience in the simple and positive form used by such of his predecessors as remained subject to Canterbury. (72)

(62) See *Chap. xxiii. §. 16.*

(63) *Annals of Dublin, ap. Usher (Syll. Not. ad Ep. 25.) and Ware Bishops of Dublin at Donatus.*

(64) Ware represents him (*ib. at Patrick*) as an Ostman or Dane in like manner as he had Donatus, of whom we have seen already. For this he had, as far as I can discover, no authority except the mere supposition, that the bishop of a Danish city must have been himself a Dane. But this would prove too much; for the two O'Hanlys, who succeeded Patrick in the see of Dublin, are acknowledged to have been Irishmen, as their name sufficiently proves, that is, of old Irish, not Danish families. And it is in this sense that I say, that both Donatus and Patrick were probably Irish; for according to another acceptation the Danes themselves of these times, settled in Ireland, might be called Irish, as having been born in this country. It is also to be observed, that Dublin was not quite so much a Danish city but that there were families of the old Irish stock living in it. And it appears to me highly probable, that its clergy were at this period chiefly, if not universally, Irish. The Danes were too much occupied in commerce, piracy, and wars to spare persons for the ecclesiastical state; and I believe, that in the same manner as in Gaul, Italy and Spain, after they were conquered by the barbarians of the North, and after these barbarians became Christians and Catholics, the clergy consisted for a considerable time of members of the old families of said countries; the clergy also of Ireland that lived among the converted Danes, were usually chosen in the early times of their conversion, from the families strictly called Irish. We shall see an instance of

this practice in the case of Malchus, the first bishop of Waterford. To return to Patrick, his name is certainly Irish, not Scandinavian; and to make it appear more strongly so, he is called *Gilla* or *Gilla-Patrick* in the annals of the 4 Masters at A. 1084 *ap AA. SS. p. 200.*

(65) Annals of Dublin *ap Usher, loc. cit.*

(66) In the *Chronicon Manniae ap. Johnstone (App. to Antiq. Celto-Scand. &c.)* Godred Crouan is said to have been son of Harald the black of Iceland. He subdued Mann, and afterwards attacked Dublin, which he got possession of together with, according to said chronicle, a great part of Leinster. His words are; "*Godredus subjugavit sibi Dubliniam et magnam partem de Laynestir—Regnavit autem sexdecim annos, et mortuus est in insula, quae vocatur Yle.*" Usher, who quotes this passage (*Syll. &c. Not. ad Ep. 26.*) places this conquest of Dublin in 1066, as does also Ware (*Antiq. cap. 24.*) who however (*Bishops of Dublin at Patrick*) assigns it to 1070. There is some reason to think that Gothric, who was king of Dublin in 1074, was different from Godred Crouan, although Usher and Ware thought otherwise. For in the first place he is called son not of Harald but of Regnal, as the Ulster annals have, or of Ranold, as he is called in those of Innisfallen. In the latter annals we read, that in the year 1073 Godfrey (Gothric) son of Ranold, and king of the Danes of Dublin, attended at the residence of Turlogh O'Brian, king of Ireland, and submitted to him as his paramount sovereign, acknowledging himself as a vassal prince. Then they state, that in 1075 he was banished beyond sea by Turlogh, and that returning soon after to Ireland with a great fleet he died. This does not agree with what the Chronicle of Mann has concerning the death of Godred Crouan, which it places in Yle, that is, Ilay, an island of the Hebrides. The statement of this chronicle as to Godred Crouan having reigned 16 years, cannot be understood of his having reigned so long over Dublin; for he did not conquer Dublin until 1066, whereas the Danish king of said city, whether the same as Godred Crouan or not, died in 1075, as is marked also in the Annals of Ulster, which, as above observed, call him son of Regnal, *alias* Ranold or Reginald. By the bye, Ware had no right to change the date 1075 into 1076; for it is that also of the Annals of Innisfallen.

The 16 years of Godred Crouan's reign must therefore be understood of a reign over Mann and some of the Hebrides. And one might be induced to suspect, that his conquest of Dublin and of a *great* part of Leinster, as the Chronicle of Mann mentions, was merely temporary, and that the permanent king of Dublin, who was there in 1074 and died in 1075, was a different person. A further inquiry into this matter may be worth the attention of some of our antiquaries.

(67) This letter is the 25th in Usher's *Sylloge*, and the 36th among Lanfranc's letters in Dachery's edition of his works.

(68) It must be considered a great stretch of presumption in the Danes of those times to call Dublin the metropolis of Ireland. The most they could have said of it was, that it was the chief city of the Danes in this country. It might seem that these words are an interpolation of some late transcriber of the letter, introduced at a time when Dublin was really the metropolis, and for the purpose of directing the reader not to confound *Dublinensis* with some other name, *ex. c. Dunelmensis*, as has happened on a certain occasion, of which elsewhere. But we find a similar expression in Patrick's profession of obedience. Yet it is to be remarked, that it does not occur in those of his successors, in which is merely said of Dublin, that *it is situated in Ireland*.

(69) See Usher's *note* on said letter, *Sylloge*, &c.

(70) The original of this profession may be seen *ib.* towards the end, together with other professions of some bishops of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, collected by Usher. It is also in Ware's *Bishops of Dublin at Patrick*, and in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. 1. p. 80.

(71) The English translator of Ware (*ib.*) had no right to render *Britanniarum* by the *British isles*. Harris has mistranslated it in a similar manner. That name means nothing more than Great Britain, as is clear from the other professions *ap.* Usher, in which the archbishop of Canterbury *pro tempore* is addressed as *totius Britanniae primas, primate of all Britain*. Now Ireland was never considered as a part of Britain, although it has been sometimes comprized under the general denomination of the *British islands*; nor did the primacy of Canterbury ever extend to any portion of Ireland, except the three Danish towns above mentioned. It was very usual with old writers to call G. Britain *Bri-*

tanniae, without the least allusion to Ireland, in the same manner as Gaul was called *Galliae*. Thus Catullus has said; *Hunc Galliae timent, timent Britanniae*. Dr. Milner, who would fain make the world believe, that the whole Irish church was in former times subject to the see of Canterbury, says, (*Inquiry, &c. or Tour in Ireland, p. 164.*) that Polybius and Ptolemy understand by *Britanniae* both G. Britain and Ireland. He copied this from Cressy, *B. XIII. ch. 14.* But both of them should have said, that they called them the *British islands*, (see Polybus, *Hist. L. 3. p. 209* Cuaub. and Ptolemy, *Geogr. L. 2. and 8.* (a name not to be confounded with *Britanniae*, which, together with many other writers, Bede applies to G. Britain alone, *ex. c. L. v. cap. 24.* where he has *Britannias* twice, as when he says, that the emperor Claudius “*Britannias adiens plurimam insulae partem in deditionem recepit;*” and he has (*ib.*) also *Britanniarum* in the same limited acceptation, alluding to his having, more or less, given an account of the ecclesiastical history and state of every part of G. Britain as well Northern as Southern. I need scarcely tell the reader, that the division of Britain, when under the Romans, into provinces, such as *Britannia prima, Britannia secunda, &c.* gave rise to the plural name *Britanniae*. It is true that Ptolemy in one place calls Ireland *Little Britain*, and that Apuleius, translating from a Greek passage, in which the two British islands are mentioned, has *Britanniae duae*. (See Usher, *p. 723, 724.*) But an odd instance of this sort is not sufficient to overturn the fact, that in Bede’s time, and both long before it and ever since, Ireland was not comprized under the name *Britanniae*. Accordingly Lanfranc’s being styled *primate of the Britains* signifies merely, that he was primate of all G. Britain, a title which had been opposed by Thomas, archbishop of York, and which was introduced into Patrick’s profession probably for no other reason than to attest the superiority of Canterbury over York. It would be ridiculous to suppose, that Lanfranc was considered as primate also of Ireland, which had then, and for ages before, a primate of her own; nor does there appear in any of his transactions even a hint at his claiming such a prerogative. Dr. Ledwich (*Antiq. &c. p. 428*) has swallowed the mistranslation of *Britanniarum* in the English text of Ware.

(72) In the other professions of obedience to the archbishop of

Canterbury, collected by Usher in the *Sylloge*, we find merely an absolute promise of submission, without any reason being assigned for it. We have seen already, (*Not.* 138 to *Chap.* xxiii.) that the ecclesiastical connexion between the Danes of Ireland and Canterbury did not begin until after the Norman conquest in 1066. And in fact how could it have begun sooner? Is it to be supposed, that they would have placed themselves under the prelates of that see, while the Anglo-Saxons, a nation with whom they were as much at variance as with the Irish, ruled England? Perhaps it may be said, that they united themselves with Canterbury, prior to the reign of Edward the Confessor in 1042, while England was subject to the Danish kings for somewhat more than 20 years. But of this there does not exist any proof whatsoever, and it would be idle to speculate on a circumstance, which is not mentioned in any document. The most that may be conjectured is, that, after the conquest in 1066, perhaps Donatus entered into some engagement with the see of Canterbury, and that it was arranged before his death, that his successor should be consecrated by its archbishop. But even for this no voucher is to be found. There are two or three words in Lanfranc's letter to Gothric, king of Dublin, which may seem to insinuate, that Patrick was not the first bishop of Dublin consecrated at Canterbury. Having said that he had consecrated Patrick, he adds; "we have sent him back to his see with letters of attestation according to the practice of our predecessors, *more antecessorum nostrorum*. One might imagine, that Lanfranc alluded to similar letters having been given to other bishops of Dublin by former archbishops of Canterbury; and, in fact, said words are placed in the Annals of Dublin (*ap.* Usher, *Not. ad Ep.* 25. *Syll.*) so as apparently to convey this meaning. But this could not have been the intention of Lanfranc; for, where can any account of such letters be met with? And then who were those *predecessors*, who could have given them? At most there should have been only one *predecessor*, whereas there was only one bishop of Dublin before Patrick. Lanfranc's words must therefore be understood as signifying that, inasmuch as it was the practice of the archbishops of Canterbury to furnish such bishops, whoever they were, as they had consecrated, with testimonial letters, he followed that practice with regard to Patrick. It was requisite to inform the Danes of this custom, as they were

hitherto unacquainted with the forms observed by metropolitans in such cases.

§. VIII. But this is a question of little importance compared with the extravagant position laid down by some writers, chiefly English, that the archbishops of Canterbury possessed a metropolitan, or, at least, a legatine jurisdiction over the Irish church at large, ever since the days of the monk Augustin down to these times and even later. It is strange, how such a notion could have been entertained, whereas in the whole range of our ecclesiastical history there is not a single instance of the exercise of such power on the part of Canterbury, nor even of a pretension to such a claim with regard to any part of Ireland, except Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, when after the Norman conquest of England the Danes of these cities subjected their bishops to that see. It was after that great event, that, as far as I can discover, the idea of Canterbury having at any time enjoyed a metropolitan or primatial jurisdiction over Ireland was first started in England. This was in a council held at Winchester *A. D.* 1072, in the presence of William the conqueror, for the purpose of deciding on the question of the primacy between Canterbury and York. In it Bede's authority was alleged to make it appear, that until his times Canterbury was possessed of a primatial authority not only over Great Britain but likewise over Ireland. (73) This ridiculous assumption, for which, speaking of primatial or metropolitan power, there is not a single argument or even hint in Bede's works, has been picked up by certain authors, who brought down that pretended jurisdiction over Ireland to a later period, and have imposed on some otherwise learned writers. (74) As this nonsense was found to be untenable, an attempt has been made to uphold some sort of predominance of the see of Canterbury over the whole

Irish church, and hence has arisen the fable that the archbishops of that see had constantly claimed, from the times of Augustin, a legatine power over Ireland. (75) The chief foundation, on which it is built, is the supposition that Pope Gregory the great had included Ireland among the countries, over which he conferred a legatine jurisdiction to the missionary Augustin. (76) Now, admitting for a while that he had done so, what has this to do with the rights of Augustine's successors at Canterbury? Surely the legatine power does not of itself descend to the successors of such bishops as may have been invested with it. Every one any way acquainted with the Canon law knows, that it is usually a temporary and not permanent sort of power attached to any see. Gregory did not declare, that it was his intention that the successors of Augustin should be invested with said power, nor in the words, by which he granted it to him, has he even alluded to them. Accordingly, whatsoever were the places or countries comprized in the Pope's grant to Augustin, the legatine jurisdiction was peculiar to Augustin himself; nor could his successors claim it as a right inseparable from the archbishopric of Canterbury. Hence it follows that, supposing even that Ireland was included within the sphere of Augustin's jurisdiction as legate, his successors were not invested with any power relative to it. (77)

(73) See Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L.* 61 §. 51. The assertion made in that council was false even as to a considerable part of Great Britain. For the jurisdiction of Canterbury did not in former times extend to such parts of North Britain as had not belonged to the Anglo-Saxons. It was not recognized by the British Scots or by the Northern Picts, whose primate was for centuries no other than the abbot of Hy. But I am not writing the Church history of Scotland.

(74) Among the abettors of that foolish position were Campion

and Hamner, the former of whom was well chastised by Usher (see *Not.* 138. to *Chap.* xxiii.) and the latter excited the indignation of honest Keating (*History, &c. B. 2. p.* 100. Dublin *ed.*). For an answer to similar petty writers I refer the reader to Harris, *Bishops, p.* 312 and 526. Cressy has the same stuff (*Church history, &c. B. xiii. ch.* 14.) founding it on Lanfranc's letter above mentioned to Gothric, and on the letter, relative to the see of Waterford, written to Anselm in 1096; as if all Ireland consisted only of Dublin and Waterford. But I was greatly surprized to find so learned a man as Dachery abetting this absurdity. In a note to Lanfranc's *Ep.* 3. he says, that the Irish bishops were subject to the see of Canterbury, and as a proof of it refers to the professions of obedience collected by Usher in the *Sylloge*, not knowing that Usher had shown elsewhere, that such professions were confined to Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. And in a note to *Ep.* 33. he states, that the metropolitan of Ireland was subject to that of Canterbury. How ignorant Dachery was of our ecclesiastical system appears from his applying (*ib.*) to Ireland what Bede has (*Hist. &c. L. c.* 4.) concerning the bishops of North Pictland being subject to the abbot of Hy.

(75) Who was the inventor of this story I do not know; but Dr. Milner has retailed it to us in the place quoted above (*Not.* 71.) thus modifying the system of his favourite Cressy. But some of his arguments, being similar to those of Cressy, would, if good for any thing, prove that said supposed jurisdiction was not merely legatine, but likewise metropolitan.

(76) Dr. Milner says, that the archbishops of Canterbury claimed this jurisdiction "ever since the time of St. Augustine, by virtue of the authority *over all the Britains*, conferred by St. Gregory upon this our apostle." Instead of *over all the Britains*, he should have written, *over all the bishops of the Britains*; for Gregory's words, as in Bede, (*L. 1. c.* 27.) and which are quoted by Dr. Milner himself, are; "*Britanniarum vero omnes episcopos tuae fraternitati committimus.*" For the word *Britanniarum* see above *Not.* 71.

(77) It is extraordinary, that Dr. Milner could have argued from the legatine power having been conferred upon Augustin,

that it was derived to all his successors. He cannot be ignorant of the nature of that sort of power; and as to the fact of its being exercised or claimed by *all* the archbishops of Canterbury, it would be a hopeless task to attempt to prove it. We have had legates apostolic in Ireland, the first of whom was Gillebert bishop of Limerick. Have the subsequent bishops of Limerick therefore pretended, that they also were invested with the legatine jurisdiction? Or have the successors of St. Malachy of Armagh, or of St. Lawrence of Dublin, both legates apostolic, claimed that dignity? It is true, that with regard to England, whenever a Pope thought fit to appoint a legate for that country, a traditional rule was observed that the archbishop of Canterbury should be the person; and hence it was that Guy, archbishop of Vienne, who in the year 1100 came to England as legate apostolic, would not be received as such. But this was a system very different from that, which would make every archbishop of Canterbury an apostolic legate. If such were the case, a new act of the Pope would not have been necessary for granting the legatine power to an archbishop of that see. Now it is certain that it was; and we find, that even Lanfranc did not enjoy it until about a year after he was actually archbishop of Canterbury, when he received it, and relatively to England alone, from Pope Alexander III. (See Fleury, *L.* 61. §. 36.)

§. IX. The truth, however, is, that Ireland was not included in the grant of the legatine jurisdiction made by Pope Gregory to Augustine. The first legate ever placed over this country was Gillebert, bishop of Limerick, who flourished in the close of the eleventh and the early part of the twelfth century. (78) No argument whatsoever occurs to show, that Augustin received such authority with regard to Ireland, except the misinterpretation of one word, *Britanniarum*, which, instead of being understood, as it ought, of Great Britain alone, has been made to comprehend likewise Ireland. (79) Augustin's legatine power was confined to G. Britain, over all whose bishops the Pope gave him an authoritative right of inspection and superintendence, and that

for a very good reason, *viz.* that, in consequence of the Saxon invasion and devastations, religion, ecclesiastical discipline, and morality had greatly declined among the Britons. (80) On the contrary the Irish church was at that period in a most flourishing state, abounding in saints and learned men, as we have seen in the history of the sixth and seventh centuries, and as must have been well known by Augustin, who was then so near us, and by Pope Gregory himself, had he even no further proof of it than the extraordinary sanctity and reputation of St. Columbanus and his companions, who were already in the continent. The Irish bishops and clergy of those days were so attentive to their duties, that there was no necessity for placing a superintendent over them. So far from Augustin having meddled with the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland, it is clear that he did not enter into any communications or correspondence with the Irish prelates or abbots, &c. (81) Had he thought himself invested with any jurisdiction over the bishops of Ireland, he certainly would, at least, have apprized them of his possessing it. Nor, although some of our old writers have mentioned certain persons as having been at early times apostolical legates for Ireland, such as David, an archbishop of Armagh, and St. Laserian of Leighlin, (82) yet not a word is to be found in any Irish document of Augustin having ever exercised or thought of exercising such jurisdiction, or of his having been so styled, with regard to Ireland.

(78) See St. Bernard, *Vita S. Malachiae*, cap. 7.

(79) Among other questions Augustin had asked of the Pope how he should act with regard to the bishops of the Gauls and of the Britains; "*Qualiter debemus cum Galliarum Britanniarumque episcopis agere?*" The Pope answers, that he gives him no authority whatsoever over the bishops of the Gauls, but tells him that, if he should happen to go to the Gauls, and that he find any bishops guilty of misconduct, he may admonish and advise them

to reform themselves, without, however, assuming any sort of jurisdiction over them. For, he says, if the exercise of authority be necessary to recal such bishops to their duty, you must treat with the bishop of Arles as the person invested with power over the Gauls, and excite him to act with vigour. “ But we entrust all the bishops of the Britains (*Britanniarum vero omnes episcopos*) to your fraternity, that the unlearned may be instructed, the weak strengthened by persuasion, and the perverse corrected by authority. (See *Interrog. vii. ap. Bede, L. 1. c. 27.*) Here there is not a word relative to Ireland, and it is a pitiful quibble to lay any stress upon Augustin’s and consequently Gregory’s having called Great Britain by the plural name *Britanniarum* in the same manner as they gave to Gaul that of *Galliarum*. Of what consequence is it, that one or two writers, touching on the topography of these islands, may have in a loose manner called them *Britanniae*? The question is what did Augustin, and accordingly Gregory, mean in using that name on an occasion, in which particular precision was requisite. If they had Ireland at all in view, surely they would, according to the general phraseology of the times, have added *Scotia*, or mentioned the bishops of the Scots who inhabit Ireland, as Bede does, (*L. 2. c. 4.*) where he speaks of the letter of Laurentius, &c. to the bishops of Scotia or Ireland. And if there was any idea of Ireland being included under the *Britanniarum* of Augustin and Gregory, Bede would certainly have made some observation on it; but such a notion never struck him, and he himself used that word as also *Britannias* for Great Britain alone. (See above *Not. 71.*)

(80) Fleury, who had no idea of Dr. Milner’s interpretation of *Britanniarum*, having stated, (*L. 36. §. 38.*) that the Pope granted a jurisdiction to Augustin over the bishops of *Britain*, adds; “ C’etoit les évêques des Bretons, anciens habitans de l’île, chrétiens depuis long-temps, mais tombés dans l’ignorance et la corruption des mœurs.”

(81) This is sufficiently clear from the letter of Laurence, &c. to the Irish bishops and abbots *ap. Bede L. 2. c. 4.* (see *Not. 233 to Chap. xiv.*); for in it they say, that they did not know that the Irish followed ecclesiastical practices not different from those of the Britons, until they learned it through the bishop Dagan after his arrival in Britain. If Augustin, who was dead at this time,

had had any correspondence with the Irish prelates, this want of information could not have continued until the interview took place between Laurence &c. and Dagan.

(82) For David see *Chap. x. §. 13.* As for Laserian having been styled *legatus apostolicus*, it meant originally nothing more than that he had been deputed to Rome as a messenger or agent relatively to the Paschal question. (See *Chap. xv. §. 9.*)

§. x. Another argument in favour of the pretended power of the archbishops of Canterbury has been squeezed from the circumstance of Laurence, the successor of Augustine, having written, together with Mellitus and Justus, to the bishops and abbots of Ireland concerning certain Irish practices, which they thought wrong, and from an observation of Bede that Laurence, by so doing, extended his pastoral solicitude to the people of Ireland. (83) But neither in said letter nor in Bede's remark is there any thing to make it appear, that Laurence acted in the capacity of an apostolic legate, or that he pretended to any jurisdiction over the Irish church. From the little of it that remains it is evident, that it was a letter merely of exhortation and advice, such as every bishop or number of bishops might write to other bishops without claiming any authority over them. Innumerable letters of this kind are to be met with in ecclesiastical history, and many of them written even to Popes. Laurence assumes no title indicating a special power with regard to the Irish clergy, and calls himself, Mellitus, and Justus, simply *bishops*. Were it to follow from the writing of the letter that Laurence was invested with jurisdiction over the bishops of Ireland, it should be allowed that so were also Mellitus and Justus. And as to Bede's expression of *extending pastoral solicitude*, it would be ridiculous to deduce from it, that he alluded to the exercise or to an act of legatine power; for, were such words to be understood in this manner, some thousands of bishops, who have

interfered in a similar way with those of other provinces, should be styled legates apostolic. If Bede meant to exhibit Laurence as acting in a legatine capacity, he would not have failed to tell us, that he was invested with a particular jurisdiction of that sort. (84)

To prop up this tottering system an argument of a strange kind has been patched up, founded on a hypothesis, for which there is not the least foundation. It is, that the reason, for which Pope Eugenius III. sent four palls to Ireland by Cardinal Paparo in the year 1152, was to protect the Irish church against the claims of the archbishops of Canterbury, and that thereby it should be recognized as independent of any foreign jurisdiction except that of the see of Rome. This must be the invention of some modern stickler for English ecclesiastical predominance over Ireland; for there is not even a hint at such a motive for palls having been sent to Ireland in any genuine account of those times relative to said transaction; nor are any pretensions of Canterbury at all spoken of as having had any thing to do with the granting of said palls. (85) But of them, and how and why they were granted, more in the proper place.

(83) Bede *L. 2. c. 4.* where the reader will find the beginning of said letter, which has been mentioned above, *Not. 79 and 81.*

(84) It must have been on a misinterpretation of these words of Bede that the pretended claim of the see of Canterbury to *primatial* jurisdiction over Ireland, alleged in the council of 1072 at Winchester, (see above §. 8.) was chiefly founded. Dr. Milner confines the meaning of them to the *legatine* power over Ireland. But I think I have sufficiently shown, that they do not mean either the one or the other. The fact is, that Laurence &c. in writing to the Irish prelates conducted themselves in a manner quite similar to that, in which Gregory the great told Augustin that he might act with regard to the bishops of the Gauls, viz. by way of

admonition and advice, without, however, pretending to any authority over them; (See *Not.* 79.) and indeed every bishop may do the same. Dr. Milner then brings forward, from Cressy, Lanfranc's jurisdiction over Patrick, bishop of Dublin, and the letter to Anselm. (See *Not.* 74.) But of these arguments enough has been said already; and I shall only add that, if they could prove any thing with regard to a jurisdiction over all Ireland, it would be that Lanfranc and Anselm were really our *primates* as well as of England.

(85) Dr Milner has (*loc. cit.*) this paradoxical statement, which I confess I never heard of before. He must have taken it from some English writer; but who he was we are not informed. Dr. Milner was answering some ridiculous and false positions of Ledwich with regard to Paparo having come to Ireland, brought palls, &c. for the purpose of extinguishing our ancient doctrines and discipline. (See his *Antiq. &c.* p. 444.) It would have been easy to refute and expose Ledwich's nonsense; but Dr. Milner contents himself with saying, that "the bestowing of palls—was not in fact, nor was it considered any subjection of the Church of Ireland to that of Rome. On the contrary, it was a dignity and an immunity from foreign jurisdiction conferred upon it; in as much as the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being had claimed a legatine jurisdiction over Ireland ever since the time of St. Augustine," &c. Then he adds; "Accordingly the Irish prelates, and St. Malachy in particular, had earnestly solicited the court of Rome to send certain palls to the Church of Ireland as the proof of her immediate dependance on the see apostolic." This is surely a strange sort of refutation, to which poor Ledwich might have made a puzzling reply, if he were acquainted with the subject. Where, in the name of wonder, did Dr. Milner find, that St. Malachy's reason for applying for the pall was to get rid of the claims of Canterbury? In the whole of his *Life* by St. Bernard there is not a word about Canterbury or its archbishops, not even where an account is given (*cap.* xi.) of St. Malachy's conversation with Pope Innocent II. concerning the palls, which he requested to get for Armagh and Cashel. There is a good deal said by Keating (*B.* 2.) and by Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 654 and 775, *seqq.*) with quotations from old Annals, about the palls brought by Paparo; but not even an allusion is made to their

having been sent as marks of protection against Canterbury or any other see in the world. Dr. Milner tells us that Hoveden complains at *A.* 1151, that the granting of the four palls to the Irish metropolitans was contrary to the ancient custom and the dignity of the church of Canterbury, and quotes, as from him, these words; “*Hoc factum est contra antiquam consuetudinem et dignitatem Cantuarensis ecclesiae.*” Now Hoveden has not made any such complaint, nor has he said words at *A.* 1151. All that he says in substance at said year is, that four palls were sent to Ireland, to which palls had never been brought before. But he makes no observation on that occurrence. Somebody, no matter who, may have said what Dr. Milner ascribes to Hoveden; yet his meaning might have been relative merely to the church of Dublin, which, in consequence of its being distinguished by the pall, became exempt from the jurisdiction of Canterbury.

§. XI. Not to enlarge further on this subject, the fact is that the power exercised by Lanfranc, in consecrating Patrick and receiving his profession of canonical obedience, was not of the legatine but of the metropolitan kind according to the then general practice of the church, which Patrick, having become a suffragan of the see of Canterbury, submitted to. On his returning to Ireland, Lanfranc gave him testimonial letters, as usual, attesting his consecration, (86) together with two private letters, one for Gothric, king of Dublin, and the other for Terdelvac, who is styled the magnificent king of Ireland. (87) Gothric, although called *king*, was at this time a vassal of Terdelvac, or, as he is usually named, Turlogh, having submitted to him as his liege sovereign in 1073. (88) Turlogh was son of Teige, or Thaddaeus, a son of Brian Boromhe, who was killed in 1023 at the instigation of his own brother Donogh. (89) We have seen that Donogh became king of Leth-Mogha in 1026. (90) Among many other wars, in which he was engaged during his reign, he had often to contend against his nephew Turlogh, who was a very valiant prince. His

kingdom was gradually reduced to Munster, which also he lost in 1064, having been dethroned; upon which he went to Rome, where he died, seemingly not long after, a great penitent in the monastery of St. Stephen. (91) Turlogh was immediately proclaimed king of Munster, and after some short time entered into a league with the celebrated king of Leinster Dermod Mac-Maol-na-mbo, thus confirming their mutual power until 1072, in which year Dermod was killed in the battle of Odhba in Meath, fighting against Connor O'Maolseachlin king of Meath, Mac-Gilla-Patrick, O'Ferral, &c. (92) After this event Turlogh marched into Ossory, Hy-Kinselagh, and other parts of Leinster, and, having received hostages from all parts of that province, became master also of Dublin, (93) whose king or prince Godfrey, or Gothric did, as above mentioned, in the following year acknowledge himself his vassal. Turlogh continued gradually to add to his preponderance over the remaining parts of Ireland. In 1073 and 1074 he brought Meath under his vassalage, in 1075 and 1076 Connaught and Breffny, and in 1079 and 1082 finally Ulster, (94) so that by this time he might be justly styled king of all Ireland, as indeed he has been. And as such he was known in the continent, as appears from a letter written to him by Pope Gregory VII. Lanfranc in his letter to him praises him most highly, and congratulates the people of Ireland on their being blessed by God with so good a king. "Our brother "and fellow bishop Patrick" he adds, "has related "so many and such great good things concerning "the pious humility of your grandeur towards the "good, strict severity against the bad, and your "most discreet equity with regard to every de- "scription of persons, that, although we have "never seen You, yet we love You as if we had, "and wish to consult your interest and to render

“ You our most sincere service, as if we had seen
 “ You and intimately known You.”

(86) See above *Not.* 72.

(87) Usher seems (*Discourse of the Religion, &c. ch. 8.*) to confound these two letters with the testimonial letters mentioned by Lanfranc in the one to Gothric. But from the text of this letter it is plain, that they were different. He calls them commendatory letters. That to Gothric is such; but the other to Turlogh contains no direct recommendation of Patrick. They are in the *Sylloge* at Nos. 26 and 27. and in Lanfranc's Works under *Ep.* 37 and 38. Harris has given them in English at *Patrick, Bishops of Dublin.* But he followed Baronius' edition of them, which is not as correct as Usher's.

(88) See *Not.* 66.

(89) *Annals of Innisfallen* at *A.* 1023.

(90) See *Chap.* xxiii. §. 12.

(91) *Annals of Innisfallen* at *A.* 1064. I do not understand, why Dr. O'Connor (*Columbanus' 2d Letter, p. 80.*) places Donogh's dethronement and flight to Rome in 1047, whereas the *Annals* now quoted, which are allowed to be the best authority for the affairs of Munster, positively assign it to 1064, at which year they mark also the accession of his successor Turlogh. Besides, they frequently make mention of him as being in Ireland several years later than 1047, and exhibit him as fighting even in 1063 against Turlogh. The Dr. says, (*ib. p. 81. and 85*) that Donogh died in 1064. Perhaps he did; but that was certainly likewise the year of his departure for Rome. Keating says, (*B. 2.* a little after the beginning) that about 77 years before the English invasion Donogh went to Rome with a commission from the principal nobility and gentry to offer themselves as subjects to that see. His chronology is not worth attending to; for, at the time he mentions, Donogh should have been about 100 years of age. But, passing by other absurdities, Donogh had no such offer to make, as if a man, so much disliked as he was in Ireland, and who was expelled from his provincial kingdom, would have been invested with a commission of that kind. And as to his offering *all* Ireland to Rome, it is too ridiculous a story to be at all listened to.

(92) Said Annals at *A.* 1072. Ware (*Antiq. cap. 4.*) has 1073 according to his mode of adding without necessity a year to dates. He represents Dermot as king of all Ireland; but the quoted annals do not, calling him king of Leinster; nor does O'Flaherty, who makes mention of him in the Ogygia (*Part. III. cap. 94.*) as a prince sometimes called, by a sort of courtesy, king of Ireland. Besides being king of Leinster, Dermot was, according to these annals (*ib.*) sovereign of Dublin and of the Danish isles, which must, I suppose, be understood of his having possessed a supreme power over the Danish kings or princes as his vassals and dependents.

(93) Said Annals, *ib.*

(94) See said Annals at the respective dates.

§. XII. Lanfranc then says, that among many things, which pleased him, he was informed of some that did not, *viz.* 1. that in Terdelvac's kingdom men quit their lawful wives without any canonical cause, and take to themselves others, although near to them or to the deserted wives in consanguinity, and even women who had been in like manner abandoned by their husbands. He makes the same complaint in his letter to Gothric as to his kingdom, that is, Dublin; and it is the only one he particularizes in it, where he further observes that some men used to exchange wives. There is every reason to think, that these abuses were confined chiefly to the Danes, whose Scandinavian ancestors and brethren, even of these times, were known to be very loose in this respect; and, although Lanfranc speaks of Terdelvac's kingdom, yet we may fairly suppose that, as to these abominations, he alluded to that part of it, which was held by Gothric under him. (95) For it can hardly be imagined, that the kings or clergy of Ireland at large would have tolerated practices so contrary to the canons of their church, which canons, being considered as enacted by St. Patrick, were held in the greatest respect. (96) Yet with regard to one point touched upon by Lanfranc, *viz.* mar-

rying within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity and affinity, some of the Irish clergy seem not to have extended said degrees as far as the Canon law then generally followed required, but to have been content with those laid down in the 18th chapter of Leviticus. (97) The other practices, which displeased Lanfranc, were, 2. That bishops were consecrated by one bishop. 3. That infants were baptized without consecrated chrism. 4. That holy orders were given by bishops for money. He represents these, together with the abominations under No. 1, as abuses contrary to Evangelical and Apostolical authority, to the injunctions of the sacred canons, and to the institutions of all the orthodox Fathers. The fourth is certainly repugnant to every authority, divine and human, and was a disgrace to the Irish church as well as to many other churches of those times; but not so the second and third, which, had Lanfranc known the reason of them, would have appeared to him perfectly harmless. There is nothing contrary to Evangelical and Apostolical authority in a bishop's being consecrated by one only bishop, a circumstance which has often occurred, and which must have frequently taken place in the times of the Apostles, and in the commencement of missions, when there happened to be one bishop alone employed in founding new churches. But Lanfranc was not aware, that the Irish still retained the order of *Chorepiscopi*, a description of ecclesiastics, which was kept up longer in Ireland than in any other part of Christendom, although this fact was unknown to many eminent church historians and canonists. Now the persons, called bishops by Lanfranc, who used to be consecrated by only one bishop, were in reality *chorepiscopi*, whom the Irish were wont to style *bishops* in the same manner as they called the ordinaries of regular sees. As long as that order existed, it was lawful, in virtue

of a standing canon of the Church, for a single bishop to consecrate the members of it. (98) With regard to baptizing without chrism, Lanfranc was greatly mistaken in supposing, that either the Apostles or Evangelists, or all the Fathers and canons had prescribed the use of chrism in baptism. In itself it is not a rite at all essential to the validity of this sacrament. Nor was it in early times practised in baptism, but immediately after it as belonging to Confirmation, which, as long as baptism continued to be performed by bishops, or if a bishop were present, used to be administered by them to the persons just baptized. (99) But after the duty of baptizing devolved chiefly, and almost universally on priests, a custom was gradually introduced into the Western church of using chrism among the ceremonies of baptism itself, as an imitation of its use by the bishop when confirming the baptised; but with this difference, that the priest applies the chrism to the top of the head, whereas the bishop used to apply it to the forehead of the baptized as a very material rite of the sacrament of Confirmation. (100) It seems, however, to have not been practised in Ireland at any time prior to those we are now treating of; whereas it was not considered as necessary, no more than some other ceremonies, which in some churches were added in the administration of baptism, but which have since fallen into disuse. (101)

(95) Usher observes (*Note on the letter to Terdelvac*) that the practice of dismissing wives prevailed also among the Anglo-saxons and in Scotland. The abominable custom of selling wives still kept up in England is a remnant of it.

(96) The most that any Irish canon allowed was the dismissal of a wife on account of adultery, and the injured husband's taking another. In the 26th of what is called the *Synod of St. Patrick* this is permitted; "Audi Dominum dicentem—non licet viro dimittere uxorem nisi ob causam fornicationis; ac si dicat, ob hanc causam. Unde, si ducat alteram velut post mortem prioris, non

vetant." Yet in another, which is the 5th of those attributed to St. Patrick alone, a man is prohibited from taking another wife as long as the guilty one is living. It is added that, if she repent, he shall receive her, and she shall serve him as a handmaid, and do penance for a whole year in bread and water, and that by measure; but that they are not to remain in one bed; " Si alicujus uxor fornicata fuerit cum alio viro, non adducet aliam uxorem quamdiu viva fuerit uxor prima. Si forte conversa fuerit et agat poenitentiam, suscipiet eam, et serviet ei in vicem ancillae, et annum integrum in pane et aqua per mensuram poeniteat, nec in uno lecto permaneant." As to women, who quitting their husbands join themselves to other men, they were excommunicated, according to the 19th canon of the Synod of Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus; " Mulier Christiana, quae acceperit virum honestis nuptiis, et postmodum discesserit a primo, et junxerit se adulterio, quae haec fecit excommunicationis sit."

(97) The 29th canon of the so called Synod of St. Patrick is entitled *Of consanguinity in marriage*, and runs thus; " Understand what the Law speaks, not less nor more. But what is observed among us, that four kinds be divided, they say they have neither seen nor read. *Intelligite quid lex loquitur, non minus nec plus. Quod autem observatur apud nos, ut quatuor genera dividantur, nec vidisse dicunt nec legisse.*" By those who say they have not seen, &c. are apparently meant the persons who composed that synod. What they call *four kinds* is the same as the four degrees of the canonists; (although, by the bye, they were more than four in Lanfranc's time) and hence it appears, that the theory of them was known in Ireland, and it looks as if they were attended to in practice by some persons. This shows, that St. Patrick had nothing to do with said canon; for in his time the prohibited degrees did not extend so far. Whoever were the authors of it, they seem to have drawn it up for the purpose of restraining the prohibited degrees within the bounds of Leviticus.

(98) See *Not.* 104. to *Chap.* xi.

(99) Of this practice we have seen a remarkable instance in what St. Patrick has in his epistle against Coroticus. (See *Chap.* vi. §. 10. and *ib.* *Not.* 102.)

(100) Bellarmine, speaking of the ceremonies that follow baptism, (*De Sacramento baptisime, cap.* 27.) explains this matter

very well in a few words: “ *Secunda est, unctio chrismatis in vertice; quae quidem introducta videtur, quia non semper adest episcopus, qui possit continuo dare post baptismum sacramentum confirmationis. Ideo enim interim ungitur baptizatus, non quidem in fronte, sed in vertice, chrismate ab episcopo consecrato.*”

(101) It is laughable, although likewise vexatious, to hear certain polemical pigmies of our days deducing a diversity of religious tenets from a difference of practices in matters not at all essential. Ledwich, who is constantly teasing the reader with nonsense of this sort, alleges, (*p.* 429.) as a proof of difference of tenets, that the Romanists, as he calls them, used chrism, exorcism, and other ceremonies in baptism, which the Irish and Britons did not. In the first place it is false, that the Irish and Britons did not use exorcism. And where did he find, that the Britons omitted chrism? Perhaps they did; but he had no right to assert it. In said page he has some horrid theological bungling in certain remarks he makes on Lanfranc's letter to Donnald bishop of Cashel, (of which above §. 6.) not Donat of Dublin, as he says. Having observed that Lanfranc allows laical baptism in the article of death, (he should have said *danger of death*) Ledwich pronounces, that the Greek church and the Irish never admitted it. As to the Irish church, nothing can be more false, as appears from that very letter, in which Lanfranc argues from the practice of lay-baptism in cases of necessity, as a matter well known and admitted by Donnald, that baptism was considered sufficient for the salvation of infants without the eucharistical communion. That the Greek church did not admit it is equally false, and it does admit it at present, although the Greeks are rather over-scrupulous in not easily permitting baptism to be administered by a lay person. (See Renaudot in *La Perpetuité de la Foy, Tôm. v. L. 2. ch. 1, 2, 3.*) It was in urgent cases universally allowed in every part of the Christian church, as Bingham states, (*Origines, &c. B. II. ch. 20. sect. 9. and B. XI. ch. 4. sect. 1.*) although he mentions two or three exceptions. Even Calvin, notwithstanding his not thinking it necessary, according to his new ideas of the nature of baptism, acknowledges that from the very commencement of the Church it was usual for lay persons to baptize, when there was danger of death, in case a clergyman was not at hand; “ *Quod autem multis abhinc seculis, adeoque ab ipso fere Ecclesiae exordio usu recep-*

tum fuit, ut in periculo mortis laici baptizarent, si minister in tempore non adesset," &c. (*Instit. L. 4. cap. 15. §. 20.*) So much for Dr. Ledwich's theological erudition as to lay baptism. Another false assertion (*ib.*) is, that from said letter "it is evident, that the Irish believed the reception of the Eucharist immediately after baptism indispensably necessary to salvation." Is it possible that a man can be so barefaced as to advance such a position? Domnald had merely inquired of Lanfranc, whether a similar opinion, alluding to infants, was held any where in England or in the continent. Surely it does not thence follow, that it was held by the Irish church. Lanfranc's answer is very mild and polite, without the least insinuation that Domnald or the Irish church erred on that point. Ledwich adds, that said opinion was that "of the primitive church, though not of the Roman in Lanfranc's age." The Doctor, who knows as little of theology as a Samoeide, stops at nothing, provided he can abuse the Roman church. He refers the reader to Bingham, *B. XII. ch. 1.* Now Bingham was too learned to say any such thing. What he states, and indeed truly, is (*ib. sect. 3.*) that the well known practice of giving the Eucharist to infants after baptism was continued in the Church for several ages. But he has not even a hint indicating, that this practice was followed, because the church "believed it indispensably necessary to salvation." It is thus that, as I can assure whoever will have the patience to read Ledwich's book, he is constantly imposing on the public, whensoever the Roman church falls in his way.

§. XIII. For the purpose of putting a stop to these abuses (102) or what he thought were such, Lanfranc advises Terdelvac to summon an assembly of bishops and religious men, at which he and his nobles would attend, that they might cooperate in exterminating said bad practices and all others, that might be in opposition to the sacred laws of the Church. Here we may observe that Lanfranc does not speak in a tone of authority, nor did he issue any orders to the Irish bishops or clergy to assemble or to act on this occasion, as he certainly would have done had he conceived himself invested with any jurisdiction over them. In

his letter to Gothric he exhorts him to exert himself in procuring the correction of the filthy practices relative to the dismissal and changing of wives ; and, after praising Patrick, advises Gothric to listen to him with attention and to obey his instructions. Patrick held the see of Dublin for about ten years until, having been sent on some business by Turlogh or Terdalvac, then sole master of Dublin, to Lanfranc, he was, on his way over, shipwrecked and drowned on the 10th of October, *A. D.* 1084. (103) In the following year he was succeeded by Donat or Donogh O'Haingly, who, having made his studies in his own country, had gone over to England and became a monk in Lanfranc's monastery at Canterbury. He must have returned to Ireland before his promotion, as appears from his having been elected by Turlogh and the clergy and people of Dublin, with the approbation of some Irish bishops, to whom accordingly he must have been well known. This is still more clear from the letter written on this occasion by Turlogh and the clergy of Dublin to Lanfranc, in which, among other things, Turlogh states that, whereas Patrick did not arrive to give him an account of how he had followed Lanfranc's fatherly instructions (with regard to remedying the abuses,) Donat will be able to give him the necessary information. (104) He was consecrated in the cathedral of Canterbury by Lanfranc, (105) to whom he made his profession of obedience in the following terms ; " I Donatus, prelate of the church of Dublin, which is situated in Ireland, promise canonical obedience to thee, O Lanfranc archbishop of the holy church of Canterbury, and to thy successors." (106) Lanfranc was much attached to this prelate, and gave him, on his returning to Dublin, some books and church ornaments as presents for the church of the Holy

Trinity. Donat lived until 1095, in which he died of the great plague of that year on the 23d of November, with the reputation of a good and learned bishop. (107)

(102) Harris in his translation of the letter to Terdelvac (see above *Not.* 87) has added another complaint of Lanfranc, *viz.* that in several cities and towns there was more than one bishop ordained. He took this from Baronius's edition, in which are these words; *Quod in villis vel civitatibus plures ordinantur*; whence also they have been taken by Dachery in his edition of said letter.

(103) Ware and Harris, *Bishops of Dublin*, at *Patrick*. The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 200.*) have; "A. 1084. Gilda or Gilla-Patrick, bishop of Dublin, was drowned."

(104) Harris has this letter (*Bishops at Donat O'Haingley*) taken, he says, from the Annals of Ulster.

(105) Usher (*Discorse, &c. Chap. VIII.*) quotes the following passage from the Annals of Dublin: "Anno Dom. 1085. Lanfrancus archiepiscopus Cantuar. ad regimen Dublinensis ecclesiae sacravit Donatum monasterii sui monachum in sede metropoli Cantuar. petentibus atque eligentibus eum Terdelvaco Hiberniae rege, et episcopis Hiberniae regionis, atque clero et populo prae-fatae civitatis."

(106) The original words are; "Ego Donatus, Dublinensis ecclesiae antistes, quae in Hibernia sita est, canonicam obedientiam tibi pronitto et successoribus tuis, o Lanfrance, sanctae Dorobernensis ecclesiae archiepiscopo." In this profession there is nothing about Dublin being styled the *metropolis of Ireland*. It is probable, that Turlogh put a stop to the assumption of that title. Nor does it occur in any of the subsequent professions. (Compare with *Not.* 68.) We may also observe, how much more simple this profession is than that of Patrick. (See above §. 7.)

(107) See Ware and Harris at *Donat O'Haingly*. That terrible plague is mentioned in the Annals of Innisfallen, A. 1095.

§. XIV. There is extant a letter of Pope Gregory

VII. to the king Terdelvac, and to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, nobles, and to all Christians inhabiting Ireland. It is dated from Sutri on the 24th of February, without any year being marked. (108) This letter is much in the style of several others, which he wrote to various kings, princes, &c. for the purpose of claiming not only a spiritual but likewise a temporal and political superiority over all the kingdoms and principalities of Europe. (109) Having insinuated his claim over Ireland, he concludes with giving directions to Terdelvac, &c. to refer to him whatever affairs, the settling of which may require his assistance. (110) How Terdelvac, or Turlogh, and the people of Ireland acted in consequence of this letter we are not informed; but this much is certain, that Turlogh remained the independent king of Ireland until 1086, when he died in a truly Christian-like manner at Ceanchora, one of his chief residences, near Killaloe, in the 77th year of his age, and 22d of his reign reckoning from 1064, in which he became king of Munster. (111) He was buried at Killaloe, and succeeded by his son Muriardach, *alias* Murchardach, or Murtoogh, not as king of all Ireland but as king of Munster, (112) his hereditary province. Yet Murtoogh, after much fighting against various enemies, and, among others, against his own brother, Dermod O'Brian, enlarged his territories, so that I find him called king also of Connaught in 1092; (113) and in 1094 he became master of Dublin and banished the Danish king Godfrey, who died in the following year. (114) He then assumed the title of *king of Ireland*, as did at the same time also Donnald Mac-Loghlin, an O'Neill, the powerful sovereign of the northern half, while Murtoogh was considered as the sovereign of the southern. (115) There were, however, some alterations as to the extent of territories, according as either of these princes had the upper hand, or as some other princes endeavoured to maintain their in-

dependence. At length Murtogh was dethroned in 1116, and his brother Dermot placed over Munster in his stead. He then took holy orders, and died at Lisimore a great penitent on the festival of St. Pulcherius, 13th March, A. D. 1119; being survived by Domnald Mac-Lochlin, who died in the monastery of Derry in 1121. (116) Murtogh was buried, according to his wish, in the church of Killoaloe, to which he had been a benefactor. (117) This summary of the history of these princes, which is here given by anticipation, will enable us better to understand certain transactions, particularly of Murtogh, connected with ecclesiastical affairs, of which hereafter.

(108) Usher, who published this letter in the *Sylloge*, (No. 29.) having found it annexed to the Collection of Isidorus Mercator, affixed it by conjecture to A. D. 1085, the last year of Gregory's life. But it must have been written before that year, in which Gregory was at Salerno, at least on the 24th of February. Accordingly, being dated at Sutri, it was written prior to 1085.

(109) A summary of these letters and pretensions may be seen in Fleury (*Hist. &c. L. 63. §. 11.*) who seems to have been unacquainted with that to Terdelvac or Turlogh, as otherwise he would surely have made mention of it.

(110) " Si qua vero negotia penes vos emeruerint, quae nostro digna videantur auxilio, incunctanter ad nos dirigere studete; et quod juste postulaveritis, Deo auxiliante impetrabitis." He had said before; " Hujus (Domini Jesu) auctoritas sanctam Ecclesiam in solida petra fundavit, et beato Petro, a *petra* venerabile nomen habenti, ejus jura commisit, quam etiam super omnia mundi regna constituit; cui *principatus, et potestates, et quicquid in seculo sublime videtur esse, subjecit*, illo Isaiae completo oraculo; *Venient, inquit, ad te qui detrahebant tibi, et adorabunt vestigia pedum tuorum.* Beato igitur Petro ejusque vicariis, inter quos dispensatio divina nostram quoque sortem annumerari disposuit, *Orbis universus* obedientem similiter et reve-

rentiam debet, quam mente devota sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae exhibere reminiscimi," &c.

(111) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1086. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. Part III. cap. 94.* Ware, *Antiq. cap. 4.* He was mistaken in placing Ceanchora in the now King's county. It was in the now county of Clare, and contained a palace of the ancient princes of Thomond, of whose line was Turlogh, and is now called *Cancora.* (See Seward at *Cancora.*)

(112) Said Annals, *ib.*

(113) *Ib. ad A.* 1092.

(114) *Ib. ad A.* 1094 and 1095. This Godfrey was the one, whom Ware (*Antiq. cap. 24. ad A.* 1095.) calls Godfrid Meranagh.

(115) O'Flaherty, *Part III. cap. 94.* For Domnald's having been an O'Neill see *Tr. Th. p.* 448.

(116) Said Annals at 1116, 1119, and 1121, compared with O'Flaherty, *loc. cit.*

(117) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 29.* and Harris, *Bishops of Killaloe.* The Annals of Innisfallen also have Murtogh's interment in that town. Harris is wrong in assigning the death of Murtagh to the 8th of March; for the festival of St. Pulcherius marked by O'Flaherty, was not the 8th but the 13th; and both he and Ware were mistaken in changing the year 1119, assigned for it, into 1120.

§. xv. I have endeavoured to trace a succession of Irish bishops down to about the close of the eleventh century. (118) It is now requisite to give some account of other distinguished ecclesiastics of that period, although little more is known concerning the greatest part of them than their names. Yet even this much will show, that our religious and learned establishments were still kept up; which is indeed the chief object I had and have in view in entering into such details. The first person, whom I find expressly called abbot of Hy after Flann-Abhra who died in 1025, (119) is Mac-Baithen, who was killed in 1070. (120) Next after him we meet with Dunchad, son of Moenach, who died in 1099. (121) As to learned clergymen and teachers

of this century, besides those who flourished in the first half of it, (122) several others are mentioned, such as Flann Mainistreach, that is, of the monastery, who died in 1056, and is represented as the most celebrated writer among the Irish of his time, both as an antiquary and poet. (123) Of Aidus O'Foirreth, who died in the same year, we have seen already. (124) Mugron, bishop of Cork, who was murdered in 1057, had been also a scholastic or professor. (125) Kieran, lecturer of Kells, a man famous for learning and wisdom, died in 1061; (126) and in 1063 Mac-Donngal scholastic of Kildare, and Eochad of Connor. (127) Colman O'Criochain, professor of theology at Armagh, died in 1065; and in 1071 Christian O'Clothocain likewise professor there, and styled the chief doctor of Ireland. (128) Conchobran, scholastic of Gleannussen died in 1082; (129) and to the year 1085 is assigned the death of Gormgal Laigcach, a very learned and pious doctor, who was comorban or rector of St. Brigid's church at Armagh. (130) In 1086 died on the 16th of January the very holy and learned Moeliosa (*servant of Jesus*) O'Brolchan. (131) He was a native of Inishowen, and of a distinguished family, a branch of the Nialls. He was educated in the monastery of Bothconuis in that territory, and became a great proficient in piety and in every sort of learning. (132) Owing to the loss of documents, his transactions during life are involved in obscurity; but it is stated, that he composed several works, many fragments of which are still extant, and that he transcribed many others. (133) In 1088 died the celebrated annalist Tigernach O'Braoin, a native of the territory of the Siol-Muireadaigh, (134) or Murrays. He was abbot of Clonmacnois and also of Killeoman, or probably rather Roscommon, (135) and is most highly and deservedly praised as a man of very extensive knowledge and an excellent teacher. He brought down

the annals of Ireland to the very year of his death, and having died at Clonmacnois was buried there with great solemnity. (136) Among other scholastics or lecturers of these times let it suffice to add Ingnadan of Clonard, who died in 1090, O'Kennedy of Durrow (King's county), who died in 1095, and Aidan of Roscommon, whose death is marked at 1097. (137)

(118) Above §. 5. *seqq.* (119) See *Chap.* xxiii. §. 6.

(120) *Tr. Th.* p. 501. and *Annals of Ulster ap.* Johnstone *ad A.* 1070. Smith (*Append. to Life of St. Col.*) places at 1057 the death of one Robhertach Mac-Donnell, whom he calls *Coarb* (comorban) of Columbkil. Whoever he was, it does not follow from his being so styled, that he was abbot of Hy. In like manner Smith has at 1009 another *coarb of Columkill*, Martan Mac-Cineadh, between Maelbrigid Hua-Rimed and Flann-Abhra. I find this Martan also in Johnstone's Extracts from the *Ulster Annals* (at *A.* 1009) or, as he calls him, *Marcan Mac-Cinach converb of Iona*. If said passage be correct, it would appear, that he had been abbot of Hy. But Colgan has him not in his list of those abbots from the 4 Masters, and, as I have observed elsewhere, it seems we ought not to admit as abbots of Hy' any others than those who are expressly called such. I am convinced, that this Marcan Mac Cineadh, *i. e.* son of Kennedy, was no other than the Marcan, whom the *Annals of Innisfallen* mention as supreme head of the clergy of Munster, and whose death they assign to *A.* 1010, (see above *Not.* 43.) the same year as the 1009 of the *Annals of Ulster*, in which the death of Marcan was marked without, in all probability, any mention of the place, to which he belonged. To supply this deficiency, some amanuensis or semicritic added at his name *comorban of Iona* or of *Columbkil*, because the successors of that saint either at Iona or elsewhere are usually taken notice of in said annals. Thus Marcan son of Kennedy, and apparently a brother of Brian Boromhe, was removed from Munster to Iona or Hy; and both Johnstone and Smith have been led astray. In a similar manner from the additions of scholiasts,

&c. hundreds of errors have crept into our ecclesiastical history.

(121) *Tr. Th. ib.* (122) See *Chap. xxiii. §. 15.*

(123) *Innals of Innisfallen at A. 1056.* Some of his works are yet extant; see Harris (*Writers at Mainestrec*) and Dr. O'Connor. (*Rer. Hib. Scriptor. Ep. Hanc. p. 13.*)

(124) Above, §. 4.

(125) See *Tr. Th. p. 632.* and above §. 5.

(126) *Ib. p. 508.* (127) *Ib. p. 630 and 632.*

(128) *Ib. p. 298.* (129) *Ib. p. 632.*

(130) *Ib. p. 299.*

(131) He is reckoned among the Saints in some Irish calendars, and accordingly Colgan treats of him at 16 January.

(132) He is greatly praised in the Irish annals, among others in those of Innisfallen, which have at *A. 1086*; "Maoliosa O'Brollochain, the most venerable old man in all Ireland, and the most learned in his time in wisdom and science, died in the grace of God."

(133) Colgan says, that he had some fragments of Moeliosa's works, and that he knew where several others were in Ireland. He adds that several books in his hand writing, which had belonged to the monastery of Bothconuis, were still in that neighbourhood. (See also Harris, *Writers at Brolcan.*)

(134) The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 206.*) call him *O'Braoin*, and hence Colgan (*ib. p. 108.*) makes him of the same family with St. Dunchad O'Braoin, of whom we have treated *Chap. xxii. §. 15.* In the Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 1088*, in which I find him called *O'Brain*, he is said to have been of the *Siol-Muireadhaigh*, *i. e.* of the sept so called, whose territory was an eastern part of Connaught, chiefly, it seems in, the now county of Roscommon, as appears from said Annals at *A. 1095.* (See also Seward at *Siol-Muiridh.*) This country was near that, in which St. Dunchad had been born.

(135) Both the Annals just quoted make Tigernach comorban or successor of St. Kieran and St. Coman. As successor of Coman, Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 206.*) calls him abbot of Killcoman, meaning, perhaps, Kilcomin in the King's county, (of which see *Nct. 41. to Chap. xv.*) or Killcoeman in the plain of Gesille (now barony of Geashill in said county) which is said (*ib. p. 312.*) to

have been founded by a St. Coeman in the sixth century. Harris, (*Writers at Tigernac*) instead of Killcoman, has Roscommon; which seems more correct, as it does not appear that the establishments of Killcomin and Killcoeman continued to a late period.

(136) *Annals of Innisfallen, ib.*

(137) *AA. SS. p. 409. and Tr. Th. Ind. Chron.* Ware has among the Irish writers Moeliosa O'Sair, a Munster man, who, he says, wrote some philosophical treatises, and died, according to the Ulster annals, in 1098. Whether he were an ecclesiastic or not I cannot discover.

§. XVI. In fact, Ireland still retained its reputation for learning and good schools, so that it was, as well as in former times, resorted to by foreign students. Of this we have a remarkable instance in the case of Sulgenus, who was bishop of St. David's about the year 1070. In his youth, excited by a love of study, he set out, in imitation of his ancestors and countrymen, for Ireland, which was celebrated to a wonderful degree for learning. But, while wishing to see that nation so famous on account of its writings and masters, he was driven back by a storm to his country, where he remained for five years. Still determined on proceeding to Ireland, he went thither and spent there ten or thirteen years in the study of the holy Scriptures, in which he became a great proficient, and thereby was afterwards of great service to his countrymen. (138) That English students continued to repair to Armagh may be collected from the account given of a great conflagration of that city in 1092, in which it is stated that a part of the *Trien-Saxon*, or the division inhabited by the Saxons (English) was destroyed. (139) This was an accidental fire, such as Irish history gives us many instances of in those times, both of towns and religious houses, owing to the materials, mostly of wood, chiefly used in building, as still practised in some parts of Europe. Losses of this kind were easily repaired, and were of no material

injury to studious pursuits, which I observe, lest a person, looking over the lists of conflagrations in those days, might imagine that they were destructive of religious establishments, or generally designed for that object. (140) Yet we meet with burnings and devastations of ecclesiastical places designedly undertaken, partly by the Danes, and partly by Irish princes or chieftains. Thus, when a Sitric of Dublin was, as we have seen, ravaging Ardraccan in 1031, an O'Ruaire plundered Ardfert, but was dreadfully chastized for this sacrilege by Donogh O'Brian then king of Leth-mogha. (141) Another O'Ruaire and an O'Kelly, both Connaught chieftains, plundered Clonmacnois and Clonfert in 1065, but, being met on the following day by Hugh O'Conor, were defeated by him. (142) Clonmacnois was particularly marked out as an object of pillage for divers parties in those times, (143) whence we may infer, that it was then rich. Gleannussen was laid waste in 1041, Clonard in 1046, and Inisclothra (in Loughree) in 1050. (144) These devastations were committed chiefly by the Irish themselves; but in the year 1081 the Danes or Northmen alone, apparently those of Limerick or of some western part of Ireland, plundered the island of Arranna-Naomh, or Arran of the saints, where was the ancient and celebrated establishment of St. Enda. In 1089 a party of Danes totally destroyed the monastery of Inisbofinde in Loughree. (145) These were probably part of the army, with which the king Murtogh O'Brian attacked and plundered in said year various islands of Loughree, such as, besides Inisbofinde, Inisclothra and Inisaingen, (or the island of All-saints) in which were religious houses, together with Cluainemhain, where there was at least a church. (146) Soon after Murtogh and the people of North Munster paid very dearly for these depredations. (147) In the same year Dermot O'Brian, brother of Murtogh, sailing along the coast landed

near Cloyne, which he plundered, and carried off some reliques of St. Barr from a church called *Kill-na-gCleiriogh*. (148) In the preceding year 1088 he had joined Domnald Mac-Lochlin and Roderic O'Conor, king of Connaught, in their dreadful expedition throughout a great part of Munster, in which they destroyed Limerick, and attacked Mungret, Emly, &c. (149) Yet, notwithstanding such and some other similar devastations, the ecclesiastical and literary institutions continued, with very few exceptions, to exist; and we find the habitual zeal for acquiring knowledge still prevalent in Ireland.

(138) An account of Sulgenus was drawn up in verse by his son John. Among some lines, quoted by Usher, (*Praef. ad Ep. Hib. Syll.*) the following are quite apposite to our present subject;

“ Exemplo patrum, commotus amore legendi,
 Ivit ad Hibernos sophia mirabile claros.
 Sed cum iam cimba voluisset adire revector
 Famosam gentem scripturis atque magistris,
 Appulit ad patriam, ventorum flatibus actus,
 Nomine quam noto perhibent Albania longe.
 Ac remoratus ibi certe tum quinque per annos
 Indefessus agit votum, &c.
 His ita digressis *Scotorum* visitat arva,
 Ac mox scripturas multo meditamine sacras
 Legis divinae scrutatur saepe retractans.
 Ait ibi per denos *tricens* jam placidus annos
 Congregat immensam pretioso pondere massam,
 Protinus arguta thesaurum mente recondens.
 Post haec ad patriam remeans jam dogmate clarus
 Venit, et inventum multis jam dividit aurum,” &c.

We may here remark, that the Irish were still called *Scoti*, as they were in the continent.

(139) *Tr. Th. p.* 299. Colgan observes, (*ib. p.* 300.) that Ar-magh was divided into four parts. The first was *Rath-Artamacha*, or the fort, castle, &c. The three others were *Trian-mor*, or the great third part; *Trian-Massan*, or the third part called *Massan*;

and *Trian-Saxon*, the third part for the Saxons, by whom, in all probability, were meant the English students.

(140) The reader will find a long catalogue of such conflagrations in *Tr. Th. p. 633. seqq.*

(141) Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 1031.*

(142) *Ib.* at *A. 1065.*

(143) Colgan states (*Tr. Th. p. 633.*) from the 4 Masters, that Clonmacnois was plundered in 1044 twice, in 1050 three times, in 1060, 1065, 1080, 1081, 1092, 1095, 1098. He does not tell us by whom. From the Annals of Innisfallen I find that the pillage of 1092 was by a Munster fleet; and it is said that the one of 1095 or 1094 was by the people of Brawney, the O'Ruaires, and the Mac-Coghlan. (See Archdall at *Clonmacnois.*)

(144) *Tr. Th. ib.*

(145) *AA. SS. p. 423.*

(146) See the annals of Innisfallen at *A. 1089.* Colgan says, *AA. SS. p. 339.*) that Cluainemhain was in the county of Roscommon, and that it had a church, when it was laid waste in 1089. Yet there had been a monastery there. (Archdall at *Cluainemuin.*)

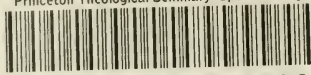
(147) Said Annals, *ib.*

(148) *Ib.* (149) Said Annals at *A. 1088.*



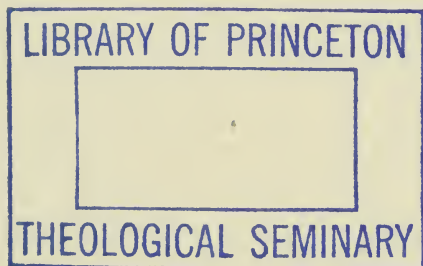
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF IRE
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John Mulcahy CC
AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

IRELAND,

FROM THE

FIRST INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

AMONG THE IRISH,

TO

THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

COMPILED

FROM THE WORKS OF THE MOST ESTEEMED AUTHORS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC,
WHO HAVE WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED ON MATTERS CONNECTED WITH

THE IRISH CHURCH;

AND FROM IRISH ANNALS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS,

STILL EXISTING IN MANUSCRIPT.

By THE REV. JOHN LANIGAN, D. D.,

FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, THE SACRED SCRIPTURES, AND
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PAVIA.

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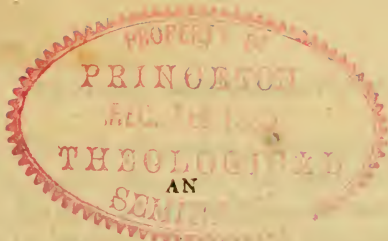
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

IRELAND, &c.

CHAPTER XXV.

*Several Irish monasteries founded in Germany—
Monastery of St. Peter at Ratisbon founded by
Marianus an Irishman—Domnus, an Irishman,
first abbot of the monastery of St. James at Ra-
tisbon—John, an Irishman, bishop of Mecklen-
burgh, martyred by the apostate Sclavonians—
Death of Marianus Scotus the chronographer—
Death of Moel-Iosa archbishop of Armagh—
Domnald bishop of Armagh makes a visitation of
Munster and other parts of Ireland—Battle of
Magh-choba—Death of Domnald—Samuel bishop
of Dublin elected by Mortogh O'Brien and the
clergy and people of Dublin, and consecrated by
Anselm archbishop of Canterbury—Waterford
erected into a Bishoprick—Malchus, its first
bishop, consecrated by Anselm—Assembly of the
clergy and people of Ireland at Cashel, in which
king Mortogh made over that seat of the Munster
kings to God and the church—Donald, nephew of
Mortogh, made king of Mann and the Hebrides—
Gillibert bishop of Limerick endeavours to reduce
the various liturgies in Ireland to one uniform
system—Celsus, or Ceallach, archbishop of Ar-*

magh, endeavours to stop the hereditary succession by which that See had been injured—Synod of Fiodh-mac-Aengusa—Synod of Rath-Breasail for regulating the dioceses in Ireland—Gregory first archbishop of Dublin.

SECT. I.

IN this century, and somewhat later, several Irish monasteries were founded in Germany. Of that of Erford we have seen already. (1) The next was that of St. Peter's in a suburb of Ratisbon, the occasion of which was as follows. Marianus, (2) who must not be confounded with the chronographer Marianus Scotus, a very handsome man, learned in divine and human knowledge, and eloquent, was a native of the North of Ireland, and went to Germany in 1067 or 1068 accompanied by some persons, among whom are particularly mentioned John and Candidus. It is said that they were first received by Otto, bishop of Ratisbon, (3) with whom they remained for one year in the clerical habit. Afterwards they became Benedictine monks in the monastery of St. Michael near Bamberg. Wishing to go to Rome they stopped on their way at Ratisbon, where was at that time, and for many years before, an Irish recluse named Muricherdac, or Murcherat, who lived in a cell without being a member of any monastery. (4) They were received by the abbess Hemma, whose nunnery was, it seems, near Muricherdac's cell. Marianus communicated his intention of visiting Rome to that holy man, who advised him to pray to God to direct him, whether it would be better to do so or to remain at Ratisbon. On the following night, as is said, Marianus being asleep thought he was desired to stop and spend the remainder of his life in the place, where the rising sun would first shine upon him. The next morning he set out with

his companions for the purpose of going to Rome, but, when outside of the city, stopped for a while in St. Peter's church, and prayed there for a prosperous journey. Having finished his prayer, and just as he was coming out of the church, the rays of the rising sun struck his eyes, upon which, recollecting his dream, he determined on not proceeding further, and, together with his companions, throwing himself on his knees thanked God for having pointed out to him the place, where he should live and die. When this circumstance was made known to the abbess Hemma, she made over to Marianus and his brethren the church of St. Peter, and got her grant confirmed by Henry IV. then king of Germany. Several pious and liberal citizens, among whom one Bezelin distinguished himself, contributed towards building for them a monastery. (5)

(1) *Chap. xxiv. §. 2.*

(2) The Bollandists have at 9 February a Life of Marianus from a copy taken by Father Gamansius a Jesuit from a MS. of a Carthusian monastery. The author was an Irish monk of Ratisbon, and lived in the 12th century. He says, that he knew Isaac one of Marianus' monks, who lived to the age of 120 years, and speaks of various Irishmen of said century, and of Irish monasteries founded after the death of Marianus. In fact his work is rather a history of several Irish monasteries established in Germany, commencing with that of St. Peter's of Ratisbon, than a Life of Marianus. Having observed that the Irish were accustomed to visit foreign countries, and touched upon Mansuetus, St. Patrick, Columbkil, Fursey, Columbanus, Gallus, &c. he enters upon his subject, which is all through relative to the affairs of Irish monks exclusively. In the account of Marianus and his companions, and of other Irishmen either his contemporaries, or later than him, who in those times became distinguished in Germany, I shall chiefly follow this tract together with the learned commentary prefixed to it by the Bollandists.

(3) This Otto is in the Life of Marianus called, by mistake, bishop of Bamberg. He had been indeed a canon of Bamberg;

but he was bishop of Ratisbon from 1060 to 1089. The Otto, bishop of Bamberg, was not so until 1102 several years after the death of Marianus. The Bollandists think, that Marianus and his companions went in the first place to Bamberg. Usher was greatly mistaken in placing (*Ind. Chron.*) the arrival of Marianus and his companions at Ratisbon as late as *A.* 1090.

(4) Colgan treats (at 17 January) of Muricherdac chiefly from Raderus, *Bavaria sancta*. The Bollandists observe, that he had no authority for placing him at that day.

(5) See Raderus *op.* Colgan, *ib.*

§. II. The companions of Marianus, whom I find mentioned on this occasion, were John, Candidus, and Clemens. (6) Muricherdac did not join himself to them, but continued in his cell until his death, which is conjectured to have occurred about *A. D.* 1080. Yet he may be considered as the father of this monastery; for it was owing to the great veneration in which he was held, that his countrymen Marianus, &c. were encouraged and enabled to establish it. As soon as it was known in Ireland that this monastery was formed, several persons from the North, whence Marianus himself was, went over to Ratisbon and were received by him, - so that the community gradually became numerous. Some time after its being well established, Clemens went to Jerusalem, where he died; and John withdrew to Austria, where he became a recluse on Mount Kottwich. One of Marianus' chief occupations, and probably of his monks, according to the old practice of those of Ireland, was the transcribing of books, of which he left a great number in his handwriting. He drew up some commentaries on the Psalms, which, as he tells us in the preface, he collected from various Fathers of the Church, and put into one book, in honour of our Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and St. Erard, in the year 1074, the seventh of his peregrination. (7) It is said, that Marianus died in 1088; but on what day

is not known. (8) After him there were six abbots of St. Peter's monastery, all from the North of Ireland, until Domnus, who was from the South, became the first abbot of the new monastery of St. James, which the Irish monks erected in the city of Ratisbon, after the beginning of the 12th century, and to which that of St. Peter's became subordinate, and from which several others were derived, as will be seen in the account of that period. Yet I may be allowed to observe in this place, that, although the Irish monastery of Wurtzburg is usually reckoned among those founded after St. James' of Ratisbon, there is reason to think that it existed, perhaps on a smaller scale, several years prior to that of St. James itself. (9)

(6) Raderus omits Clemens, who is named in the Life published by the Bollandists. Some others are spoken of; but it is more probable, that they were not with Marianus from the beginning. The Bollandists observe, that Donatus, who is reckoned among them by Aventinus, is not mentioned by any other author. Aventinus supposed, that Marianus of Ratisbon was the same as Marianus Scotus, and had led astray Usher, (see *Pr.* p. 736.) who afterwards corrected himself (*ib.* p. 1060).

(7) Aventinus quotes said preface from a *MS.* of a monastery of Ratisbon. Part of it is as follows; "Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis 1074—Marianus Scotus septimo peregrinationis suæ anno collegit modicas istas undas de profundo sanctorum, Patrum pelago, scilicet Hieronymi, Augustini, Cassiodori, Arnobii, et de opusculis S. Gregorii; et pro suæ animæ salute in honorem Salvatoris," &c. These must be the Commentaries on the Psalms, which some writers have attributed to Marianus the chronographer; but they could not have been written by him; for the year 1074 was much later than the seventh of his peregrination or absence from Ireland. It is true that the author of them also calls himself *Scotus*; but all the Irish of that period were so denominated in the continent. Ware has not this Marianus among the Irish writers; but Harris, who lived later and had better opportu-

nities for knowing something about him, ought not to have omitted him.

(8) Raderus assigned his death to said year, which the Bollandists consider as probable. As to the day, they could not determine any thing, although Gamansius found the date *V. idus Febr.* (9th of February) added in the *MS.* whence he copied the so called *Life of Marianus.*

(9) We have seen, (*Chap. xxiv. §. 5.*) that Gilda-na naomh, bishop of Glendaloch, became abbot of the monks of Wurtzburg, and died there in 1085. If there be not some mistake in this date, it must be allowed that there was an Irish establishment in that city before the foundation of St. James's of Ratisbon, which is rendered probable also by the circumstance of its apostle St. Kilian having been an Irishman.

§. III. Among several martyrs, who were put to death by the apostate inhabitants of the old Sclavonia, we find a venerable Irishman, John bishop of Mecklenburgh. To what has been said of him elsewhere (10) we have to add, that he had arrived in the north of Germany in the year 1057, where he was well received by Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, who appointed him, seemingly about 1062, bishop of Mecklenburgh, and directed him to Gothescalc, prince of those Sclavonians, who was exceedingly zealous for the propagation of the faith among his subjects. John converted and baptized many thousands of them. But the pagan and apostate part of that ferocious nation, having killed Gothescalc and several priests, monks, and lay Christians in 1065, seized upon John, and after cruelly beating him with sticks carried him about as a show through all their towns. Stopping at Rethre, their capital, and finding him still inflexible in confessing Jesus Christ, they cut off his feet and hands, and at length his head, on the 10th of November in said year. Having thrown the body into the street, they placed the head on a pike, which they carried about as a mark

of triumph, and then immolated to their god Redigast. (11)

The chronographer Marianus Scotus, whom we left at Fulda, where he spent ten years, (12) was removed thence, by order of the bishop of Mentz and of the abbot of Fulda, in the year 1069, on the Friday before Palm Sunday, third of April, and went to Mentz, where he was again shut up on the 10th of July. (13) He remained there as a recluse until 1086, in which year he died and was buried at St. Martin's of Mentz without the city. (14) His reputation for piety was very great; and as to learning he has been ever since considered as one of the first men of his times. The chronicle, which he continued down to *A. D.* 1083, exceeds any thing of the kind, which the middle ages have produced, and would appear still more respectable, were it published entire. He has left also Notes on all the Epistles of St. Paul annexed to a copy of them transcribed by himself in the year 1079, which is extant in the Imperial library of Vienna. Said notes, although well worthy of the light, have not, as far as I know, been as yet published. (15) It may be conjectured, that he was author also of some excellent anonymous Notes on the Gospel of St. Mark, which are to be found in said library. (16) As to the commentaries on the Psalms, which have been ascribed to him, they were in all probability no other than those, that were written by his namesake of Ratisbon. (17)

(10) *Chap.* xxi. §. 11.

(11) See Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L.* 61. §. 17. and *L.* 60. §. 58. Although John is called by Fleury *Ecossois* in consequence of his having been named by some writers a *Scotus*, according to the usual denomination of the Irish of those times in the continent, yet there can be no doubt but that he was a native of Ireland. Trithemius says in the *Chronicon Hirsaugiense* at *A.* 1064, that in these times came John a monk from Ireland, that he preached

with great zeal in the territory of Mecklenburgh, and was placed by the Pope as bishop over the people of that country, where he received the crown of martyrdom. Trithemius' words are quoted and followed by Menard in the Benedictine martyrology. (See Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 407.) Adam of Bremen makes mention of John more than once, and relates his martyrdom, *Histor. Eccles. L. 4. c. 12.* See also Mabillon, *Annal. Bened. ad A. 1065.*

(12) See *Chap. xxiv. §. 3.*

(13) Marianus has at *A. 1069*; "Ego miser Marianus, jussu episcopi Moguntiensis et abbatis Fuldensis, feria 6 ante Palmas, 3 nonis Aprilis, post annos decem meae inclusionis solutus, de clusa in Fulda ad Moguntiam veni et in festivitate Septem fratrum secundo includor."

(14) Dodechin, the continuator of Marianus' chronicle, writes at *A. 1086*; "Marianus Scotus et inclusus obiit, et apud sanctum Martinum sepelitur." See also Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 1083.*

(15) We owe the knowledge of this valuable *MS.* to Lambecius, who informs us, (*Comment de Biblioth. Caes. Vindobon L. 2. cap. 8. p. 749.*) that it is the 49th among the Latin theological MSS. "quo (he says) continentur omnes Epistolae S. Pauli "apostoli celeberrimi chronographi Mariani Scoti, monachi Fuldensis, propria manu anno Christi 1079 exaratae, et ab eodem "annotationibus marginalibus et interlinearibus, hactenus quidem "nondum editis, editu tamen dignissimis, illustratae; in quarum "fine haec ipsius legitur subscriptio: *Explicit Epistola ad Hebraeos, habens versus DCCC. In honore Individuae Trinitatis Marianus Scottus scripsit hunc librum suis fratribus peregrinis. Anima ejus requiescat in pace, propter Deum devote dicite, Amen. xvi. Kal. Junii, hodie feria vi. anno Domini MLXXVIII.*" At fol. 10 of said *MS.* are these words in his handwriting; "x Kal. April. anno Domini MLXXVIII Mariani miseri Domine miserere." It might be suspected that this Marianus was the one of Ratisbon, of whom above; but his styling himself *miseri* is sufficient to show, that he was the chronographer, who was in the habit of calling himself *miser Marianus*, as may be seen in his chronicle at *A. 1028* and *1069.*

(16) Lambecius just before his account of the *MS.* of St. Paul's Epistles, &c. makes mention of a copy of the Gospel of St. Mark

illustrated with very good marginal and interlinear annotations. It appeared to him as written about 600 years before his time; and he adds that the handwriting is very like that of the *MS.* now spoken of. This, however, is not a sufficient proof for attributing it to Marianus.

(17) See above *Not.* 7. Concerning some other works attributed to him, but without sufficient authority, the reader may consult Harris, *Writers at Marianus.*

§. IV. Moeliosa, archbishop of Armagh, having held the see for 27 years, (18) died after a long course of penance on the 20th of December, A. D. 1091; (19) and his place was immediately occupied by Domnald, son of Amalgaid, and in all appearance a brother of Moeliosa. (20) Nothing is said of his election; and it is sufficiently clear, that he usurped that situation in virtue of the pretended abominable right of hereditary succession. He was one of those lay pseudo-archbishops, who were a disgrace to Armagh and to the whole Irish church. Yet in 1092 he made a visitation of Kinel-Eoguin or the O'Neill's country of Tyrone, and in 1094 of Munster and other parts of Ireland; (21) a visitation, which could not be of a spiritual nature, but merely for the purpose of exacting dues according to what was called the *Law of St. Patrick.* During his incumbency great abuses prevailed in various parts of Ireland, and to add to the evils caused by bad men, a dreadful plague raged in 1095, which swept away a vast number of people. To guard against further misfortunes, which the whole nation was apprehensive of, and which some persons had pretended to foretel, it was resolved by Domnald and the clergy of all Ireland, that during every month of the year 1096 a fast should be observed from Wednesday until the following Sunday, and that only one meal should be allowed on every day of the whole year, excepting Sundays and the great festivals. The people willingly submitted to this regulation, became fervent

in their prayers, and made many pious offerings, while the kings, princes, and nobles endowed churches, heretofore distressed, with lands and immunities. (22) In 1099 Coencomrach O'Boigill, or Boil, was consecrated on Whit-sunday suffragan or acting bishop for the see of Armagh. (23) Who was his immediate predecessor in that capacity, I do not find recorded. Domnald greatly exerted himself towards putting a stop to the wars, that raged in Ireland between the northern and southern princes, whom he induced in said year 1099 to abstain from an intended great battle and to conclude a truce for one year. (24) In 1101 he prevailed on Domnald Mac Lochlin to discharge out of prison Donat O'Heochadha, prince of Ulidia, an eastern territory of Ulster, and in 1102 procured a truce for one year between that powerful king and Murtoogh O'Brian. (25) But they quarrelled again in 1103, and Murtoogh marched into Ulster with a great army, consisting of the forces of Leth-mogha, and, having besieged Armagh for some time, and committed various depredations, at length fought the famous battle of Magh-Choba in Tyrone, in which he was defeated with great loss by Domnald Mac-Lochlin and the northerns. (26) The archbishop, as he was called, still endeavoured to prevent a renewal of such dreadful occurrences, and accordingly went to Dublin in 1105 (27) for the purpose of establishing a durable peace between those two kings. He was there taken grievously ill, and was conveyed, on his way to Armagh, to the church of Domnach-airthir-emhua, where he received Extreme unction, and thence to Armagh, where he died on the 12th of August in said year and was honourably buried (28) Domnald was succeeded by Celsus on the 23d of September following.

(18) *Chap. xxiv. §. 4.*

(19) *Tr. Th. p. 299.* Ware (*Bishops at Maclisa*) has 24

December, *A.* 1092. Whether the day was 20 or 24, is of little consequence; but he had no right to change the year 1091 into 1092. O'Flaherty in his *MS.* catalogue has retained 1091.

(20) *Tr. Th. ib.*

(21) *Ib.* According to the Annals of Innifallen at *A.* 1094 he made a tour of all Ireland.

(22) See *Tr. Th. ib.* and Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1095-1096. In the *Tr. Th.* it is said, that a bad omen, connected with a sort of prophecy, was taken from the circumstance of the feast of St. John the Baptist (not that of his nativity, but that of his decollation, 29 August) being to fall in 1096 on a Friday. Concerning this silly cause of alarm the Annals now referred to have nothing; nor could it have had any weight except with fools. There were motives enough for dreading the divine vengeance and for repenting, without recurring to such an idle speculation.

(23) *Tr. Th. ib.* and Ware, *Armagh at Donald.*

(24) *Tr. Th. ib.* and Annals of Innisfallen at 1099.

(25) *Tr. Th. ib.* Murtagh had in the preceding year ravaged the territories of Domnald, and destroyed his palaces of Oighleach, or Aileach, and of Coleraine.

(26) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1103, Magh-Choba, or the plain of Choba, was in Tyrone (see Colgan's Topographical index to *Tr. Th.*) and was probably where the village now called Coagh is situated. Harris is quite wrong in stating, (*Archbishops of Armagh at Donald*) that the truce, which said Donald had brought about in 1102, was kept on foot by him until 1106.

(27) Ware, still persisting in his system of adding a year to the dates, has changed 1105 into 1106; but O'Flaherty (*MS. catalogue*) has retained it.

(28) *Tr. Th. p.* 299. Colgan says, (*ib. p.* 272.) that there was a church called *Domnach-airthir* in the diocese of Armagh; but he does not tell us in what part of it. Ware gives a different account of Domnald's death, according to which he fell sick on his return to Armagh and died at Duleek, whence his remains were carried to Armagh. He adds that Domnald was 68 years of age.

§. v. Donatus or Donogh O'Haingly, bishop of Dublin, who died of the plague in 1095, (29) had for successor his nephew Samuel O'Haingly, who had been a Benedictine monk of St. Alban's in England, and of whom an old writer gives us the following circumstantial account. "In the year 1095 there came to Anselm a certain monk of the monastery of St. Alban's, an Irishman, named Samuel. Upon the death of Donatus, of happy memory, bishop of the city of Dublin, he was elected by Murierdach (Murtoogh O'Brian) and the clergy and people to the bishopric of that city, and by a general decree directed, according to old custom, to Anselm, to be consecrated by him. Anselm assenting to their election and petition, having kept this man with himself for some time in an honorable manner, and diligently instructed him how he should conduct himself in the house of God, received from him his profession of canonical obedience according to old custom, and promoted him to the episcopal office at Winchester on the octave of the following Easter, being assisted by four of his suffragan bishops. This new prelate, strengthened by the benediction of so great a father, and by his letters to the aforesaid king and to the clergy and people of Ireland, written as testimonials of his consecration, returned to his country with joy, and was received in his see with honour according to the usage of that land" (30) Samuel's profession was in these terms; "I Samuel, chosen for the government of the church of Dublin, which is situated in Ireland, and to be consecrated bishop by thee, Reverend father Anselm, archbishop of the holy church of Canterbury, and primate of all Britain, do promise, that I will observe canonical obedience in all things to thee and all thy successors." (31) Of Samuel's proceedings I find very little recorded except some circumstances

mentioned in a letter written to him by Anselm, (32) in which he complains, 1. that Samuel freely disposed of and gave to strangers the books, garments, and other church ornaments, which the archbishop Lanfranc had made a present of through his uncle Donatus for the use of his church. (33) Anselm says that, if this be true, he wonders at his doing so, whereas those articles were not given to Donatus but to the church, as the brethren of Canterbury could prove; and accordingly he admonishes and desires him to get speedily restored any such part of them as might have been alienated from the church. 2. He adds; "I have heard, that
" you expel and disperse the monks, who were col-
" lected in said church for its service, and that you
" refuse to receive those who are willing to return.
" If it be so, this does not become you; for it is your
" duty rather to assemble the scattered than to scatter
" the assembled. Therefore I order you that, if any
" of them have been cast out, and wish to return
" and keep themselves in the service of God under
" obedience, you do receive them, and with paternal
" affection carefully look to their welfare; unless,
" what God forbid, there may be some cause in their
" conduct, which would not allow this to be done."
3. Anselm then tells him; "I have also heard, that
" you make the Cross be carried before you on the
" way; which if it be true, I command you not to
" do so again; for this privilege does not belong
" except to an archbishop, who has been confirmed
" with the pall by the Roman pontiff; nor is it fit,
" that by any presumption relative to an unusual
" thing you should appear remarkable and repre-
" hensible to men." At what time this letter was
written, I am not able to ascertain; but it must have
been after Malchus was seated in the new see of Wa-
terford, whereas it was directed to him with instruc-
tions to be delivered in person to Samuel. (34) This

bishop's incumbency was rather a long one, as he lived until the 4th of July, A. D. 1121. (35)

(29) *Chap. xxiv. §. 13.*

(30) Eadmer, *Historia Novourm, L. 2.* See also Ware, *Bishops at Samuel O'Haingly.*

(31) *Ap. Usher, Sylloge towards the end.*

(32) This letter is the 39th in the *Sylloge*, and the 72d of the third book in Gerberon's edition of St. Anselm's works.

(33) See *Chap. xxiv. §. 13.*

(34) The letter of Anselm to Malchus, accompanying that to Samuel, is the 38th in the *Sylloge*. In it is a summary of Anselm's complaints, who adds, that he orders the people of Dublin to prevent the letting out of the articles belonging to the church, and desires him to expostulate, *viva voce*, with Samuel, and advise him to obey his admonition. At this letter to Malchus Usher marked *about A. 1110*, which, were it correct, would be also the date of the one to Samuel. Ware and Harris (*Bishops of Waterford at Malchus*) have followed Usher. But it could not have been so late, whereas Anselm died on the 21st of April, *A. D. 1109*. It is probable, that it was written in a rather early part of Samuel's incumbency. The mighty antiquary Ledwich says, (*p. 439*) that Samuel ejected the monks in 1110, *i. e.* a year after Anselm's death.

(35) Ware at *Samuel O'Haingly*. Harris observes, that the Annals of Mary's Abbey assign his death to 1122. But, besides the Book of obits of Christ-church, the continuator of Florence of Worcester, a contemporary writer, points out *A. 1121*, whereas at this year he has the election and consecration of Gregory the successor of Samuel. I do not understand, why Usher, who in his *Note* on the letter of the people, &c. of Dublin, when sending Gregory over to England, quotes the words of said continuator, yet at said letter (the 40th in the *Sylloge*) marks in the margin *A. 1122*. And in his *Discourse, &c. (chap. 8.)* he says that Gregory was sent in 1122 to be consecrated. It would seem then that he assigned Samuel's death to said year; but it will be seen that he was mistaken as to the time of Gregory's consecration.

§. VI. Meanwhile Waterford became an episcopal

see, and Malchus, now mentioned, was appointed its first bishop, having been elected by the clergy and people of that city and by the king Murtoth O'Brian, Domnald bishop of Cashel, and the prince Dermot brother to the king, which election was approved of by various bishops. Waterford, although a Danish city, was subject to Murtoth; but the inhabitants, in imitation of their brethren of Dublin, wished to be connected in spirituals with the Normans of England and with the see of Canterbury. Murtoth complied with their wish, and joined them in a letter to Anselm, (36) in which they say, that they had been for a long time blind to their spiritual welfare, but that they have at length seen the necessity of being subject to a bishop. "Therefore we (the clergy and people of the town of Waterford) and our king Murchertac (Murtoth) and the bishop Domnald, and Dermeth (Dermot) our duke, (37) brother of the king, have chosen this priest Malchus, a monk of the bishop Wachelin of Winchester, (38) very well known to us, of noble birth and morals, versed in apostolical and ecclesiastical discipline, in faith a Catholic, prudent," &c. &c. according to the qualifications required by St. Paul. They request that Anselm may ordain him bishop for them; and to show with what unanimity the election was carried, are subjoined the signatures of Murtoth king, Dermot duke, Domnald bishop, Idunan bishop of Meath, Samuel bishop of Dublin, Ferdornach bishop of the Lagenians, &c. (39)

Malchus went with this letter to England in the year 1096, (40) and was kindly received by Anselm, who having found him worthy of the episcopacy, and received his profession of obedience, consecrated him bishop at Canterbury on the 28th of December in said year, being assisted by Ralph, bishop of Chichester, and Gundulph of Rochester. (41) Malchus' profession was in these words; "I Malchus, elected

for the church of Waterford, and to be consecrated bishop by thee, Reverend father Anselm, archbishop of the holy church of Canterbury, and primate of all Britain, do promise that I will observe canonical obedience in all things to thee and to all thy successors." (42) When returned to Waterford, Malchus and his Danish flock erected the cathedral dedicated to the Holy Trinity. (43) Concerning him I find nothing further related, unless he was the same as the holy Malchus, who became bishop of Lismore, and who is so much praised by St. Bernard. But of this lower down.

(36) This letter is in Eadmer's *Histor. Nov. L. 2.* and in Usher's *Sylloge*, No. 34. It is thus headed; "*Anselmo, Dei gratia Anglorum archiepiscopo, et omnibus dioecesis suae episcopis, Clerus et populus oppidi Watafordiae, cum rege Murchertacho et episcopo Domnaldo, salutem in Domino.*"

(37) Hence it appears, that Dermod was then governor of Waterford. He had submitted to his brother Murtoth in 1093, and they pledged themselves in a most solemn manner, and by the most sacred oaths, to remain henceforth in peace with each other. (*Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1093.*)

(38) Although Malchus had been a Benedictine monk at Winchester, he was a native of Ireland, as his contemporary Eadmer informs us, (*loc. cit.*) when speaking of his Irish electors he says, that they chose a man of their own nation named *Malchus*.

(39) In the Latin original the signatures are as follows. "*Ego Murchertacus rex Hibernia subscripsi. Ego Dermeth dux frater regis subscripsi. Ego Domnaldus episcopus subscripsi. Ego Idunan episcopus Midiae subscripsi. Ego Samuel Dublinensis subscripsi. Ego Ferdornachus Lageniensium episcopus subscripsi.* &c. There were several other signatures, which are not come down to us. Of Idunan and Ferdornach we have seen already (*Chap. xxiv. §. 5.*); and that Domnald, *alias* Dofnald, was not, as Usher thought, (*Not. to Ep. 28. Sylloge*) Domnald of Armagh, but Domnald of Cashel (see *Chap. xxiv. §. 6.*) is evident from the circumstance that the bishops, who signed that letter, were subjects of Murtoth, as king of the southern half of Ireland.

Now Domnald of Armagh belonged to the northern half, which was then ruled by Domnald Mac-Lochlin. Harris was therefore right (*Bishops of Waterford at Malchus*) in stating, that Domnald, who subscribed the letter, was the one of Cashel. But he was egregiously mistaken (*ib.* and *Bishops of Down*, p. 195.) in making Samuel bishop of Down, instead of Dublin. The observation now made with regard to Domnald of Armagh would alone be sufficient to prove, that no bishop of Down was connected with the transactions of king Murtoth or of the southern. Harris was led astray by Spelman and Wilkins, (*Councils, &c.*) who at the signatures to the Waterford letter have *Samuel Dunensis*, instead of *Dublinensis*. They in their turn were deceived by a corrupt reading in the text of Eadmer, and which is still retained in the Benedictine edition, (*L. 2. p. 44.*) where Samuel is called *Dunnelmensis*, *i. e.* of Durham. Knowing that it would be ridiculous to introduce a bishop of Durham signing a letter from Waterford, they changed *Dunnelmensis* into *Dunensis*; and hence Harris has honoured Down with a bishop, which it never had. It is strange, that Wilkins did not look into Usher's *Sylloge*, where he would have found the genuine reading *Dublinensis*.

(40) This is the year marked by Ware, (at *Malchus*) and before him by Usher as the date of the letter. Spelman (*Councils, Tom. 2. p. 20.*) assigns it to 1097. But the other date is more correct. For Eadmer states, that it was received some, seemingly short, time after William Rufus had passed over to Normandy to take possession of that dutchy, which was mortgaged to him by his brother Robert. Now it is known, that William went to Normandy in 1096; and on the other hand the arrival of Malchus at Canterbury was very late in the year. Besides, Anselm was not in England in 1097 at the time of the year, in which Malchus went thither. (See Fleury, *L. 64. §. 49.*) Wilkins is exceedingly wrong (*Concil, &c. Vol. 1. p. 375.*) in affixing this letter to A. 1100. Surely he might have known from Eadmer, that it was received while William was absent from England, and consequently a considerable time before the year 1100. (See Rapin, *History &c. at William Rufus.*)

(41) Eadmer, *loc. cit.* and Ware at *Malchus*.

(42) *Sylloge* towards the end.

(43) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 29.* and Harris, *Bishops at Malchus*.

§ VII. There is extant a letter written by Anselm in 1095 to the bishops Domnald, who is called *senior*, Donat, and all the other bishops in Ireland. (44) It is plain, that Donat was Donat O'Haingly of Dublin; but it may be doubted whether Domnald was the one of Armagh or the other of Cashel. Its being a general letter to all the Irish prelates, and his calling Domnald *senior*, as if invested with a superior jurisdiction, might seem to indicate that he was the archbishop of Armagh. Yet the title *senior* may have been given by him merely with relation to the age of Domnald, that is, the one of Cashel, whom he knew to be far advanced in life, as he had corresponded with Anselm's predecessor Lanfranc since, at least, the year 1081. (45) And even did he allude to dignity, Domnald of Cashel might have been styled *senior*; for, besides his having been called archbishop, it is clear that the bishops of Cashel were at this time distinguished by, at least, an honorary precedency over the others of the southern half of Ireland, which constituted the kingdom of Murtoogh O'Brien; and hence Donald's name occurs first among the signatures of the bishops to the Waterford letter above spoken of. Add, that he was undoubtedly better known to Anselm than Domnald of Armagh; and Anselm seems to have been very little acquainted with either the ecclesiastical or civil state of Ireland, except as far as regarded Murtoogh's kingdom. In this letter he tells them, how he had been forced to accept of the archbishopric of Canterbury, but that, while endeavouring to perform his duty and correct abuses, he made himself several enemies, and was then suffering great tribulations, and that persons, who had submitted to his jurisdiction, now refuse to obey him. (46) He therefore requests the prayers of his fellow bishops of Ireland that God may re-establish harmony, bring over his enemies, and make

them all live conformably with his holy will. Next, he exhorts them, notwithstanding their living and thinking properly, to be watchful in maintaining the Church doctrine and discipline, and advises them that, if certain difficult cases relative to religious matters should occur, which could not be canonically determined among themselves, they may, according to a duty of charity, inform him of them, as it is better that they should receive counsel and comfort from him than run the risk of violating any of the commandments of God. Among the ecclesiastical cases, on which they might consult him, he specifies the consecrations of bishops, but makes no complaint relative to that or any other subject of Irish practice.

(44) This letter is the 33d in the *Sylloge*, and in Gerberon's edition of St. Anselm's works is the 8th in the Supplement to the books of epistles.

(45) *Chap. xxiv. §. 6.*

(46) Anselm alludes to the violent proceedings of the king William Rufus, against him in 1095, and the conduct of the English bishops, who in the assembly of Rockingham promised the king that they would not obey him any longer. (See Fleury, *L. 64. §. 25.*)

§. VIII. Yet, although Anselm spoke only in general terms without mentioning any particular abuse, or insinuating that the Irish bishops were guilty of any negligence, it is probable that he had an eye to certain irregularities, which, he says in two letters of his to the king Murtoth, (47) were reported to be prevalent in Ireland. After some compliments and praises of the king for his excellent administration of his kingdom, he requests of him to consider whether there be any practices followed in Ireland, which require correction, and, if there be, to exert himself to get them reformed. For, he says, it is rumoured here (in England) that marriages are dis-

solved in your kingdom without any reason, and that men exchange wives just as others would horses or whatsoever sort of commodity. It is added, that persons near akin cohabit, under the name of wedlock or otherwise, in opposition to the canonical rules. (48) He then directs him, in case he be not acquainted with the passages of the Holy scriptures, which condemn these antichristian customs, to order his bishops and clergy to announce them to him, that he may be enabled to know how to put a stop to such abuses. Then he tells him that it is reported, that in Ireland bishops are appointed without fixed sees, and consecrated by one bishop alone. These practices are, he observes, contrary to the canons, as in fact they were, with regard to bishops strictly so called. (49) He justly states, that no one ought to be made a bishop, unless there be a district and people assigned for him, which he is to govern; and that it is a wise rule, that he should be consecrated by, at least, three bishops. In what year these letters were written, I am not able to determine; but it is probable, that it was not long after Anselm had consecrated Samuel O'Haingly, through whom he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with Murtogh's high rank, power, and character. (50) There is a short letter from Murtogh to Anselm, written after the year 1100 during the reign of Henry I. of England, in which he thanks him for his goodness in continuing to pray for him, and for his kindness in having on some occasion succoured his son in law Ernulph. (51)

In the year 1101 Murtogh convened a great assembly of the clergy and people of Ireland at Cashel, in which he made over that hitherto royal seat of the kings of Munster, and dedicated it to God and St. Patrick. (52) In 1102 he concluded a peace for twelve months with Magnus the powerful king of Norway, and of the Hebrides and Mann, who in the following year, while preparing an expedition for the

subjugation of all Ireland, was, when exploring the country, killed, together with almost all his followers, by the Irish in Ulster, and buried near St. Patrick's church in Down. (53) Murtoĝh was so much respected by the Northmen of Mann and the Hebrides, that upon the death of Lagmann their king, who had been a son of Godred Crouan, (54) their nobles petitioned him to send them a person of royal blood, who should govern them as king until Olave, another son of Godred, would be of age. Murtoĝh sent them his nephew Donald son of his brother Teige or Thady, (55) who, during his administration, neglecting the directions of his master and uncle, who had commanded him to rule that kingdom with mildness and moderation, acted in a quite opposite manner, and behaved so tyrannically, that after three years all the chiefs of the islands united against him, and made him fly to Ireland, whence he returned no more among them. (56)

(47) These two letters are the 35th and the 36th in the *Sylloge*, and in Anselm's works, *L. 3. Ep.* 142—147. They are both directed to Muriardach (Murtoĝh) the glorious king of Ireland, and are so like each other that the latter seems to be only an improved copy of the former, or *vice versa*. In either of them there is no reference to the other, nor any thing to show, that Anselm wrote twice to Murtoĝh concerning the points treated of in them. I therefore suspect, that they are only various copies of one and the same letter, which having been found among Anselm's papers, were published by Picard as distinct letters, and from him by Usher, who thought that the one which he calls *Ep.* 35. was written not to Muriardach O'Brian but to Murchertagh or Muroĝh, prince of Leinster, and father of the famous Dermod Mac-Muroĝh. But how can this be reconciled with Anselm's calling the Muriardach or Murchertach, whom he addresses, *king of Ireland*? It is true, that there was in Anselm's time a Murchertach, prince or king of Leinster, who was killed in the battle of Maigh-choba, fighting under Murtoĝh O'Brien then chief sovereign of Leth-mogha, in the year 1103. (*Annals of Innisfallen*

at A. 1103.) He was not, however, the father of Dermot Mac-Murrough, who was son of another Leinster prince, likewise called *Murchertach*. Usher fell into a very great mistake (*ib.*) in making any Murchertach of Leinster the same as the king Murchertach, Muriardach, or Murtoagh, who took part in the election of Malchus bishop of Waterford. Surely Waterford was not subject to any Leinster prince; and nothing can be more clear than that, as we have seen, the king, who interfered in that election, together with his brother Dermot, &c. was no other than Murtoagh O'Brian, who was then king of Waterford as well as of all the South of Ireland. And it is plain from the whole tenour of the letters, that the king Muriardach or Murchertach, with whom Anselm corresponded, was not a subordinate provincial king, such as those of Leinster were at that time, but a king distinguished and known by the title of *king of Ireland*, as Murtoagh O'Brian certainly was in the days of St. Anselm.

(48) See what has been observed (*Chap.* xxiv. §. 12. and *Notes ib.*) concerning similar complaints made by Lanfranc.

(49) See what has been said (*ib.*) of the Irish system of *Chor-episcopi*.

(50) Usher marks A. 1100 as the date of the letter, which he reckons No. 35, without assigning any reason for it. Anselm had returned to England in the latter part of that year; but it seems much more probable that said letters or letter were written before he left England in 1097.

(51) This letter is the 37th in the *Sylloge*, and the 85th of L. iv. in Gerberon's edition of St. Anselm's works. In it Murtoagh calls himself *Murchardachus rex Hiberniae*. The Ernulph, whom he mentions, was Ernulph or Arnulph de Montgomery, lord of Pembroke and West Wales, who, having together with his brother Robert, earl of Shrewsbury, revolted against Henry I. passed over to Ireland, where he married a daughter of king Murtoagh. See more *ap.* Usher, *Not.* to *Ep.* 37.

(52) Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1101.

(53) *Ib.* ad A. 1102, and 1103. Ware, *Ant.* cap. 24. and the Chronicle of Mann, in which the death of Magnus is wrongly marked at A. 1098. Ware has added, without reason, a year to the dates of these transactions, thus placing the death of Magnus

in 1104 in opposition both to the annals now quoted and to those of Ulster, which have *A.* 1103.

(54) See *Not.* 66. to *Chap.* xxiv.

(55) In the Chronicle of Mann he is called *Dopnald' son of Tade*, and Murtoth's name is written *Murecard O'Brien*, king of Ireland. In the Annals of Innisfallen, (at *A.* 1105.) Donald is called son of Teige son of Turlogh O'Brian; and it is added, that he became king also of the Danes of Dublin, which at most must mean, that he was appointed governor of Dublin.

(56) Chronicle of Mann. According to one date of said chronicle Donald went to govern the Danes of the islands in the year 1075. This is evidently wrong; for in that year Murtoth was not a king, even of Munster. (See *Chap.* xxiv. §. 14.) Another date is 1089, as quoted by Usher (*Not. to Ep*, 36. *Sylloge*); but to this there is a strong objection, inasmuch as Murtoth appears not to have been styled *king of Ireland* until about 1094. (See said *Chap. ib.*) The Annals of Innisfallen have a quite different date, *viz.* *A.* 1105; but there is no mention in them of the death of Lagmann or the minority of Olave having been the occasion of Donald's appointment to the sovereignty of the islands. According to the Chronicle of Mann Lagmann reigned only seven years. If this be true, it would seem that his death must have been prior by several years to 1105. There is, however, so much confusion and uncertainty of dates in that chronicle, that one does not know how to arrange many of the occurrences related in it. Yet this does not affect the truth of Donald having been for some time king of the isles possessed by the Northmen.

§. ix. In the beginning of the twelfth century we find at length a bishop of Limerick, Gille, whose name has been changed into *Gillebert*, and who seems to have been abbot of Bangor. (57) There is no reason to suppose, as some have suspected, that he was a Dane; for, although Limerick was a Danish city, it might have had an Irish bishop in the same manner as Dublin and Waterford had. And it is well worth observing, that Gillebert, as I shall call him, was consecrated in Ireland, as evidently appears from a letter written to him by Anselm.

Hence it seems very probable, that he was not elected to the see of Limerick by the clergy and people of that city, as in that case he would apparently have been consecrated in England, but that, being already a bishop, he was invited by them to act as their pastor, or perhaps placed over them by Murtogh O'Brian. Gillebert had travelled before he became a bishop; for he had been acquainted and intimate with Anselm at Rouen several years before his promotion. Sometime after being placed over Limerick he wrote a letter to Anselm, (58) in which he congratulates him on his having at last induced the untameable minds of the Normans to submit to the regular decrees of the holy fathers, with regard to the election and consecration of abbots and bishops, and thanks God for his having enabled Anselm to gain this victory. Hence it may be safely inferred, that this letter was written not long after Henry I. of England had in 1106 settled his disputes with Anselm, and agreed to his terms concerning the investitures, &c. ; (59) and we may also conclude, that Gillebert was bishop of Limerick in said year 1106, and perhaps a year or two earlier. Gillebert adds, that he sends him as a token of his attachment, a little present of twenty-five small pearls (of the sort, I suppose, found in Ireland) and requests that he will not be unmindful of him in his prayers. Anselm replied by the above mentioned letter, (60) thanking him for his congratulation and present, and reminding him of their mutual affection since they had known each other at Rouen. He says that, as he *now knows* of Gillebert's having been raised to the episcopal dignity in Ireland, (61) he makes bold to request of him, and even, as it appeared necessary, to advise him to exert himself with earnestness towards correcting and extirpating, as far as he is able, whatever may be wrong in that country, and to induce, as well as he can, his king, the other bishops, and whomso-

ever he may persuade to cooperate with him in that work, and in planting and promoting good practices and morals. Anselm seems here to allude to some reformation of certain Irish ecclesiastical practices, and to the introduction of those then followed at Rome.

(57) In the prologue *De usu ecclesiasticae* (No. 30 in the *Sylloge*) he calls himself *Gille*. Keating (Book 2.) and Colgan (*A.A. SS.* p. 563.) speaks of him by the name of *Gilla-Espuic*. Yet he sometimes assumed the name *Gillebertus*, latinized from *Gillebert*, which he probably received from the Danes, among whom he lived. That *Gille* had been abbot of Bangor may be deduced from his being called *successor of Congell* by Keating, as quoted by Gratianus Lucius, *i. e.* Lynch, (*Cambr. Evers.* p. 83.) who thought, and indeed justly, that this must have been the same as *abbot of Bangor*. Peter Walsh (*Prospect, &c.* p. 246) and Archdall (at *Bangor*) speak of him in like manner. I do not find in the corrupt English translation of Keating the title of *successor of Congell* given to *Gille*; but the author of it has omitted or altered many parts of the work.

(58) This letter is the 31st in the *Sylloge*, and the 86th of *L. 4. Ep.* in Gerberon's edition of St. Anselm's works. It is headed, *Gillebertus by the mercy of God bishop of Limerick, Lunicensis episcopus, &c.* Usher observes, that in various MSS. *Gillebert* is called *Lunicensis, Lunnicensis, or Lumnicensis* from *Lumneach* the Irish name of Limerick.

(59) See Fleury, *L. 65. §. 46.* Usher marks in the margin at this letter *about A. 1094*; but Anselm's disputes with the English kings had scarcely begun in 1094, nor did he obtain any victory until several years later. Usher was quite mistaken as to the times of *Gillebert*. Thus at the Prologue, (No. 30) which he drew up when bishop of Limerick, Usher marks *A. 1090*, although in all probability *Gillebert* was not bishop there for 14 or 15 years after that time. Ware was cautious in this respect; for, without assigning the time of *Gillebert's* accession, he merely says that he flourished in 1110.

(60) Anselm's letter is at No. 32 in the *Sylloge*, and in his

works, *Ep. L. 3. No. 143*, addressed to Gillebert *Lunicensi episcopo*.

(61) As this letter was written after Anselm had settled his disputes with Henry I. and returned to England late in 1106, it follows that he had not heard of Gillebert's promotion until about that time. Hence it is clear, that it did not take place until after Anselm's second departure from England in 1103; for, if it had, Anselm would certainly have been apprized of it before his return. It is probable that Gillebert became bishop of Limerick about 1105. Here I may observe, that some fabulous or shallow writers have confounded him with a Gillebart or Gislebert, surnamed *Crispinus*, who had been a monk with Anselm in the monastery of Bee in Normandy. But, as Usher observes (*Not. ad No. 31.*) that Gislebert never became a bishop, having died abbot of Westminster, where he was buried. Ledwich, although he had Usher's *Sylloge* before his eyes, and followed his mistakes as to Gillebert's letter to Anselm having been written in 1094, and his tract on the Church in 1090, yet (*Antiq. &c. p. 433*) abandons him, and makes Gillebert the same as Gislebert, merely for the purpose of insinuating that he was an Ostman, as he pretends. Such is the Doctor's consistency! He even quotes Ware to show, that Gillebert was an Ostman, while Ware says nothing more than that he did not know whether he were an Irishman or an Ostman.

§. x. In fact Gillebert, subsequently to his having received this letter, signalized his zeal by endeavouring to bring all the practices, liturgical, and connected with the Church service, of which there was a great variety in Ireland, to one uniform system conformable to that of the particular church of Rome. Comprising these matters under the general name of *ecclesiastical order*, he wrote a tract entitled *De usu ecclesiastico*, but at what time I am not able to ascertain, except that there can be no doubt of his having composed it after the exhortation he got from Anselm, who, had it been written sooner, would have alluded to it in his letter, instead of encouraging him as one who had not yet acted vigour-

ously, to set about doing something. (62) It was written before Gillebert became apostolical legate, as it contains not the least hint relative to any such dignity, and in the prologue, addressed to the bishops and priests of all Ireland, he assumes no other title than that of the *lowest of prelates Gille of Limerick*. (63) He tells them, that at the request and by the command of many of them he has endeavoured to write out the canonical custom in saying the Hours, and in performing the offices of the whole *ecclesiastical order*, for the purpose of procuring that the various and schismatical orders, with which almost all Ireland is bewildered, may yield to the one Catholic and Roman office. For what, he says, can be more unbecoming or schismatical than that a very learned person of one order should be like an idiot or a layman in a church, where a different one is followed? Therefore whoever professes himself a member of the Catholic church, in the same manner as he is joined in the body by one faith, hope, and charity, so is he commanded to praise God with his mouth and in the (same) order with the other members of the Church. To this he applies with great learning the words of St. Paul, (*Rom. xv. 6.*) *That with one accord and one mouth you may glorify God*. As then, he continues, the division of languages caused by pride was brought to unity in the humility of the Apostles, so the confusion of orders, that has arisen from negligence and presumption, is through your exertions and humility to make way for the consecrated rule of the Roman church. Thus he goes on arguing, as if the unity of faith required also a uniformity of ritual practices.

(62) It is strange that Usher, although otherwise wrong in his dates, could have made the writing of this tract prior to that of the letter to Anselm and of Anselm's answer.

(63) *Episcopis et presbyteris totius Hiberniae infimus praesul-*

lum Gille Lunicensis in Christo salutem. Pitts, in his *Writers of England*, attributes this tract to a Gilla bishop of Lincoln, a man, who, as Usher remarks, (*Not. to No. 30.*) never existed.

§. XI. Gillebert, although he knew something of these exterior matters, was a very shallow theologian. Gregory the great was of a quite different way of thinking on these subjects, as we see from his instructions to the monk Augustin; and it is universally allowed not only in theory, but by the actual and still subsisting variety of liturgies and offices in the Catholic church, that the great maxim of ecclesiastical unity is not at all affected by such variety. (64) At a very ancient and one of the best periods of the Irish church a diversity of liturgies and rules was added to those introduced by St. Patrick; (65) but it was not supposed, that they implied any the least innovation in religion or essential discipline. In the course of time this diversity was carried to a much greater extent; which was undoubtedly an inconvenience, particularly in such a small country as Ireland. It seems to have been augmented in proportion to the introduction of new monastic rules, of which, notwithstanding their being all founded on one original plan, there was a considerable number. (66) Such a multiplicity of different offices required some limitation; but Gillebert was highly mistaken in calling them *schismatical*, (67) and equally so in the wretched arguments adduced by him. In his zeal for uniformity he fixed upon the peculiar order and office, which is strictly called *Roman*, and of which he seems to speak as if it were the only Catholic one, not knowing that there were many others full as catholic then and since in existence and actually followed. (68) This he strove to get substituted for the divers orders and offices used in Ireland, in imitation of similar attempts made about those times in other countries. (69) It is probable, that Gillebert was encouraged

in his proceedings by Anselm, although it can scarcely be supposed, that Anselm supplied him with his bad arguments. What is become of his book or treatise *De usu ecclesiastico*, which seems to have been little else than a copy of the Roman liturgy and office, I am not able to tell; for it must not be confounded with the tract, which he wrote under the title of *De statu Ecclesiae*, and which, it seems, he prefixed to it. (70) Gillebert did not succeed, as will be seen lower down, at least to any considerable degree, in setting aside the Irish Offices.

(64) See, among other parts of this history where I had occasion to touch on this point, *Chap. i. §. 5.*

(65) See *Chap. x. §. 4.* (66) See *Not. 58 to Chap. x.*

(67) Alemand (*Introd. à l'Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, p. 14.*) justly censures Gillebert for his unfounded and ignorant manner of speaking of the Irish offices, and observes that a similar variety still prevails, particularly among the religious orders, such as the Carthusians, Benedictines, Dominicans, and Carmelites, whose masses and offices differ from each other and from those of the secular clergy.

(68) Were Gillebert now alive and to go to Rome, he would find in that very city a great number of clergymen observing liturgies and offices different, and some of them very much so, from the Roman.

(69) Pope Gregory VII. was very anxious to introduce the Roman office into the Western churches. On this point he was successful in some parts of Spain. (See *Fleury, L. 63. §. 6.*)

(70) Towards the end of the prologue *De usu*, &c. Gillebert makes mention of a painted image of the Church, which he had made. The tract entitled *De statu Ecclesiae*, which Usher has placed after the prologue, begins with a description of this image, and then proceeds to an account of the various classes of the members of the Church, both lay and ecclesiastical. It has the gradations of bishops, archbishops, primates, and popes, who are placed over all the others. Then we find the orders of ostiarii, lectors, exorcists, acolythes, subdeacons, deacons, and priests, and

their various powers and duties. In short it is a summary of the general Canon law of those times, mixed with some observations on ecclesiastical dresses and church utensils and ornaments. Speaking of the priest's duty to pray, Gillebert says that it is chiefly fulfilled in celebrating the Hours and Mass, of which however, he adds, as it cannot be done briefly, we shall treat in the sequel. Here he alludes to the treatise, *De usu ecclesiastico*, which was to contain the series of the whole divine office, &c. a series not to be found in the tract *De statu Ecclesiae*. Hence Harris was wrong (*Writers at Gille*) in confounding them into one treatise, and still more wrong (*Bishops of Limerick*) in saying, that "it contains the different forms of liturgies, and the various ways of celebrating divine service in the church of Ireland;" for the tract, *De statu Ecclesiae*, which he thought the same as the other, contains no such things, nor any liturgy whatsoever. And as to what was contained in the book *De usu ecclesiastico*, we may be sure, that they were not Irish liturgies, but what Gillebert styles the *canonical custom*.

§ XII. Donnald Mac-Amalgaid was, as already stated (71) succeeded in the see of Armagh by Celsus in the year 1105. Celsus, whose real name was *Ceallach* or *Kellach*, was a grandson of the archbishop Moeliosa, Donnald's predecessor, by his son Aedh or Aidus, and accordingly was a member of that family, which had for so great a lapse of time usurped the possession of that great see. (72) But, although of that family, he was a real bishop, having been actually consecrated on the 23d of September in said year, (73) and before he had reached the canonical age, being then only about 26 years old. (74) He is said to have been very learned, and it is certain that he was gifted with a truly ecclesiastical spirit, and was a most zealous, laborious, and holy prelate. He was not married, as some persons have foolishly thrown out; whereas, on the contrary, he exerted himself most strenuously to put an effectual stop to the hereditary succession, by which the see of Armagh had been go griev-

ously injured, and, among many other regulations, re-established by his example and proceedings the canonical system of celibacy, which had been broken through by eight of his predecessors, who, although laymen, got themselves called archbishops.

(75) St. Bernard tells us, that the unhappy state, to which the church of Armagh had been reduced by such enormous abuses, affected, more or less, every other part of Ireland, and a great dissolution of ecclesiastical discipline, together with a neglect of religion, overspread the land. Barbarism, he adds, amounting to a sort of paganism, had been introduced instead of Christian practices; and bishops were changed and multiplied without order or regularity according to the mere pleasure of the Armagh metropolitan, so that almost every church had a bishop of its own. (76) Whatsoever or how far extended were those abuses, Celsus endeavoured to correct them as far as he was able, and by his exemplary conduct, charity, preaching, erecting of churches, lying down rules of discipline and morality for the clergy and people, and other pastoral exertions, greatly contributed to bring about a better order of things. (77) The first act of his, which I find specially recorded, was a visitation of Ulster in 1106, which seems to have been as much of a temporal as of a spiritual nature, that is, for the purpose of receiving the dues, that used to be paid to the see of Armagh. In said year he made a similar visitation throughout Munster, where he appears to have been well received, as, besides the usual contributions according to the so called *Law of St. Patrick*, many presents were made to him. (78) In the same year died Coencomrach O'Boigill, who had been suffragan bishop to Donald. (79)

(71) §. 4.

(72) I cannot here pass by a most glaring instance of Ledwich's

ignorance, not to call it worse, of Irish history. At p. 435 of his rhapsody, while blundering about Domnald of Armagh, he says that the see was then held by the Ostmen. Lest the reader may doubt of his having uttered such a monstrous assertion, I shall give his words; "*The Ostmen, who now possessed the see, either had embraced the tenets of the Irish, or were married, or held it by hereditary right.*" Thus then the family, which usurped and occupied that see for about 200 years, (see *Chap. xxii. §. 13.*) was not Irish but Ostmannic or Danish, and accordingly the Muredachs, Dubdalethes, Maelmurrys, Amalguids, Moeliosas, Domnalds, Cellachs, &c. were Ostmen, Northmen, or Danes. Would not St. Bernard, who inveighs so much against that family, have told us so, were it true? Would not our annalists and historians, were it merely for the honour of Armagh and of the Irish nation, have stated that those usurpers were foreigners? Would the Irish sovereigns of that period Brian Boromhe, Mael-seachlin, Turlogh, Murtoth, Mac-Lochlin, &c. have allowed Ostmen or Danes to rule the primatial see of Ireland, and at a time when the power of said Ostmen was crushed and they were subject to Irish kings and governors? Why did not the Danes of Dublin and Waterford direct their bishops elect to Armagh instead of to Canterbury, if that see was then held by the Ostmen? Ledwich himself tells us soon after, that the Armachians were very angry with the Danes of Dublin for applying on such occasions to the archbishops of Canterbury. This shameful fabrication is on a par with his fable, which he often repeats, of Christian Ostmen having been in possession of Armagh in the ninth century, and of their having introduced St. Patrick into Ireland. (See *Chap. ii. §. 16.*) It is wonderful, that a man so profoundly ignorant of the history of this country has dared to write a book styled its *Antiquities*. It is in fact a romance crammed with misrepresentations, and circumstances that never occurred. There is no part of Europe except Ireland, where a person would have the effrontery to publish such a work; but Ledwich relied on the credulity of the bulk of his Irish readers, who know something of every ancient history, excepting that of their own country.

(73) *Tr. Th. p. 299.* Ware *Bishops at Celsus.*

(74) Celsus was in the 50th year of his age, when he died on the 1st of April *A. D.* 1129. Hence it follows, that, when con-

secrated, he was, at most, only 26 years old. Harris (*Bishops at Celsus*) gives him near 27 years; but, following Ware, he erroneously supposed that his consecration took place in 1106. His being consecrated so young was owing to the influence of his family, which had marked him out as successor to Donnald.

(75) St. Bernard, who says of Celsus (*Vit. S. Malach. cap. 7.*) that he was *vir bonus et timoratus*, relates, as we have seen (*Chap. xxii. §. 13.*), that eight lay married men, not in holy orders, had preceded him in the possession of the see, and then states how much grieved Celsus was at the abuses, that followed from that dreadful system, and how he laboured to prevent the recurrence of it. Hence it is as clear as day light, that Celsus was not married; and hence also it is plain, that the Irish bishops were not allowed to have wives. For, if they were, why did not those eight so called archbishops take holy orders? The fable of Celsus having been married originated with Hanmer, who (*Chronicle, &c. p. 203. new ed.*) says, that "he was a married man, and died of great age, and lyeth buried with his wife and children in the said church," *viz.* of Armagh. In these few words there are three lies! Celsus did not die of great age; for he was not fifty years old when he died. 2. He was not, as will be seen, buried at Armagh but at Lismore. 3. He had neither a wife nor children. Why did not Hanmer give us the names of some of those children? Harris observes, (*Bishops at Celsus*) that he does not know on what authority Hanmer has made Celsus a married man. The fact is, that he had no authority whatsoever, except perhaps his having misrepresented some words of St. Bernard, who (*ib.*) makes mention of a vision, in which, when Celsus was sick, there appeared to St. Malachy a tall reverend looking woman, who was called Celsus's wife, and who presented Malachy with a pastoral staff exactly like that, which belonged to Celsus. It is evident, that this female figure was an emblem of the church of Armagh, the spiritual spouse of Celsus, according to a very usual ecclesiastical phrase, and as a few lines higher up St. Bernard introduces St. Malachy giving the name of *spouse* to his church of Connor. Hanmer might have met with this passage, and in his stupidity transformed the see of Armagh into a real woman. But where did he find the children! Usher in his juvenile tract on *Corbes, &c.* published in the *Collectan. de rebus Hib. vol. 1.* must have taken

from Hanmer what he has about Celsus having been married; but he was afterwards better informed, and accordingly in his *Discourse on the religion, &c.* (*chap. 5.*), where he is inquiring whether the clergy were in ancient times allowed to marry, has not a word about Celsus. But the doughty Dr. Ledwich still keeps up this fable, and has even added to the lies of Hanmer. He tells us, (*p. 438*) that Celsus “though well affected to Rome, could not be prevailed on to separate during his life from his wife and children.” Good God! what patience is requisite to read such balderdash! Where did the Dr. find, that any one ever asked Celsus to quit his wife and children? Or how could he have been solicited to separate from persons, that were not in existence?

(76) St. Bernard, *ib.* He had got his information chiefly from Ireland, as appears from his preface; but his Irish correspondents seem to have given too high a colouring to the abuses that prevailed, and to have made them more diffused throughout Ireland than they really were. That there was a great relaxation of discipline and decay of religion in some parts of Ulster is but too clear from the description, which he gives of the state of the diocese of Connor, before St. Malachy undertook the care of it; but from St. Bernard’s own statement it is evident, as will be seen elsewhere, that other parts of Ireland were not by any means so much infected with that gangrene. The Irish bishops, of whom St. Anselm had some knowledge, *viz.* those of the Southern half or Murtoogh O’Brian’s kingdom (for those of the North and the state of that portion seem to have been almost unknown to him) are praised by him as religious, good, and wise men in his letter to Domnald, &c. (See above §. 7.) The beginning of the letter shows in what esteem he held them; “*Odorem religionis vestrae plurimis indicibus agnoscens, calamitates quas patior decrevi potissimum vobis aperire; ut, quanto vicinius assistitis creatori, tanto familiarius angustias meas in conspectu ejus valeatis indicare, et indicantes compassionis gemitibus ipsius misericordiam mihi impetrare.*” And towards the end of it he says; “*Practerea, quamquam recte viventem recteque sapientem, pastorali sollicitudine fraternitatem vestram,*” &c. And lower down; “*Iterum, charissimi, rogamus vos; orate pro nobis, erigite nos de tribulationibus nostris manu vestrae orationis, piis fletibus pulsantes aures clementiae*

Dei." Where such bishops presided, it was impossible that barbarism, amounting to a sort of paganism, could prevail. This letter was written in 1095 during the very height of the power of the pseudo-archbishops of Armagh, and only ten years before the accession of the good bishop Celsus. And about eleven or twelve years later writing to Gillebert of Limerick (above §. 9.) he makes no complaint as to any great abuses in Ireland, and speaks of Gillebert's fellow bishops as persons, whom he should apply to for forwarding his views. Gillebert himself in his prologue *De usu ecclesiastico* addresses those fellow bishops in a style of the greatest respect as pious and worthy persons. It is therefore certain, that St. Bernard's general complaint or invective was not applicable to all Ireland nor even to one half of it, although it was true as to the diocese of Connor and, I dare say, to some adjoining parts. He refers to what he had written before concerning that diocese, as explanatory of the view he gives of all Ireland; but it did not follow that, because matters were bad enough in Connor, they were so every where else. He states as an instance of what he calls *paganism* the multiplication of bishops, as a thing unheard of since the very beginning of christianity. St. Bernard was not aware, that this was owing to the Irish system of *chorepiscopi*. Yet I allow, that it was carried too far. At any rate it was not *paganism*, and he was mistaken in supposing that the multiplying of bishops was a circumstance unheard of. For it is well known, that in the earlier times of the church a bishop was placed in every town, where there was a considerable number of faithful, (see Fleury, *Instit. au Dr. Eccl. Part 1. ch. 3.*) so that what St. Bernard says of Ireland, viz. *that almost every church had a bishop of its own*, was actually followed; whereas there was usually in those times only one church in each town. Nor was there any law against fixing bishops in small cities or towns, prior to one of the Council of Sardica, which, by the bye, was not generally observed; for long after it we find bishops in numbers of small places in the Eastern countries, Africa, &c. and we meet with divisions of bishoprics into smaller ones. (See Bingham, *Book II. chap. 12.*) On the whole, notwithstanding the great corruption of discipline, &c. in some parts of Ireland, the greatest portion of the Irish church was, even before the times of Celsus and St. Malachy, as pure as, I believe, any other national church of that period;

which, if necessary, might be shown from St. Bernard's own works, and even from his above mentioned preface.

As St. Bernard had confined his severe remarks on the ecclesiastical state of Ireland to those times, it was not fair in Dr. Milner to apply them in a pcevish note of his against the Irish nation (*Inquiry, alias Tour in Ireland, Additional Notes, p. 50.*) to a later period, viz. that just prior to the settlement of the English in Ireland, which was later by above 60 years than the accssion of Celsus, and by near 50 than when St. Malachy had set about reforming the diocese of Connor. Had the Doctor been more cool on this subject, he could have learned from St. Bernard, that a great change was brought about by those two holy prelates; and, had he thought it worth his while to look into our ecclesiastical history, he would have found that, through not only their exertions, but likewise of others, who came after them, such as Gelasius of Armagh, &c. &c. the Irish church was, on the arrival of the English, in a very different state from what St. Bernard represents it to have been in about the beginning of the 12th century. Dr. Milner ought to have distinguished the times so as not to make a reader think, that St. Bernard was describing the Irish church as it stood when the English came over; for surely he cannot but know, that the saint was dead many years prior to that event. But he throws different periods into one; and after pronouncing that the Irish were then a motley group of Irish, Scots, and Ostmen or Scandinavians (pray what were then the English? Saxons, Danes, Normans, French, &c.) he goes so far as to say, that in spite even of St. Malachy and Cardinal Paparo, the state of religion and morality was amongst them in the most frightful disorder. The sequel of this work will show, that this is an unfounded assertion; and Dr. Milner would do well not to meddle again with Irish history, until he shall have learned something more about it. It will not do to tell us, as he does in said note, that "most of the writers, who enlighten Ireland at the present day in religious as well as in profane literature, are Englishmen." Be it so and let Dr. Milner be one of them; but certainly he has not enlightened us as to this part of either our civil or ecclesiastical history.

(77) See *Tr. Th. p. 300.*

(78) *Ib. p. 299.*

(79) *Ib.* See above §. 4.

§. XIII. In the year 1111 Celsus attended at the great synod, or rather national convention, of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa, together with Moelmurry O'Dunain, archbishop of Cashel, fifty other bishops, three hundred priests, and three thousand persons of the clerical order; besides Murtoogh O'Brian, king of Lethmogha and the nobles of his kingdom; and in which many regulations were made for the conduct of the clergy and people. (80) This synod is called by some writers that of Usneach, which if it be correct, Fiadh-mac-Aengussa was situated near the famous hill of Usney in the now county of Westmeath. (81) Yet I find them distinguished as two distinct synods, and that of Usneach represented as held for the purpose of dividing the parishes of Meath between the sees of Clonmacnois and Clonard. It is, however, stated to have been held in the same year; but neither Murtoogh O'Brian, nor Celsus, nor Moelmurry, are mentioned as having been present at it. (82) From Moelmurry O'Dunain being called *archbishop* in the accounts of the synod of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa it appears, that the see of Cashel was by this time generally recognized as metropolitan. Moelmurry's predecessor Donnald O'Heine had been honoured with that title, and enjoyed a certain precedency over the other bishops of the southern half of Ireland. (83) This prerogative was ratified and enlarged by Celsus either in that synod or prior to it, so that Cashel became in reality a truly archiepiscopal and metropolitan see, yet with this condition that it was to be subordinate to the primatial one of Armagh. (84) This act of Celsus was afterwards confirmed by Pope Innocent II. and thus there were in Ireland two archbishops invested with full canonical jurisdiction, *viz.* the primate, who reserved to himself the Northern half and the primatial rights over all Ireland; and the archbishop of Cashel, who was charged with the care of the Southern half.

After the synod of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa another

was held at Rath-Breasail, over which presided Gille or Gillebert, bishop of Limerick and then apostolical legate in Ireland. (85) The precise year of this synod I cannot ascertain; but it must have been later than is commonly supposed, and, on comparing various circumstances, it appears to me that it was about A. D. 1118. (86) As Gillebert was at this time apostolical legate, he must have received his appointment from Pope Pascal II. as appears most probable, or perhaps from Gelasius II. (87) Our writers do not tell us where Rath-Breasail was situated; but, if we are to judge from the name, I should think it was in the district anciently called Hy-Bressail, now Clanbrassil in the county of Armagh, or in the other Hy-Bressail, that formed part of Hy-falgia (the ancient Offaly) in Leinster. (88)

(80) *Ib.* from the 4 Masters. The true date of this synod was not, as Ware (*Bishops at Celsus*) in his usual mode of adding a year insinuates, 1112, but 1111, as have also the Annals of Innisfallen, which give the following account of it. “A. 1111. “A general convention of the noblemen of Ireland, both clergy and “laity, was held by Murtoth O’Brian, monarch of Ireland, at “Fiadh-Aengussa, wherein were assembled the nobility of Mun- “ster, and Maolmuire O’Dunain archbishop of Ireland, and Ceal- “lach (Celsus) Mac-Aodha successor of St. Patrick—the num- “ber of men in holy orders, who were at that convention, 58 “bishops, 317 priests, 160 deacons, and a vast number of “clergy of inferior degree; and in that synod many regulations “were made.” Keating (*Book 2. p. 100. Dublin ed.*) also attributes the summoning of this synod to Murtoth O’Brian, and calls Maolmuire O’Dunain *archbishop*, but differs from the annals as to the number of clergymen present. Their calling Maolmuire *archbishop of Ireland* must be understood relatively to that part of it, which formed Murtoth’s kingdom, *viz.* Leth-mogha. The Annals of Connaught, quoted by Ware, (*ib.*) give him the title of *archbishop of Cashel*; and the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 308.*) style him *archbishop of Munster*. Henry of Marleburgh,

whose Annals, or rather part of them, are at the end of Hammer's chronicle, places at said year a great council of bishops, &c. convened, he says, by Maurice Mac-Lochlin king of Ireland. He confounded this Maurice, *i. e.* Murchertach, or Murtoogh who did not become king of Ireland until many years later, with Murtoogh O'Brian. In like manner they have been confounded by the Bollandists, who (at *Celsus 6th April*) misunderstanding Colgan make Murtoogh O'Brian, king of the South, a nephew of Domnald Mac-Lochlin the king of the North.

(81) Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p. 299.*) that in the margin of the 4 Masters the synod of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa is called that of Usneach. Harris has in a note (*Bishops at Celsus*); "Fiadh-mac-Aengussa, as much as to say, the land or the wood of the son of Aengus, was in very ancient times called *Coendruim*, and afterwards *Usneach*. It is now called the hill of Usney, and stands in the barony of Rathconrath, and county of Westmeath, about six miles S. W. of Mullingar."

(82) Immediately after the account of the synod of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa the Annals of Innisfallen add; "In the same year the great synod of Usneach was also held; wherein the parishes of Meath were equally divided between the bishops of Clonmacnois and Clonard.—There attended at these regulations in that synod Morogh O'Maolseachlain, Eocha O'Kelly, and the clergy of the religious house of St. Kieran (Clonmacnois), together with Giolla-Criost O'Maoillean abbot of Clonmacnois."

(83) See *Chap. xxiv. §. 6.* and above *§. 7.* Keating says, (*B. 2. p. 6.*) that the archbishop of Cashel used to be called archbishop of Lethe-mogha, the southern half. But, as far as I can judge, no bishop of that see was thus distinguished until the reign of Murtoogh O'Brian, or, at the earliest, of his father Turlogh.

(84) St. Bernard, having observed (*Vit. S. Mal. cap. 7.*) that, owing to the reverence and honour, in which the memory of St. Patrick as apostle of Ireland was held, all the bishops, priests, and the whole body of the Irish clergy, &c. acknowledged the metropolitan of Armagh as their chief superior, says (*cap. 10.*) that "there was another metropolical see, which Celsus had newly appointed, yet subject to the first see, and to its archbishop as primate." The phrase *appointed* is not in opposition to what has been said of the bishops of Cashel having been styled

archbishops, before Celsus not only confirmed that title, but invested them with more than honorary jurisdiction, and thus *appointed* Cashel a truly archiepiscopal see. That Cashel was the see alluded to by St. Bernard, it would be silly to call in question. Its bishop is the only one, who, besides the primate, is called *archbishop* in the account of the synod of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa and in other documents of those times. Harris need not have been so cautious as he was, (*Bishops at St. Malachy*) where he says that the new metropolis spoken of by St. Bernard is *supposed* to be Cashel. He refers to Mac-Mahon's *Jus Primat. Ar-mach*. Now Mac-Mahon not only supposes it, but asserts it as an undoubted fact. Thus at No. 7 he writes; “*novam metropolim —patet fuisse Casseliensem ex vita S. Christiani Lismorensis et ex numerosa synodo (Fiadh-mac-Aengussa) &c.* (See also *ib.* Nos. 62, and 201.) He seems to say, that Celsus transferred the metropolitical power from Emly to Cashel; but whatever prerogative Emly had enjoyed, and which, as I have already observed more than once, was never truly metropolitical, it had lost it before Celsus' time, as is clear from what we have seen concerning Domnald O'Heine.

(85) Keating, *History, &c. B. 2. p.* 100. Gratianus Lucius (Lynch) thought, (*Cambr. Evers. p.* 37.) that this synod was the same as that of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa, and strives to prove it from the Annals of Innisfallen, which, as far as I can discover, make no mention of Rathbreasail, or, as he calls it, *Muighbrassel*. He may perhaps have found in some copy of said annals a marginal note indicating that the synod was called by both names; but Keating, who treats of both those synods, (*ib.*) expressly distinguishes them; and from his account of that of Rathbreasail, which he took from the Book of Clonenagh, it is evident that they were different assemblies. Besides, were they one and the same, would he have omitted in his account of that of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa the name of Gille, who undoubtedly presided over the synod of Rathbreasail?

(86) Ware (*Bishops at Gille*) says, that it was held in 1110. In this case it should have been prior to that of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa, which sat in 1111. But this cannot accord with what will be soon seen concerning the number of Irish bishops having been reduced by a decree of the synod of Rathbreasail much below

that of fifty or more, who attended at Fiadh-mac-Aengussa. Lynch says, (*loc. cit.*) that Keating assigns it to 1110; and I believe that it was from him that Ware took this date. But in the English translation of Keating's history the year marked for it is 1115. Whichsoever of these dates were the original one of Keating, whose notation of years is frequently wrong, we need not inquire; for neither of them is correct. In fact, the synod of Rathbreasail could not have been held before 1118, whereas it was attended by Moeliosa, archbishop of Cashel, the successor of Moelmurry O'Dunain, who died in the latter end of 1117. On the other hand it could not have been later than the early part of 1119, if it be true, as Keating says, that it was summoned in the reign of Murtoth O'Brian, who died on the 13th of March in said year. (See *Chap. xxiv. §. 14.*) What Keating calls the *reign of Murtoth* must be understood of his life; for Murtoth had been dispossessed of the throne in 1116, (*ib.*) and accordingly before the meeting of that assembly.

(87) Neither St. Bernard who makes mention (*Vit. S. Mal. cap. 7 and 11.*) of Gillebert as apostolical legate, nor Keating, who gives him that title, when treating of the synod of Rathbreasail, nor any of our historians, as far as I can discover, has marked the time of his being raised to that office. It could not have been before the pontificate of Pascal II. which began in 1099, whereas Gillebert was not a bishop at that time. (Above §. 9.) Pascal lived until January in 1118, and might have been acquainted with Gillebert, who had travelled in his younger days, or perhaps was informed of his character by St. Anselm. It is much more probable that Gillebert was appointed legate by him than by his successor Gelasius II. whose troublesome pontificate did not last quite a year.

(88) See for the Hy-Bressail in Co. Armagh *AA. SS. p. 62.* and *Tr. Th. p. 293*; and for the other Harris *Antiq. ch. 7 at Hy-falgia*. According to Lynch's system Rathbreasail would have been in Westmeath; but, as it is unfounded, (above *Not. 85.*) so is also this consequence.

§. XIV. This synod was attended, like that of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa, not only by bishops and clergymen of various ranks, but likewise by distinguished

laymen from, it seems, all parts of Ireland. The only names, which I find recorded, of its members are those of Celsus of Armagh and Moeliosa (*servant of Jesus*) Mac-Ainmhire, *alias* O'Foghlada, archbishop of Cashel, and successor of Moelmurry O'Dunain, who died at Clonard in the 77th year of his age, on the 24th of December *A. D.* 1117, having left a great reputation for wisdom, virtue, and liberality to the poor. (89) The synod was occupied chiefly in forming a regular division of dioceses throughout Ireland, and in fixing their boundaries. It was decreed that, exclusive of Dublin, which was left subject to Canterbury, there should be 24 dioceses, 12 in Leth-cuin subject to the archbishop of Armagh, and 12 others in Leth-mogha subject to the archbishop of Cashel. Of the former, five were in Ulster, *viz.* Clogher, Ardsrath, Derry, Connor, Down; five in Connaught, *viz.* Tuam, Clonfert, Cong, Killala, Ard-carn; and two in Meath, which by order of this synod were to be considered as the only fixed sees for that territory, Duleek and Clonard, (90) Of the twelve sees of Leth-mogha besides Cashel, were in Munster, *viz.* Lismore, or Waterford, Cork, Rathmaighe Deisgirt, Limerick, Killaloe, Emly; (91) and five in Leinster, *viz.* Kilkenny, (92) Leighlin, Kildare, Glendaloch, and Ferns. On looking over the boundaries marked for those dioceses, a very great part of which can scarcely be pointed out at present on account of the changes of names, it is clear that the synod intended, besides reducing the number of sees, to render all the dioceses of Ireland nearly of equal extent; but it did not succeed, at least to any considerable degree in reducing the number; whereas we find at the time of the council of Kells in 1152 many more sees than those here laid down, and, on the other hand, some of said 24 sees not even spoken of, as if, notwithstanding the decree of Rathbreasail, they had either not been established or had in a very short time ceased to exist. (93) Another important regulation was, that

by an act of “this convention the revenues of the clergy and the Church lands were confirmed to the several bishops of Ireland for their maintenance and support of the episcopal character; which lands were to be exempted from tribute and chief rents and other public contributions, and so remain in that state of freedom and independency for ever.” (94) It is probable that some other decrees were enacted by this assembly; but, as far as I know, there remains no account of them. Its proceedings concluded with the following declaration: “*The blessing of God Almighty, and of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the representer of St. Peter’s successor, the legate Giolla-Aspuic bishop of Limerick, and of Ceallach St. Patrick’s successor, primate of Ireland, and of Maoil-Iosa mac-Ainmhire archbishop of Cashel, and of all the bishops, gentry, and clergy in this holy synod of Rathbreasail light and remain upon every one, that shall approve, ratify, and observe these ordinances: and, on the other side, their curses on the infringers of them.*” (95)

(89) Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1117 and 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 308. Ware (*Archbishops of Cashel*) has in his usual manner, and without necessity, changed 1117 into 1118. I am surprised at his saying, (*ib.*) that Moeliosa O’Foghlada is not called *archbishop*; whereas not only the 4 Masters (*ib.*) expressly style him *archbishop of Cashel*, but likewise Keating gives him the same title, and the Annals of Innisfallen (at A. 1131) call him *archbishop of Munster*. He was the son of one Ainmhire of a family surnamed O’Foghlada.

(90) Keating *ib.* Lynch in his endeavours to show, that the synod of Rathbreasil was the same as that of Fiadh-mac-Aengussa or Usneach, refers to this regulation, by which two sees were fixed for Meath, setting aside some others, which it had before. But he did not consider, that there was a material difference between what passed at Usneach, and the decree of Rathbreasil. The two sees mentioned in the proceedings of Usneach were, as

we have just seen, (§. 13.) Clonmacnois and Clonard, whereas those named and established by the regulation of Rathbreasil were Duleek and Clonard.

(91) In Keating's enumeration of the sees of Leth-mogha, the names of which he gives twice, there is a contradiction, owing to his wretched translator. At first this bungler reckons seven of them in Munster, besides Cashel, making Rathmaighe and Deisgirt two distinct ones. Afterwards, when marking the boundaries of the dioceses, he joins Rathmaighe and *Deisgirt* into one name and as if of one place; and so the matter stands in Keating's original in both passages; thus the number of the Munster dioceses, besides Cashel, was six. The diocese of Rathmaighe Deisgirt was undoubtedly the same as that of Ardferd, as appears from Cean-Meara (Kenmare), Feil (the river Feal), and Doirbre (the same as the now barony of Iveragh) being reckoned among its boundaries. Rathmaighe was surnamed *Deisgert* (Southern) to distinguish it from Rathmuighe in the North of Ireland. It is worth observing that, according to this decree, Waterford was united to Lismore, a union which was afterwards broken.

(92) In another part of this enumeration instead of *Kilkenny* we find *Kilcullen*; but Keating's original has not *Kilcullen* but *Kilkenny* alone. And, what makes it still more clear, a place called *Mileadhach* near the river Barrow is laid down as an eastern boundary of the diocese in question, being marked at the same time as a western one of the diocese of Ferns, and also as a boundary of that of Waterford or Lismore. This could not answer for a diocese of *Kilcullen*, and accordingly the true reading is *Kilkenny*. Whether the synod used this name, or Keating adopted it inasmuch as *Kilkenny* had become before his time the residence of the bishops of Ossory, I am not able to tell; but the name *Kilkenny* has never adhered to the see, nor was it until many years after the synod of Rathbreasil that its bishops began to reside in that city.

(93) At the time of the council of Kells there were, as will be seen, besides the archiepiscopal sees, 34 bishoprics. That council was attended by some bishops of old sees omitted by the synod of Rathbreasil, such as those of Clonmacnois, Achonry, Ardagh, &c. On the other hand in the account of the council of Kells are not mentioned the sees of Cong and Ardarn.

(94) Keating, *ib.*

(95) I have taken these words from Peter Walsh's *Prospect of the state of Ireland* (p. 248.), who professes to have copied them from Keating, whose translator has omitted them, merely stating, that the synod left the blessing of God and its own upon those, who should support and vindicate the regulations made with regard to the bishoprics and their limits, &c.

§. xv. Before the synod of Rathbreasil was held Celsus had made two visitations of Connaught, the second of which was in 1116. (96) The first might have been in 1106, the year, in which he made his circuit of Ulster and Munster, and perhaps, in making his way from the former to the latter province, took his route through Connaught. It is related, that in 1121 Celsus was appointed bishop also of Dublin with the common consent of the Irish and Northmen or Danes. (97) This must have been after the 4th of July of said year, on which the bishop Samuel O'Haingly died. (98) It is not easy to understand, what is meant by the appointment of Celsus to the see of Dublin; for surely it cannot be supposed, that he intended to become a pluralist. The probability is, that on the death of Samuel he wished to bring that see under his jurisdiction, and that his views were favoured by a part of the clergy and people, who applied to him to take upon himself the administration of the diocese until matters could be properly arranged. Anselm of Canterbury, for whom the Irish prelates entertained great respect, was dead since the year 1109; and it was now thought full time to put an end to the jurisdiction of Canterbury over any part of Ireland. Waterford and Limerick had been already, by the decree of Rathbreasil, placed under the archbishop of Cashel (99) and the Irish bishops, particularly Celsus, considered it very unbecoming, that the church of Dublin should remain separated from the body of the Irish hierarchy. Whether Celsus actually governed the see of Dublin

for some time, in consequence of said appointment, however it may be understood, I am not able to ascertain; but the fact is, that a majority of the burgesses and clergy of the city opposed his plan, and elected Gregory, (100) who was as yet not a deacon, for their bishop. They sent him to England with a letter directed to Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, (101) from which it appears, that there had been a contest relative to the dependence of Dublin on that see. This is clear from the very terms of the head or address, in which the electors, not content with calling themselves the burgesses and clergy of Dublin, represent themselves as *all* the burgesses and *all* the clergy. (102) Then they tell him, that they think it fit to send to him Gregory their elect; for, they add, “we were always willingly
 “ subject to the direction of your predecessors, from
 “ whom we remember that our people received the
 “ ecclesiastical dignity. Know then, that the bishops
 “ of Ireland entertain a very great jealousy against
 “ us, and most of all the one who resides at Armagh,
 “ because we are unwilling to submit to their ordi-
 “ nation, but wish to be always under your dominion.
 “ Therefore we supplicantly request, that you will
 “ promote Gregory to the holy order of episcopacy,
 “ if you wish to retain any longer this diocese, which
 “ we have preserved for you during a considerable
 “ time.”

(96) *Tr. Th.* p. 300.

(97) *Ib.* from the 4 Masters, and Harris, (*Bishops at Celsus*) who refers also to the Annals of Multifernan, which have at A. 1121, *Celestinus (Celsus) Primas archiepiscopatum Dublin accepit.* They are wrong in calling the see of Dublin *archiepiscopatum*.

(98) Above §. 5.

(99) Yet the Danes of Limerick succeeded, after Gillebert's death, in opposition to that decree, in getting their bishop consecrated at Canterbury.

(100) Colgan, quoting the 4 Masters (*Tr. Th. p. 309.*) calls him *Grenius*, an Irish name with a Latin termination.

(101) This letter is at No. 40 in Usher's *Sylloge*.

(102) Domino reverentissimo ac religiosissimo, Radulpho archiepiscopo Cantuariae, *omnes burgenses Dublinae civitatis, cunctusque clericorum conventus, &c.*

§. XVI. These Danish electors were assisted by an Irish sovereign, who must have been no other than the one to whom Dublin was then subject. This sovereign was Tirdelvac or Turlogh O'Conor, who, from having been originally king only of Connaught, extended in course of time his dominion over other parts of Ireland, and became master of Dublin in the year 1118. (103) He wrote a letter to Henry I. king of England for the purpose of recommending a request of the burgesses of Dublin relative to this matter, in consequence of which Henry, calling him *king of Ireland*, directed this note to the archbishop Ralph: "The king of Ireland has announced to me by a brief of his, and the burgesses of Dublin, that they have chosen this Gregory to be their bishop, and that they send him to you to be consecrated. Accordingly I give you this notice, that, complying with their petition, you may perform his consecration without delay." (104) Gregory was, by order of Ralph, ordained deacon and priest by Roger, bishop of Salisbury, at a place called *Divisio*, on a Saturday the 24th of September, *A. D.* 1121, and was consecrated bishop by Ralph at Lambeth on Sunday the 2d of October. Ralph was attended by Richard bishop of London, Roger of Salisbury, Robert of Lincoln, Everard of Norwich, and David of Bangor. On the 24th of said month Gregory assisted at the consecration of the church of Tewksbury. (105) His profession of obedience was in these terms; "I Gregory, elected to the government of the church of Dublin, which is situated in Ireland, and to be consecrated by thee,

“ Reverend father Ralph, archbishop of the holy
 “ church of Canterbury, and primate of all Britain,
 “ do promise that I will observe in every respect
 “ canonical obedience to thee and all thy successors.”

(106) And in fact it appears, that he did so until the holding of the council of Kells in 1152, when Dublin was raised to the rank of a metropolitical see, of which Gregory became the first archbishop. After his return to Ireland I meet with no further attempt to bring Dublin under Irish ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and Celsus being a man of peaceable disposition, seems to have acquiesced in the result of Gregory's appointment. In the year 1122 Celsus lost his suffragan or assistant bishop for the see of Armagh, Mael-Colm (*servant of Columba*) O'Brolchan, who died in reputation of sanctity after having spent some time in pilgrimage at or near Derry. (107) It is probable, that he was the immediate successor, in that capacity, of Coencomrach O'Boigill, who died in 1106. (108)

(103) The Annals of Innisfallen have at *A.* 1118. “ Turlogh O'Conor became king of the Danes of Dublin, having banished thence Donall Gearr-lamhach (*short-handed*) O'Brian, son of Murtoigh the son of Turlogh O'Brian.”

(104) The original of this message is at No. 41 in the *Sylloge*.

(105) Continuator of Florence of Worcester at *A.* 1121. and Harris, *Bishops of Dublin at Gregory*. According to Usher (see above *Not.* 35.) Gregory's consecration should be assigned to *A.* 1122. This is contrary not only to the positive statement of the Continuator, who has it at *A.* 1121, but, what is of more weight, likewise to his marking, that the 24th of September fell on a Saturday and the 2d of October on a Sunday. Now these coincidences do not answer for 1122, but they do for 1121, the Dominical letter of which was *B.* Add that Ralph of Canterbury died on the 19th of October in 1122. Supposing him to have been sick for some time before his death, it is hard to think that he was able to consecrate a bishop in that same month.

(106) Usher's *Sylloge* towards the end.

(107) 4 Masters *ap Tr. Th. p. 300.* They say, that he obtained the palm of martyrdom, but do not tell us how, or on what occasion. Their calling him *bishop of Armagh* must be understood, as with regard to some others to whom they give that title, relatively to his having assisted as suffragan in the government of the see.

(108) Above §. 12. Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 300.*) would wish to explain O'Brolchan's having been suffragan to Celsus by observing, that Celsus then, *i. e.* in 1122, held two sees, Armagh and Dublin. But we may be sure, that he did not hold Dublin in that year; for Gregory was in quiet possession of it. The suffraganship of Armagh was a circumstance of long standing, and Celsus thought it adviseable to continue it, were it merely that the diocese should not be neglected during the periods of his absence.

CHAP. XXVI.

Great contentions among the Irish princes—Deaths of several Irish Bishops in the early part of the 12th century.—Learned men that flourished in Ireland in the same period—Gormfhlaith Abbess of Kildare—Several churches plundered and devastated.—Pious men and ecclesiastics still continue to pass from Ireland into the continent—Monastery of St. James at Ratisbon erected by Irish Monks by the aid of Conor O'Brian, king of Munster—St. Malachy, or Maolmaadhog O'Morgair, his birth, education, &c.—Two churches erected at Lismore and one at Cashel by Cormac Mac-Carthy, king of Desmond—Church of St. Peter and Paul at Armagh consecrated by Celsus—Monastery of Bangor re-established by St. Malachy—St. Malachy consecrated

bishop of Connor—Death of Celsus Archbishop of Armagh—succeeded by Murchertach or Maurice, who holds the see for five years—On the death of Murchertach Nigellus attempts to take possession of the see of Armagh, but is prevented, and St. Malachy is declared Primate—Death of Imar O'Haedhagan, who had been St. Malachy's preceptor—Synod of Cashel under Donnald O'Conaing and the bishops of Munster—Several churches pillaged and destroyed—Deaths of several bishops.

SECTION I.

MURTOGH O'Brian was, as we have seen, (1) dethroned in 1116, and died in 1119. The substitution, in his stead, of his brother Dermod gave rise to great wars and desolation throughout all Leth-mogha. Turlogh O'Conor, king of Connaught, availing himself of this opportunity, laid waste Thomond in 1116, and obtained very considerable booty, which he afterwards presented to God and St. Flannan, that is, to the church of Killaloe. Dermod advanced in said year with an army into Connaught, but after great slaughter and loss of military stores, &c. was forced to retreat. (2) These contests continued with various success, chiefly in favour of Turlogh, who in 1118 destroyed the royal palace of the O'Brians at Ceanchorra near Killaloe, until the death of Dermod, which occurred in 1120, when he was succeeded by his eldest son Conor O'Brian as king of Munster, the principality of Thomond, which Conor had held hitherto, being given to his brother Turlogh O'Brian (2) In the following year died Donnald Mac-Lochlin sovereign of the Northern parts, who had been styled *king of Ireland*. (4) Turlogh O'Conor was now become the most powerful prince in Ireland, and hav-

ing burned Cashel and Lismore in 1121, (5) continued for several years to ravage and harrass Munster, Leinster, and Meath, until, having humbled also the princes of Ulster, he obtained hostages from them, as he had already from those of other parts, and rose to such pre-eminence that he has been called king of Ireland. (6) Yet we find, that during part of his reign Conor O'Brian possessed great power, and that, besides being sovereign of Leth-mogha, he claimed hostages and obedience from all the other princes of Ireland. (7) Conor lived until 1142, as did Turlogh O'Conor until 1156. (8)

(1) *Chap. xxiv. §. 14.*

(2) *Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1116.*

(3) *Ib. from A. 1116 to 1120.* (4) *See Chap. xxiv. §. 14.*

(5) *Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1121.*

(6) Colgan observes, (*Tr. Th. p. 449.*) that Turlogh, or, as in his affected nomenclature he calls him, Theodoric O'Conor was one of those Irish kings, who, like Domnald Mac-Lochlin and others, were styled *refragable*, inasmuch as their title and claims to the sovereignty of all Ireland were disputed and opposed by other kings and princes. See also O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. Part III. cap. 94.*

(7) *See Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1138 and 1142.*

(8) Said *Annals* at those years. Ware assigns (*Antiq. cap. 4.*) Turlogh's death to 1157 by adding a year without necessity Colgan, following the 4 Masters (*Tr. Th. p. 449.*) has it at 1156.

§. II. Of Irish bishops, who died in the early part of this the 12th century, I find besides some already mentioned, the names of the following. Rigan, of Dromore, and Cormac O'Mail of Glendaloch died in 1101, (9) Christian O'Hectigern of Clonmacnois in 1103; Maclothod O'Hailgenan of Cork in 1107, and his successor Patrick O'Senbac in 1111; Mac-Dongail of Kildare in 1108; Condla O'Flain of

Leighlin and Mac-mic-Aeduan of Lismore in 1113; Catasach O'Conail or O'Conuil of Tuam, and Kellach O'Colman of Ferns in 1117. (10) In the same year died Anmchad O'Hannmchadha, bishop of Clonfert, who was celebrated for his piety and learning. (11) O'Ligbai of Emly died in 1122, and was succeeded by Maelmorda Mac-Inclodnai, during whose incumbency the see was plundered in 1123, and the mitre of St. Ailbe, which had been preserved there for many ages, was burned by the robbers. (12) Murges O'Nioc, bishop of Tuam, died in 1128. (13) To these times must be assigned Eugene bishop of Ardmore, and author of a Life of St. Cuthbert, if it be true that he wrote it about A. D. 1100; but no account remains of the time of his death. (14)

Among the distinguished ecclesiastics and learned men of those days we meet with Gilla-na-Naomh O'Dunabhradh, who is called chief professor of Ireland, and died in 1101. (15) Mugron O'Morgair, chief scholastic or principal professor of Armagh, died in the monastery of Mungret (county of Limerick) on the 5th of October in 1102. (16) I find nothing to prove, that he was an ecclesiastic; (17) and he is stated to have been the father of the great St. Malachy, and of Christian, who became bishop of Clogher. (18) In 1103 Murchad O'Flaitheain, archdeacon of Ardboe and renowned for his wisdom and erudition, died at Armagh. (19) Cosgrach O'Cruadin died in 1104; Ferdornach Dall (blind) in 1110; and Conor O'Cleri in 1112; they were, all three, scholastics of Kildare. (20) Gilla-Patrick O'Dubratha, scholastic of Killaloe, who is called the wisest of the Momonians, died in 1110. (21) Moelsuthun, scholastic of Tallagh died in 1125, (22) and in 1127 Gilla-criost O'Maoillean (Malone) abbot of Clonmacnois, a man greatly distinguished for his wisdom, charity, and sanctity. (23) He had assisted at the synod of Usneach held in 1111. (24) Moelpatrick O'Drughan was appointed professor at

Armagh in 1107, (25) and became very eminent, as will be seen hereafter. This list will, omitting other learned men of these times, be sufficient to show, that learning was still cultivated as usual.

(9) Ware, *Bishops at Dromore*, and Harris at *Glendaloch*.

10) See Ware (Latin text) and Harris at the respective sees. They have (at *Meath*) among the bishops of Clonard the death also of Concovar, in 1117, who is called *comorban of Finnian*; but that title is not sufficient to show, that he was a bishop.

(11) Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 206. Neither Ware nor Harris makes mention of this prelate.

(12) Ware and Harris at *Emly*.

(13) *Tr. Th.* p. 308. Ware has not this bishop, but Harris has, at *Tuam*.

(14) That Eugene was bishop of Ardmore is clear from a MS. collection on the Acts of St. Cuthbert in the Cottonian library taken out of Irish histories Ware (*Writers, 12th century*) states, that the author calls Eugene bishop of *Hardimore*, but that, as he added that it was the see of St. Declan, it is plain that he meant Ardmore. Ware says, that Eugene lived in 1174. If he meant to insinuate that Eugene wrote about this year, it cannot be reconciled with what Usher says, (*Pr. p. 945.*) viz. that said collection appeared about 1160. Colgan supposed, (*AA. SS. p. 674.*) that the author was Laurence of Durham, who died in said year 1160. Eugene must have written his work before this time, and Colgan (*ib.*) assigns the composition of it to about 1100. It might have been some years later; but it was, in all appearance, prior to the council of Kells in 1152, after which there is no mention of the see of Ardmore in the lists of the Irish bishoprics.

(15) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1101.

(16) *Ib.* at *A.* 1102, Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 299*) from the 4 Masters, and Usher (*p. 861*) from the Annals of Ulster, which have at *A.* 1102; *Mugronus O'Mungair, Armachiae et totius Occidentalis Europae lector primarius, multis testibus praesentibus, III nonas Octobris vitam feliciter finivit.* Instead of *O'Morgair*, as in the 4 Masters, they have *O'Mungair*, which I find also in the Annals of Innisfallen. His being styled chief lecturer both of Armagh and of *all Western Europe* occurs likewise in the 4 Masters, a de-

nomination, which is often found in the Irish annals, and under which not only Ireland was comprized but likewise, at least some times, the whole of the British islands and perhaps some parts of the Continent. It does not mean in this case, that Mugron gave lectures throughout what was called *Western Europe*, but that he was the most distinguished of its lecturers.

(17) Colgan makes him a professor of theology, as if there were no other professors than theological ones; but the Annals of Innisfallen call him professor of literature, while those of Ulster do not mark over what department he presided.

(18) In the Annals of Innisfallen (*ib.*) we read that Mugron was the father of Maelmaodhog and of Giolla-Criost. The former name, which signifies *servant of Maodog* (St. Moedoc of Ferns) was the real one of St. Malachy, but was latinized, like some other Irish names beginning with *Maol* into *Malachias*. *Giolla* or *Giolla-Criost* (*servant of Christ*) has been frequently changed into *Christianus*, as has happened with regard to St. Malachy's brother, the bishop of Clogher, who is usually called Christian O'Morgair. O'Flaherty in a *MS.* note to *Tr. Th.* p. 299. refers to Tigernach and the *Chronicon Scotorum* (*ad A.* 1102.) as stating, that Mugron was the father of St. Malachy. Colgan observes (*Tr. Th. ib.*) that Mugron was a relative of St. Malachy, who is usually said to have been of the very ancient noble family of the O'Morgairs, now called O'Dogherty. But from what we have seen it will follow, that Mugron was more than a mere relative of his.

(19) *Tr. Th. ib.* Ardboe is in the county of Tyrone, barony of Dungannon. A monastery was founded there by a St. Colman, but at what period I cannot tell. It was burned in 1166. See *AA. SS.* p. 28 and 222.

(20) *Tr. Th.* p. 630.

(21) *AA. SS.* p. 200.

(22) *Tr. Th.* p. 632.

(23) *AA. SS.* p. 200.

(24) See *Not.* 82. to *Chap.* xxv.

(25) Usher, p. 861. and *Tr. Th.* p. 299.

§. III. Among the holy females of these times the most celebrated seems to have been Gormlat or Gormfhlaith, daughter of Morogh Mac-Maol-nambo a Leinster prince, and abbess of Kildare, celebrated

for her austerities, who died in 1112. (26) Two pious princes died during this period; Roderic (Rughraidhe) O'Conor in 1118, at Clonmacnois, where, from having been king of Connaught, he entered into holy orders; and Teige Mac-Carthy, king of Desmond, at Cashel in 1124 after an exemplary course of penitential conduct. (27) Some other princes also exhibited great proofs of religious feelings and repentance, especially Murtoth O'Brian; (28) but we find terrible oppressions and cruelties perpetrated in said times by Irish kings or dynasts, who did not scruple to plunder, devastate, and burn churches and religious places. For instance, the church of Ardbraccan was, together with a number of people therein, burned and pillaged in 1109 by the Hy-Briuns, who destroyed also the adjacent village. (29) The Dalcassians of Thomond plundered and laid waste the monastery of Clonmacnois in 1111, at, it is said, the instigation of Murtoth O'Brian; and they, or some other party of Momomians, pillaged it again in 1115. (30) Aedh O'Rourke and the Hy-Briuns killed Maelbrigid, abbot of Kells, and many others on the last Sunday of summer in 1117. (31) We have seen above that Turloagh O'Conor burned Cashel and Lismore in 1121, and that Emly was plundered in 1123. Conor O'Lochlin, an Ulster prince, having marched with a great army into Meath, amidst other depredations burned in 1127 the steeple of the church of Trim, in which a very considerable number of people was shut up at the time. (32) Thus it appears, that several of the Irish princes and chieftains had imbibed the spirit of the Danes, sparing neither churches, nor monasteries, nor ecclesiastics, according as suited their views; a system, which was held in abhorrence by their ancestors, and which often excited them to unite in defence of their altars against the Scandinavian robbers. This was one of the sad effects of the contests between various powerful families aspiring to the

sovereignty of all Ireland, and again between divers members of said families quarrelling among themselves for precedency. In these contests the respective parties and their adherents stopped at nothing, while endeavouring to establish their claims, and harassed and persecuted without distinction all those, whom they looked upon as their opponents.

(26) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1112. and *Tr. Th.* p. 630. Morogh, her father was son of Dermod Mac-Maol-na-mbo, the powerful king of Leinster, who was killed in the battle of Odhba, *A. D.* 1072. Morogh died, according to the Annals of Innisfallen, in Dublin in the year 1070.

(27) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1118 and 1124.

(28) See *Chap.* xxiv. §. 14.

(29) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1109. These Hy-Briuns were probably those of Leitrim or of Roscommon.

(30) *Ib.* at *A.* 1111. and 1115.

(31) *Tr. Th.* p. 508. Colgan, in translating the text of the 4 Masters, fell into a ludicrous error by making that day the festival of St. Cromdubh. But there was no such saint. *Cromdubh* was, in all appearance, the same idol as *Cromcruach*, of which we have seen, (*Not.* 45 to *Chap.* v.) and which was destroyed by St. Patrick (§. 8. *ib.*) O'Flaherty observes (*MS.* note at *Tr. Th.* *ib.*) that the words used by the 4 Masters, among which is *Cromdubh*, mean the last Sunday of summer, which was sacred to St. Patrick as an anniversary commemorating the destruction of the idol.

(32) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1127.

§. iv. Pious men and ecclesiastics still continued to repair from Ireland to the continent. There is extant a discourse, entitled *Itineraria* or *Exhortatoria*, by one Dermat, or, I dare say, rather *Dermot* or *Dermot*, who calls himself an Irishman. (33) Whether he were a clergyman or not, he does not inform us. He composed it probably somewhere in Germany; for he says that in the year of his delivering it, *viz.* *A. D.* 1117, he had been at Liege. He

addresses his auditors as foreigners to him, and tells them that, although an Irishman, and a Scot, he was of the same religion with themselves and a co-partner in the sacraments of their church and in their faith. Dermot was then on his way to Jerusalem, and from this circumstance took an opportunity of exhorting all those, who looked to the salvation of their souls, to quit the mystical Babylon and proceed towards the mystical Jerusalem. He observes, that in said year there appeared strong signs of the divine wrath, dreadful rains, thunder storms, and earthquakes; and that he himself had seen some persons killed by lightning even in churches at Liege. He requests the prayers of the people for himself and Raimbald, an abbot of Liege, who had treated him kindly and provided him with a letter of recommendation. This discourse is written in rather good Latin, and shows that Dermot had studied the Scriptures, and that, among the Fathers, he had read, at least, some of St. Augustin's works.

The Irish monks of Ratisbon, after having occupied for many years the monastery of St. Peter, (34) erected a new one within the city, which was called that of St. James. This was during the pontificate of Calixtus II. (35) and accordingly some time between the early part of 1119 and the late one of 1124. Yet it must have been after 1120, whereas the person, who enabled them to build the monastery of St. James, was Conor O'Brian, king of Munster, who was exceedingly kind to Isaac, (who had been under Marianus the founder of St. Peter's) Gervase, and other monks, whom the abbot Dionysius sent over to Ireland for the purpose of collecting means towards the forming and establishing of the new monastery. Conor O'Brian gave them plenty of money, which, on their return, was laid out in erecting the noble monastery of St. James. (36) Yet the house of St. Peter's still continued to exist, but dependent on the abbot of St. James, who

elected its prior. Dionysius (Donogh) was undoubtedly the same as *Domnus*, who is mentioned as the first abbot of St. James', and as a native of the South of Ireland. How long he governed that establishment, or at what time he died, I do not find recorded. His immediate successor was Christianus, (Gilla-criost) likewise an Irishman from the South, and of the illustrious house of Mac-Carthy. (37) Christianus placed Macarius over a monastery founded, or perhaps only enlarged and endowed, at Wurtzburg on a site granted by the bishop Henry, for Irish monks, as a branch of the house of Ratisbon, and to which the bishop annexed lands, all under the name of God and St. Kilian. (38)

(33) It has been published by Martene and Durand, *Thesaur, Nov. Anecd. Tom. 1. col. 340. seqq.* and begins with these words, *Dermatius natione Hyberniensis*. In the body of it he says; "*Etsi sum Hyberniensis, etsi sum Scoticus,*" &c.

(34) See *Chap. xxv. §. 2.*

(35) *Life of Marianus, &c. cap. 4. ap. Bolland. 9 Febr.*

(36) See Gratianus Lucius (Lynch) *Camb. Evers. cap. 21.* where he quotes from Extracts made by Stephen White from a chronicle of the Irish monks of Ratisbon. The abbot Dionysius is called *Domnus* in the *Life of Marianus*, both names latinized from *Donogh*. Conor O'Brian is there stated to have sent Counts of great nobility and power, *cruce signatos i. e.* going on the crusade to Palestine, with large presents to Lotharius, that is, Lotharius II. king of Germany and afterwards emperor. It is probable, that his object in doing so, was to induce Lotharius to be friendly to his Irish countrymen then in Ratisbon. This correspondence with Lotharius must have been after the erection of the monastery of St. James, whereas Lotharius did not become king of Germany until 1125, and also prior to the latter end of 1137, the time of Lotharius' death.

(37) The Chronicle of the Irish monastery &c. *ap. Lynch, ib.*

(38) *Life of Marianus, cap. 5.* The Bollandists observe; that this monastery was established perhaps about 1130, as must have been the case, if Henry was the same as the bishop Heze-

lin. But, if he was the same as the bishop Embricho, it would have been later; for Embricho held the see of Wurtzburg from 1131 until 1147. I have already observed (*Chap. xxv. §. 2.*) that there was probably an Irish monastery, at least a small one, before these times at Wurtzburg.

§. v. This was the period, in which that great ornament not only of the Irish but likewise of the whole Catholic church, St. Malachy, began to be distinguished. He was of the ancient and noble family of the O'Morgairs, supposed to be the same as the O'Doghertys, and his original name was *Maolmaodhog*. (39) It is highly probable, that he was born at Armagh, and particularly so, if it be true, as stated in various Irish annals, that his father was Mugron O'Morgair the celebrated professor of that city. (40) This much is certain, that it was there he was reared from his earliest age. (41) His birth must, in all probability, be assigned to the year 1095. (42) The mother of St. Malachy was a pious and sensible woman, and instilled into his mind from his first years the principles of morality and good conduct. (43) He was of a sedate quiet disposition, and of a very pious turn of mind, fond of prayer and retirement, and exceedingly attentive in learning such rudiments as boys are taught in schools, so as, being endowed with very good abilities, to surpass all his class-fellows. He would have wished to frequent churches, but was prevented partly by his attendance at school, and partly by his not wishing to appear singular while so very young. Yet he used to pray as often as he could. His master was in the habit of taking a walk to a village near Armagh, and was wont to take him as a companion. Malachy used to seize opportunities of remaining for a while a little behind him, and, spreading out his hands towards heaven, throw out some ejaculatory prayers. Having passed the time of boyhood, and being arrived at the age of adolescence, his piety still in-

creasing, he began to consider of a state of life, and how he should serve God and guard against the blandishments of this world, There was a holy man at Armagh, who led a very austere life and was inexorable in chastising his body. His name was *Imar*, and he lived in a cell near a church, where he continued to serve God day and night in fasting and prayer. To him Malachy repaired and became a disciple of his, (44) sitting with him, listening in silence to his instructions, and exerting himself to imitate his conduct. As soon as it was known that he became a companion of *Imar*, various remarks were made by the inhabitants of Armagh. Some were sorry, that so delicate a youth, and who was loved by every one, had given himself up to so severe a life. Others said that being so young he would not persevere. Yet he did, and within a few days time was followed by several other persons, who also placed themselves under the direction of *Imar*. Among them Malachy was pre-eminent by his progress in piety and virtue.

(39) See above *Not.* 18.

(40) *Ib.* To this may be objected what St. Bernard says (*Vit. S. Malach. cap.* 1.) that his *parents* were great as to family and power, whence it would follow that his father was rather a chieftain than a professor. St. Bernard's words are; "Parentes illi fuere genere et potentia magni juxta nomen magnorum, qui sunt in terra." This can be easily reconciled with the statement of the Irish annalists, if we suppose, as I think we ought to do, that the *parentes* of St. Bernard does not mean *father and mother*, but, according to the acceptation quite usual in the middle ages, *relatives or kinsfolk*, such as *parens* in French and *parenti* in Italian. If St. Malachy's father was a chieftain or dynast, how has it come to pass, that he passed his childhood in Armagh under the care of his mother? A chieftain or a chieftain's family would have resided in their district amidst their vassals. Some one may say; Is it to be admitted, that St. Malachy, who belonged to so illustrious a family, could have been son

of only a professor, or that professors were to be found among the members of such families? I answer; Why not? Many a professor I have known, that belonged to highly noble families, and some of them even heads of such families. This would indeed have been a very rare case in most parts of Europe during the times we are now treating of, and when kings, princes and nobles could neither read nor write. But the Irish princes and nobles did not sink into this neglect of learning, and some of their most learned men were persons of illustrious birth, such as *ex. c.* Fedlemidh Mac-Crimthan, king of Munster, in the 9th century, Cormac Mac-Culinan of the same royal blood in the beginning of the 10th, Dubdalethe, of the powerful house, that kept possession of the see of Armagh, in the 11th, and who was professor at Armagh before he was appointed its archbishop under the name of Dubdalethe III. It is therefore not singular, that Mugron O'Morgair, although of high and powerful connections, was a professor. For, as the Irish nobility respected and cultivated literature, more or less, so such of them as were duly qualified were not ashamed to teach it.

(41) St. Bernard, speaking of Armagh, says (*ib. cap. 2.*); “*Ipsa est, in qua alitus est Malachias.*” The term, *alitus*, indicates his having lived there when even a small child.

(42) This is easily deducible from the testimony of St. Bernard, who states that he died in the 54th year of his age, *A. D.* 1148. Now, as the day of his death was the 2d of November, it follows that, unless we are to suppose that he was born at a time of year later than this, his birth must have occurred in 1095.

(43) St Bernard makes no mention of his father, whence it may be justly inferred that he died when Malachy was very young. This helps to corroborate what we have seen concerning his having been the son of Mugron, whereas Mugron died in 1102, (above, §. 2.) at which time St. Malachy was only about seven years old.

(44) It is strange, that Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 299.) confounds Imar with the master, under whom St. Malachy was placed when a small boy, and marks the beginning of his tuition by Imar at *A.* 1100. He says that this appears from the Life by St. Bernard. Now it is evident from said Life, that Colgan was highly mistaken. As to St. Malachy's having been under any master in

1100, when he was only about five years old, St. Bernard has not a word; and, instead of assigning to him, while a boy, Imar as master, he expressly tells us, (*cap.* 1. and 2.) that he did not apply to Imar until he was a grown up lad, and after he had spent his boyhood under his first master. Besides, Imar did not keep a school for teaching boys. Ware (*Bishops at St. Malachy*) has followed in some measure Colgan's mistake by saying, that the saint was educated *first* under Imar, and has added another of his own in calling Imar an abbot, instead of which title he should rather have given him that of hermit or recluse. Harris, in his additions to Ware has copied these mistakes, and adds that he spent seven years with Imar. This is an idle and unfounded conjecture. According to it St. Malachy would have left Imar, when he was no more than twelve years old. But the fact is that he had passed that age, before he placed himself under the direction of Imar. Nor is there any account of the number of years, which St. Malachy spent with him. This much is known, that he continued to be, more or less a disciple of his, although it seems not living with him, until he was ordained priest and about 25 years of age. And here comes a monstrous blunder of Harris, who sends him from Imar, that is, when, in his system, only 12 years old, to Lismore; whereas on the contrary, as will be seen, St. Malachy did not go thither nor leave Armagh until after he was a priest. Imar's surname was, according to the 4 Masters, (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 300.) *O'Hoedhagain*.

§. VI. After some time Celsus and Imar considered him worthy of the order of deaconship, and forced him to accept of it. Accordingly, although he had not as yet reached the canonical age of twenty-five years, he was ordained deacon by Celsus, and immediately set about fulfilling the duties of his office. He was particularly assiduous in burying the deceased poor, insomuch that his sister used to reproach him continually, as if he were insane, for applying to what she thought so mean an occupation. He slighted her rebukes, and continued to act as usual. When he was about twenty-five years of age, Celsus, with whom Imar agreed in

opinion, thought right to ordain him priest without waiting for the age of thirty usually required by the canons. (45) He then appointed him his vicar, and gave him full powers for the purpose of establishing necessary reforms. St. Malachy exerted himself greatly in this respect, and established the customs of the Roman church in all the churches of the diocese, and particularly the singing of the canonical Hours, according to the general system of the Christian world, being well skilled in Church music, which he had learned in his younger days. This practice of singing the Hours in the churches had not been observed, or rather had ceased to be observed, in the diocese, and even at Armagh. (46) Thus St. Malachy realized, as far as concerned that diocese, the plan of Gillebert of Limerick relative to the substitution of the Roman office for the Irish ones. He abolished superstitious practices, and strove to root out every abuse, that fell in his way. The practice of confession had been much neglected, there not being as yet any general law of the Church prescribing the use of it at certain times. Yet it was observed in Ireland as well as in every Catholic country by persons, who wished to be delivered from their sins, and was much attended to by those, who had addicted themselves to a life of peculiar strictness and sanctity. (47) The more frequent use of it was revived by St. Malachy, who also took care that the sacrament of confirmation should be administered oftener than it used to be. It is not surprising that this sacrament had been neglected in a diocese, which had been governed by laymen calling themselves archbishops, if we consider that real bishops have been found in every part of Europe so slothful and remiss as to omit for many years the administration of it. Next it is stated, that St. Malachy re-established, or rather new-modelled the contract of matrimony. (48) This

cannot mean, that lawful marriages were not observed in the diocese of Armagh, whereas it is certain that they were, (49) but is to be understood of some regulations introduced by St. Malachy relative to said contract. (50) It is probable that, while labouring to establish the Roman customs, he endeavoured to introduce certain matrimonial impediments, hitherto not generally observed in Ireland, particularly that, by which, according to the more general rule of those times, marriage was prohibited within the seventh degree of relationship. (51) Or, what is equally probable, and I think more so, St. Malachy undertook to substitute the system of *Sponsalia de praesenti*, the same as the marriage contract now practised, for the *Sponsalia de futuro*, which was the more usual mode of contracting marriages in Ireland, and which, accompanied with certain conditions, rendered in those days, marriage as valid and binding as the other form did.

(45) St. Bernard remarks, (*cap. 2.*) that the circumstance of the canonical rules not being strictly observed in either of St. Malachy's ordinations, whereas he became a deacon before he was 25 and a priest before he was 30 years of age, is to be excused on the plea of the zeal of the ordainer and the worth of the ordained. Concerning the age required for priests and deacons see *Not. 74 to Chap. iv. and Not. 87 to Chap. xi.*

(46) In Butler's Lives of Saints (at *St. Malachy, Nov. 3.*) it is said, that the rehearsal of the canonical hours in all the churches of the diocese had been, since the Danish invasions, omitted in the *cities*. This is a mistake. St. Bernard speaks of only one city. that is, Armagh. Elsewhere indeed he says, that a similar neglect of repeating the ecclesiastical offices in the churches prevailed in the diocese of Connor. But in the far greatest part of Ireland these offices and hours were observed and celebrated, as is evident from Gillebert's treatise, *De usu Ecclesiastico*, (See *Chap. xxv. §. 10.*) although they were in general different from the particular ones recited at Rome. How

could Gillebert have said, that *almost all* Ireland was bewildered by the variety of offices, and that a learned man accustomed to one set of offices used to appear like an idiot in a church, where a different one was followed, unless the offices and canonical hours were regularly observed? Nor is it correct to state, that the rehearsal of the offices was omitted *since the Danish invasions*; for, besides it not having been omitted at all in the greatest part of Ireland, it continued at Armagh for a long period after those invasions had begun. The reading of Psalms and singing of hymns lasted for twelve days and nights over the body of Brian Boromhe, in the cathedral of Armagh, A. D. 1014; (*Annals of Innisfallen ad an.*) and in 1022 we find Amalgaid, archbishop of Armagh, attending at the obsequies of Maelseachlin, king of Ireland, which were celebrated in the monastery of Inisaingin not only with masses, but likewise with hymns, canticles, and psalmody. (See *Tr. Th.* p. 298. and compare with *Chap.* XXIII. §. 12.) It is probable that psalmody was still practised at that time in the churches of Armagh. What put a stop to it must have been the abuses caused by the lay so called archbishops, which went on increasing until the early part of the 12th century. It does not, however, follow that the canonical hours or offices were entirely neglected; for although they were not celebrated solemnly in the churches, they were read in private. All that St. Bernard complains of is, that they were not observed nor sung *in the churches*; had they been quite omitted, even in private, he would have spoken in a style not of complaint but of invective. And they certainly must have been repeated, nay sung, before St. Malachy undertook to have them celebrated again in the churches; for otherwise, how could he have learned Church music even before he was in holy orders? Surely, to enable him to learn it, there must have been clergymen, who were in the habit of singing their offices at least in private. Beauford in a dissertation inserted by Ledwich says, (*Antiq. &c.* p. 235.) that the Latin church music was introduced by Malachy; and elsewhere (*p.* 240. 2d *ed.*) the Doctor himself, talking of Gregorian and Ambrosian chant, tells us, that ours must have been on a Greek model. That the Church music practised by St. Malachy was the improved Latin one, commonly called Gregorian, is plain from St. Bernard, who makes mention of it as conformable to the Roman custom, and according to the mode then generally

followed. But St. Malachy was not the first to introduce it into Ireland, whereas he had learned it himself before he had the power of doing so. It had been long before introduced into France. King Pepin had exerted himself to substitute it for the old Gallican chant, and Pope Stephen II. when on a visit with him in France, gave instructions on it. Charlemagne sent persons to Rome to learn it, and Pope Adrian sent him two Roman singers, and thence it came gradually to be adopted in that country; (see Ducange, *Glossar.* &c. at *Cantus Romanus* and Cardinal Bona, *De Divinia psalmodia*, cap. 17. §. 4.) whence, owing to the great intercourse between France and Ireland, it might have been brought over to us, or perhaps from England, or straight from Rome by some of those many Irishmen, who resorted thither down from the seventh century. Whether it were generally received in Ireland, I am not able to state, although it is probable that it was not, considering how much a very great portion of the Irish clergy was attached to every practice followed by St. Patrick, Columbkil, and the old doctors of their church, who in all probability used the ancient Gallican chant; for, as to the Gregorian one, they could not have adopted it, as it was either not practised in their time, or not known to them. Even in England, notwithstanding its being used by the Roman missionaries, it was confined to a small part of that country until a late part of the seventh century, (see Bede, *L. 4. c. 2.*) although James the deacon about the middle of said century had taught it at York. (*Idem L. 2. c. 20.*) Ledwich's saying that the old Irish chant was neither Gregorian nor Ambrosian is correct as to the Gregorian; but how did he know that it was different from the Ambrosian? This chant, which is still kept up, was in use before the times of St. Ambrose, (Bona, *ib. cap. 18. §. 10.*) and consequently of St. Patrick. It was probably much the same as the Gallican. His adding that ours was on a Greek model may in one sense be admitted as true; and he might have said the same of the Ambrosian and Gallican, the former of which is attributed to an archbishop Mirocletes and the latter may justly be ascribed to the Greek missionaries, Pothinus, &c. who preached in Gaul. But there is no reason to think, that the Irish received their Church music directly from Greeks, conformably to Ledwich's favourite hypothesis of Greek and Asiatic missionaries in Ireland. The style of mu-

sic, which they followed in singing the Church service, could not have been any other in ancient times than what had been brought to them, apparently from Gaul, by St. Patrick and his followers, who were not Greeks.

(47) Toland, who has been followed by some others more ignorant than himself, had the impudence (*Nazarenus, Letter II. Sect. 2. §. 6.*) to assert, without alleging a single proof, that the Irish rejected auricular or particular, that is, private confession and sacerdotal absolution. Now he knew that Usher has shown, that “they did (no doubt) both publicly and privately make confession of their faults” and that they submitted to absolution by the bishop or priest in consequence of the power of the keys enjoyed by the sacerdotal order, and which Usher admits it does possess. (*Discourse of the Religion, &c. chap. 5.*) It is true, that he misrepresents some Catholic tenets relative to absolution, *ex. c.* his insinuating that, according to the Catholics, the enjoined penances have no “reference to the taking away of the guilt,” and that the bishops and priests attribute to themselves more than a ministerial power in the remission of sins. But this is not the place to discuss such questions, and it is sufficient to observe, that he not only admits, but proves the very reverse of Toland’s lying position. He remarks that, whatever may be said of certain Goths of Languedoc, of whom Alcuin says, or is supposed to have said, that it was reported they used not to confess to the priests, this has nothing to do with the ancient Scottish and Irish, whose practice was quite different. Usher’s reason for touching on this point was that Alcuin’s letter to the Gothish (71st in Duchesne’s edition) was in some MSS. marked as written to the Scottish. The passage runs thus; “*Dicitur vero neminem ex laicis suam velle confessionem sacerdotibus dare, quos a Deo Christo cum sanctis Apostolis ligandi solvendique potestatem accepisse credimus.*” But, however this is to be understood, (for perhaps it is relative not to sacramental confession but to certain dues called *Confessio*; (see Ducange at *Confessio, No. 4.*) it is well known, that said letter was directed not to Irishmen but to Goths. (See Fleury, *L. 45. §. 20.*) Usher quotes an Irish canon, to which several others might be added if necessary, whence it is evident that confession, penances, and sacerdotal absolution were observed in Ireland. He mentions the practice of St. Cuthbert,

and the case of Adamnan of Coldingham, who confessed his sins to an Irish priest, as related by Bede, *L. 4. c. 25.* Besides what Usher had collected, there are innumerable proofs of the Irish system on these points. Several clergymen are noticed in our annals as distinguished penitentiaries, and who were resorted to from various parts on account of their merit and ability in this particular. Thus St. Gormal, abbot of Ardoilean, is praised on this account; (see *Chap. xxiii. §. 16*) the blessed Dubtach of Albany, who died in 1064, is styled the chief *Confessarius* or spiritual director both of Ireland and Albany, (*Tr. Th. p. 298.*) &c. &c. We find the same practice in much more ancient times, *ex. c.* in the case of a chieftain Suibhne, who, although truly penitent, was ordered by St. Pulcherius, who lived in the seventh century, to confess his sins. (*Life of St. Pulcherius, cap. 19.*) Confession to the priest is ordered on certain occasions by St. Columbanus in his Penitential. In that of Cumian the confession of secret sins and even of bad thoughts is much insisted upon. (See *Not. 55. to Chap. xv.*) It was usual with religious persons to place themselves under the particular direction of some holy man, as, for instance, St. Maidoc of Ferns did under St. Molua of Clonfert-molua, (*Chap. xiv. §. 10.*) who was called his *father confessarius*, or *father of his confession*. (See *Life of St. Maidoc, cap. 20 and 54.*) It would be superfluous to add more on a subject, which is so clear from the whole of the Irish ecclesiastical history. Toland himself quotes (*ib. Sect. 1.*) a passage from an Irish writer, in which the practice of confession and absolution is spoken of as quite usual, although the author seems to have had a particular opinion of his own concerning the nature of the absolving power.

(48) St. Bernard's words are; (*cap. 2.*) "Contractum conjugiorum—Malachias de novo instituit."

(49) Lanfranc, concerning whose letters to king Turlogh and Gothric of Dublin we have seen above, (*Chap. xxiv. §. 12.*) makes mention, in both of them, of the lawfully wedded wives of the Irish, *legitime sibi copulatam uxorem, legitime sibi copulatas*. In like manner Anselm in his letters to king Murtoth (see *Chap. xxv. §. 8.*) speaks of Irish wives and marriages just as he would of those of any other country; and his or Lanfranc's complaint, that some men used to quit their wives and take others, so

far from showing that lawful marriages were omitted in any part of Ireland, proves quite the contrary. How could St. Bernard have supposed, that they were unknown at Armagh, while he speaks so highly of St. Malachy's mother? Making mention of the eight laymen, who held the see of Armagh, he says that they were married men, *virī uxorati*. How could that have been, if marriages were not observed at Armagh?

(50) Fleury (*L.* 68. §. 58.) has very prettily expressed St. Bernard's meaning by the words, *regularity in marriages, la règle dans les mariages*.

(51) It has been already remarked, (*Chap* xxiv. §. 12.) that some of the Irish clergy seem not to have extended the impediments relative to consanguinity or affinity beyond those marked in Leviticus. Gillebert of Limerick, the contemporary of St. Malachy, makes mention of the seventh degree, as that within which marriage was not allowed. In his tract, *De Statu Ecclesiae*, he writes; “*Conjugatorum est nullam usque in sextam vel etiam septimam progeniem sanguine sibi conjunctam, aut illi quam habuerit aut quam habuit sibi proximus, vel commatrem ducere uxorem.*” Yet it appears, that, however St. Malachy may have succeeded in the diocese of Armagh, Gillebert's exertions were not sufficient to establish that rule all over Ireland. Indeed it was afterwards found necessary to restrain it, and to limit the prohibition to within the fourth degree of consanguinity as well as of affinity. There was a particular abuse, which some persons in Ireland seem to have favoured, relative to allowing a man to marry the widow of his deceased brother. It is condemned in the 25th canon of the synod, called *Synodus S. Patricii*, in these words; “*Audi decreta synodi super istis. Frater thorum defuncti fratris non ascendat, Domino dicente: Erunt duo in carne una. Ergo uxor fratris soror tua est.*” The enacting of this canon indicates, that there was some question on that subject in Ireland; and one Clemens, a *Scotus* and apparently an Irishman, held that doctrine in Germany about the middle of the 8th century, (see the Letter of St. Boniface of Mentz *No.* 15 in Usher's *Sylloge*) and was on that account condemned, as an introducer of Judaism, in a synod of Rome under Pope Zachary. But, prior to that time, this opinion was reprobated by the Irish, and we have seen, (*Chap.* xviii. §. 10.) that St. Kilian, the apostle of Franconia, considered such a

marriage as unlawful, and consequently lost his life. Yet in later times, and even after St. Malachy's death, an abuse of that kind seems to have existed in some parts of Ireland, as will be seen elsewhere.

(52) This is a point, which, as far as I know, has been quite overlooked by such of our writers as have endeavoured to explain the words of St. Bernard, or to answer the calumnies of Giraldus Cambrensis and others, relative to Irish marriages. To understand this subject, it is to be observed that in the old canon law two sorts of *Sponsalia*, or espousals, are distinguished, *viz.* one called *de futuro*, and the other *de praesenti*. The latter is exactly the same as the matrimonial contract now used, and which renders a marriage valid *ipso facto* even before its consummation. Accordingly it is otherwise called the *contract of matrimony*, and used to be celebrated in *facie Ecclesiae*. The former was also a contract consisting in an agreement, by which the parties solemnly promised and were pledged to join in marriage within a certain limited time. As it did not require immediate cohabitation, it was called *Sponsalia de futuro*, or what in English is named *betrothing*. According to the Roman law, it was known under the general name of *Sponsalia*, and in the Codes there is a Title, *De Sponsalibus et donationibus ante Nuptias*, distinct from that *De Nuptiis*, or of marriage strictly so called. This contract of *espousal* used to be entered into with great solemnity, in presence of witnesses, and accompanied with donations, certain ceremonies, &c. The violation of it was punished with the severest penalties of the state and censures of the church, unless there appeared some just reason for not observing it; as if, *ex. c.* either of the parties protracted the time of marriage beyond two years. There are several decrees of councils prohibiting persons from breaking in upon this contract, and one even as late as that of Trullo, which declares it downright adultery for a man to marry a woman, that was before betrothed to another, during the life of him who had espoused her. And Pope Siricius, writing to Himerius, says, that it would be a sacrilegious act for a man to take as his wife a girl espoused to another, because it would violate the benediction given by the priest to her who was afterwards to be married. Hence we find that the sacerdotal benediction was used as well in espousals as in strictly called marriages. As long as the Roman laws remained in

vigour, the contract of matrimony was usually celebrated some time after that of espousals, and with a solemnity not practised by nations, who had not been ruled by those laws. (On these subjects see Bingham, *Origines*, &c. *Book xxii. ch. 3 and 4.*)

But in the middle ages all that apparatus did not appear necessary, at least in some countries. The two contracts were known; but it began to be supposed, that either of them was sufficient in itself, if attended with the requisite circumstances, for the validity of marriage. In the Canon law of the Decretals they are distinguished as two particular contracts, and one of which might be entered into without passing through the other. That, which was strictly understood by the name of *contract of matrimony*, began, to guard against equivocation and to facilitate the solving of questions, to be called *Sponsalia de praesenti*, inasmuch as it required no future condition towards rendering the marriage valid, and was expressed in words of the present tense, such as *I take you for my wife, &c.* In the fourth book of the Decretals, *Tit. De Sponsalibus et Matrimoniis*, there are many decrees relative to cases, in which there might be a clashing between the two contracts. There is one (*cap. 15.*) of Alexander III. declaring that *Sponsalia de futuro*, if followed by consummation, are not dissolved by *Sponsalia de praesenti*, but that they would if it had not been so followed; provided, however, that the man, who, abandoning his betrothed spouse as yet by him untouched, marries another woman, had not been forced to marry her. I find another (*cap. 30.*) exactly to the same purpose by Gregory IX. in which he decides, that a man, who has pledged himself (by *Sponsalia de futuro*) to a woman, and afterwards knows her carnally, is bound to stick to her as his wife, and henceforth is not allowed to marry, in any manner whatsoever, another woman during her life time. Then he adds, (*cap. 31.*) that, if no carnal knowledge has intervened, the promise ever so solemn (by *Sponsalia de futuro*) must yield to an actual subsequent marriage, yet so as that the party violating its pledge must undergo penance; while, on the contrary, a marriage strictly so called (by *Sponsalia de praesenti*) duly entered into, cannot be set aside by any other. Now the whole mystery of Irish marriages is cleared up. They were usually contracted only by *sponsalia de futuro*, a very old mode much like that of the ancient Jews, whose marriages used to be valid some time.

and often considerable, before the parties went to cohabit together. The Irish were more in the habit of contracting marriage in this way than by that *de praesenti*; and hence Giraldus Cambrensis has said of them, (*Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. c. 19.*) that “*nondum matrimonia contrahunt*,” that is, as he ought to have explained, that they did not practise the form of *Sponsalia de praesenti*, or matrimony strictly so called, as usually as the English and some other nations of those times. This is also what it seems more probable St. Bernard alluded to in the phrase *contract of marriages* (above *Not. 48*); for he does not upbraid the marriages themselves, but merely remarks the want of the contract peculiarly distinguished by the name *conjugium* or *matrimonium*, viz. the *Sponsalia de praesenti*. That the other form was more generally followed in Ireland, and to a much later period than St. Bernard’s days, is positively stated by Good, an English priest, who writing at Limerick, where he kept a school about *A. 1566*, says, (ap. Camden at the end of *Ireland*) that they used to celebrate marriage by *Sponsalia de futuro*, not *de praesenti*. The same system continued more or less in some other countries, until it was prohibited by the Council of Trent and the civil laws of Christian states. I may here observe that, although Good, *more majorum*, speaks badly enough of the Irish, yet he does not give occasion for a monstrous lie advanced by Ledwich, (*Ant. &c. p. 431.*) and attributed by him to Camden. What Camden has is taken from Good, who says, that the Irish “seldom marry out of their own town.” These plain words have been changed by Ledwich, and as if uttered by Camden, into the following; *Beyond the precincts of towns marriage was rarely contracted*. Who does not see, that there is a most material difference between these two passages? But any thing for Ledwich, so as that he might abuse the Irish. Good talks about their being prone to incest. Of this charge, which was connected with their not having been very strict with regard to the consanguineal impediments of marriage, an occasion will occur of treating hereafter.

§. VII. St. Malachy, doubting of his being sufficiently acquainted with the discipline of the Church, and wishing to be better informed concerning it, thought it adviseable to place himself for some time

under the instruction of the venerable Malchus, bishop of Lismore, who was then held in the highest estimation for his great learning and extraordinary virtue, joined with the gift of miracles, so that he was resorted to by persons not only from all parts of Ireland, but likewise from Scotland. Although an Irishman, he had been a monk of Winchester, whence he was taken to be raised to the see of Lismore. (53) He was probably the immediate successor of Macmic-Aeducan, who died in 1113. (54) St. Malachy, having received the benediction of his master Imar, was directed by his bishop Celsus, to this holy man, who was then far advanced in life, and remained with him some years at Lismore. His arrival there was probably about *A. D.* 1123. (55) During his stay there he became acquainted with Cormac MacCarthy, the pious king of Desmond, who was in 1127 deprived of his principality by Turlogh O'Connor, king of Connaught, his brother Donogh MacCarthy being set up in his stead. Cormac bore his lot with great fortitude, and throwing himself into the hands of Malchus refused to be treated with distinction, and requested, rather than run the risk of occasioning bloodshed, to be allowed to lead a pious and retired life. Malchus, admiring his resignation and fervour, provided him with a small house, and placed him under the direction of St. Malachy. There he lived on bread and salt and water, leading also in other respects a penitential life. He was delighted with St. Malachy's society, and became exceedingly attached to him. After some time it pleased God to restore Cormac to his kingdom, by means of Conor O'Brian, who, from having been king of Munster, (56) then held the principality of Thomond under a sort of vassalage to Turlogh O'Connor. Determined on shaking it off, he repaired to Lismore, visited Cormac in his poor habitation, and encouraged him to follow him, engaging himself that he would re-instate him. Cormac was

unwilling to quit his retirement ; but, as the good of the country required his appearing among his friends, he was ordered by Malchus and advised by St. Malachy to submit, and was soon after re-established in Desmond by Conor O'Brian, assisted by various chieftains, who banished Donogh Mc Carthy to Connaught. (57) On this occasion Cormac erected, or set about erecting, two churches at Lismore, and one at Cashel. (58)

(53) St. Bernard, *Vit. S. Mal. cap. 3.* Usher thought, (*Not. ad Ep. 38. Sylloge*) that Malchus of Lismore was the same as Malchus of Waterford, whom we have treated of *Chap. xxv. §. 6.* Besides the name, the circumstance of his having been a monk of Winchester seems to render this opinion very probable. But St. Bernard says that Malchus was removed from Winchester straight to Lismore, whereas the original see of the Malchus already mentioned was Waterford. There were in those times other persons named *Malchus*, one of whom is mentioned by St. Bernard himself (*ib. cap. 5.*) ; and it seems to have been a latinized appellation for one or other of those many Irish names that began with *Maol*. There might have been two persons, so called, monks at Winchester. If a union really took place between Waterford and Lismore, as Keating (or perhaps his translator) insinuates to have been ordered by the synod of Rathbreasil, (see *Chap. xxv §. 14.*) it might be supposed that one and the same Malchus was bishop of both sees. But the matter is so obscure, that I cannot pretend to decide upon it. Gratianus Lucius (Lynch) held the same opinion (*Cambr. Ev. p. 167*) as Usher, but has given us no proof of it.

(54) See above §. 2. Ware and Harris have (at *Lismore*) a pretended bishop, whom they call *Gilla-Mochudu O'Rebacain*, and whose death they assign to *A. D. 1129.* But surely Malchus was bishop there some years before that time, as is clear from S. Malachy's having repaired to him thither about 1123. In consequence of that mistake they were puzzled as to the precise period of Malchus' incumbency, Ware saying that he flourished in 1140, (when he was probably dead) and Harris, that it was in 1134. Indeed Harris has shamefully bungled the whole

business, telling us elsewhere, (see above *Not.* 44.) that St. Malachy went to Lismore when only twelve years old, that is, about *A.* 1107. He throws in a caveat, that Malchus was not yet a bishop. Had he read or did he understand St. Bernard, who tells us in the clearest terms, that Malchus was a bishop, and a celebrated one, of Lismore before he was waited upon by St. Malachy? The O'Rebacain, whom he and Ware have foisted into the see of Lismore, was undoubtedly no other than an abbot there of that name, who died in 1128 (see Archdall at *Lismore*) a date, to which Ware, as usual, added a year.

(55) As St. Malachy was ordained priest, when about 25 years of age, and accordingly about *A.* 1120, and was afterwards employed as Vicar general of the diocese of Armagh for some time, which can scarcely be supposed to have been less than two or three years, it will follow that he did not go to Lismore until about 1123.

(56) See above §. 1.

(57) The substance of these transactions is related by St. Bernard (*ib. cap.* 3.) without mentioning names or times. Yet he has the name of Cormac, *cap.* 6. The details are given in the Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1127. According to them Cormac became a pilgrim, and took a crosier (pilgrim's staff) at Lismore. His liberation is related in the following manner: "In the same year Conor O'Brian disavowed the authority of Turlogh O'Conor, and went to Lismore, and gave his hand to Cormac Mac-Carthy, and brought him again into the world, and made him king of Desmond, and dethroned and banished Donogh Mac-Carthy into Connaught; in doing which he was abetted by Turlogh O'Brian (his brother), and by O'Sullivan, O'Donoghue, O'Mahony, O'Keefe, O'Moriarty, and O'Faolain."

(58) Same Annals *ib.* This church of Cashel either must not be confounded with Cormac's Chapel, (see *Chap.* xxii. § 6.) or must be considered as not newly built but only repaired. And, in fact, the said Annals state, (at *A.* 1138.) that Cormac Mac-Carthy had built or repaired the church called *Teampoll Chormaic* in Cashel. They add, that it was so called from him. But, if they meant what is known by the name of *Cormac's Chapel*, this cannot be correct, for the architecture of this building indicates a period long prior to the times of Cormac Mac Carthy; and it would

have been more proper to say, that two Cormacs had been concerned in it, *viz.* Mac-Culinan the original founder and Mac-Carthy the repairer. It is very probable, that Cormac's chapel was injured in 1121, when Turlogh O'Conor burned Cashel (above §. 1.) and that this gave occasion to a reparation by Cormac Mac-Carthy. Perhaps what said Annals have about his having built two churches in Lismore ought to be understood in the same manner; for Turlogh had burned also Lismore. Whether M'Carthy erected a new church in Cashel, or only repaired an old one, the work was not completed in 1127, whereas the consecration of it did not, as will be seen, take place until 1134.

§. VIII. While St. Malachy was at Lismore, his sister died. He was so displeased with her on account of her worldly mode of living, that he had determined never to see her again during life. On a certain night he heard in a dream a voice announcing to him, that his sister was standing out in the court-yard and had tasted nothing for thirty days. Awaking he immediately understood what food she wanted, and recollected that for said number of days he had not offered for her the bread of life from heaven. This he took care to repeat; and after some short time she appeared to him in a vision as having reached the door of the church, but so as not to be able to enter it, and clothed in a dark garment. As he continued to offer for her, she appeared to him a second time, in a whitish dress and as within the church, but not allowed to touch the altar. But at length he saw her again, united with the assembly of the white-robed, and wearing a white garment. (59) Meanwhile Celsus and Imar were anxious, that St. Malachy should return to his own country, and accordingly wrote to him to that purpose. Being now well stored with what he had wished to learn, he obeyed their summons. His return was probably in 1127, the year in which he became intimate with Cormac Mac-Carthy at Lismore. (60) During his absence Celsus completed

in 1125 the reparation and roofing of the cathedral of Armagh, which had remained partly uncovered since 995, in which year the city had been laid waste by a dreadful conflagration caused by lightning. In 1126 he consecrated the church of St. Peter and Paul, which had been erected, or, as some say, re-erected by Imar O'Haedhagain, the same as Imar the master of St. Malachy. Afterwards he spent thirteen months out of his diocese, going through various parts of Ireland, preaching peace, harmony, and good conduct, and endeavouring to put a stop to the civil war, that raged throughout almost the whole island. He is said to have succeeded in establishing a truce for one year between the Conacian and Momonian princes. (61)

(59) S. Bernard, *ib. cap.* 4.

(60) Amidst other mistakes Harris says, (*Archbishops, &c.* at *Malachy*) that he returned to Ulster in 1120, and was then ordained priest by Celsus. But we have seen, that he was a priest before he went to Lismore, and that he did not go thither until later than 1120. One would imagine, that Harris had not read the Life by St. Bernard, although he refers to it. Besides its being positively stated, that St. Malachy was not only a priest but Vicar general of Armagh before he removed to Lismore, surely Harris ought to have perceived, that, as he celebrated mass at Lismore, he must have been then a priest.

(61) *Tr. Th.* p. 300. Of the dreadful state, in which the greatest part of Ireland was in those times, the reader will find sufficient proofs in the Annals of Innisfallen, at *A.* 1125, 1126, 1127.

§. ix. When St. Malachy returned to Ulster, the monastery of Bangor was waste, and seems to have been in that state for a considerable time, not having been re-established after some great devastation, which it had suffered. (62) Yet the lands belonging to it, which were extensive, still continued to be held by persons, who used to be called abbots, and who

were even elected to that sinecure situation. (63) They were then in possession of a maternal uncle of St. Malachy, who offered them all up to him, together with Bangor itself, that he might build or rather rebuild a monastery there. But the saint was so much addicted to poverty, that content with merely the site of the monastery he refused to accept of the lands, and allowed them to be transferred to another person, who was chosen, according to custom, for that purpose ; for his uncle resigned them, and placed himself under his direction as a monk. (64) St. Malachy taking with him, by order of Imar, about ten brethren, set about erecting the necessary accommodations at Bangor, on which occasion, as he was cutting wood with an axe, one of them happened to put himself in way of the stroke and received a most violent blow on the back, by which it was apprehended that he was almost killed. But providentially he was scarcely hurt, and his escape was considered miraculous. In a few days they finished a handsome oratory constructed of boards, and, when every thing was ready, St. Malachy, according to the direction of Imar, re-established, as head of the community, the old discipline of Bangor as it had been formerly, with this only difference that the number of monks was smaller. A man named Malchus, who was sick at Bangor, was urged by an evil spirit to be hostile to the saint, who, on being informed of it, recurring to prayer, cured him both of his infirmity and of the temptaton. Malchus, when recovered, was not ungrateful, and embraced the monastic state under him. He was brother to Christian, who afterwards became abbot of Mellifont. A clerk of the name of Michael, whom he cured twice of illness, also joined him, and the reputation and community of St. Malachy went on constantly increasing.

(62) St. Bernard says (*ib. cap. 5.*) that Bangor had been for-

merly destroyed by pirates, and that, seemingly as if on that occasion, 900 monks were reported to have been killed by them on one day. This was probably an exaggerated tradition. Of such great slaughter I find no mention in our Irish documents; but we read that Tanudius, abbot of Bangor, was killed by the Danes in 956 (*AA SS. p. 107.*) It is probable, that on this occasion many of the monks also were put to death; and perhaps we may thence date the devastation spoken of by St. Bernard. To its having been so ancient cannot be opposed the circumstance of one or two abbots of Bangor being mentioned as having lived between that year and St. Malachy's times; for, although monks had ceased to be there, the title of abbot and the emoluments were, as will be just seen, still continued. Harris thought (*State of the County of Down, p. 64.*) that St. Bernard applied by mistake the slaughter of the British monks of Bancor by the Northumbrian king Aedilfrid (see *Not. 12. to Chap. xv.*) to the Bangor of Ireland. But Aedilfrid and his army were not pirates, such as St. Bernard mentions; and the number of those British monks killed was much greater than that stated by him. Harris has the infamous lie about Aedilfrid having been instigated by Augustin the monk.

(63) If it be true, that Gillebert had been abbot of Bangor, before he became bishop of Limerick, (see *Chap. xxv. §. 9.*) he must have been an abbot of this sort, or what the French call an *Abbè Commédataire*. The abuse of church lands, particularly those belonging to monasteries, being possessed by laymen had long since crept into the church. In England we find it in the eighth century, and at the same period it was usual in France, where the possessors of abbatial lands were called *Abbacornites*. (See Ducange at *Abbacornites*, and at *In commandum mittere*. The earliest instance I meet with of it in Ireland is that of the occupation of the revenues of the see of Armagh by the lay so called archbishops. But about the times we are now treating of it became rather prevalent; and Giraldus Cambrensis informs us, (*Itiner. Cambr. L. c. 4.*) that there were several lay abbots in Ireland and Wales. The passage is curious and worth transcribing: “Notandum autem, quod haec ecclesia (S. Paterni) sicut et aliae per Hiberniam et Walliam plures, abbatem laicum habet. Usus enim inolevit et prava consuetudo, ut viri, in parochia potentes,

“ primo tamquam oeconomi seu potius ecclesiarum patroni et de-
 “ fensores a clero constituti, postea processu temporis aucta
 “ cupidine totum sibi jus usurparent, et terras omnes cum
 “ exteriore possessione sibi impudenter appropriarent; solum
 “ altaria; cum decimis et obventionibus clero relinquentes; et
 “ haec ipsa filiis suis clericis et cognatis assignantes. Tales
 “ itaque defensores seu potius ecclesiarum destructores abbates se
 “ vocari facere, et tam nomen indebitum quam rem quoque sibi
 “ assignari praesumpserunt.” He says, that those lay abbots, retaining
 the lands and other properties to themselves, left to the clergy only
 the altars and the tithes and dues. As to tithes, he alluded to
 Wales; for they were not paid in Ireland before his time. In the
 course of ages this system became very general in Ireland, parti-
 cularly in Ulster; and hence the origin of that singular class of
 persons called *Corbes* and *Erenachs*, concerning whom much has
 been written but in great part incorrect. Usher has left a disserta-
 tion on this subject, (see *Collectan. de Reb. Hibern. vol. 1.*) which
 he wrote when young, and in which he pretends, that the *Corbes*
 were originally the same as the *Chorepiscopi*, of which *Corbe* was
 a corruption. This was a fundamental mistake, and has been
 guarded against by Ware, (*Antiq. cap. 17.*) who justly observes
 from Colgan, that *Corba* or *Comorba* signifies a successor in an
 ecclesiastical dignity. Usher himself tells us, that “some of the
 Irish have detorted the name in Latin to *Converbius*, or *Confur-
 bach* in Irish, which importeth as much as *conterraneous*.” This
 was no detortion, but founded on the true meaning of the name.
 The original word is *Comhorba*, (pronounced *Covorba*) derived
 from *Comh* (*con* in Latin) and *forba*, *i. e.* a district, landed estate,
 or patrimony; and which by a certain usage was applied to the
 successors of distinguished persons in ecclesiastical situations, as
 if signifying joint-partners. Colgan writes; (*Tr. Th. p. 8.*) “Vox
 “ Hibernica *Comhorba*, si vocis etymon spectes, idem denotat ac
 “ compraedianus, sive ejusdem praedii, patrimonii, vel agri pos-
 “ sessor. Derivatur enim a *comh*, quod idem denotat ac *con*
 “ apud Latinos, et *forba*, *i. e.* praedium, ager, vel patrimonium.
 “ Usurpatur tamen passim apud priscos nostros scriptore pro suc-
 “ cessore in praelatura vel dignitate ecclesiastica. Unde et hodie
 “ videmus *comhorbanos* appellari, licet *plerumque sint seculares*,
 “ qui praefecturam tenent agrorum et praediorum, quae olim spec-

“ tabant ad jura divitum abbatiarum ; sive id ortum sit, quod
 “ majores familiarum, ex quibus illi comorbani assumuntur, se et
 “ sua praedia protectioni et jurisdictioni istarum abbatiarum sive
 “ monasteriorum voluntarie consecraverint, ut quidam opinantur ;
 “ sive ex eo quod, rebus ecclesiasticis paulatim labentibus, aliqui
 “ seculares titulum abbatis vel praelati in talibus monasteriis
 “ primo usurpaverint, et postea ad suos posteros transmiserint.”

(See also *ib. p.* 293 and 630.) Colgan has these words in a note to a passage, in which the successors of St. Fiech of Sletty are called his *comhorbans* ; and we have seen over and over the archbishops of Armagh styled comorbans of St. Patrick, the comorbans of Columbkil, of Finnian of Clonard, Barr of Cork, &c. &c. This title is often translated *heres*, which signifies not only an heir, but an owner or possessor, apparently the primitive meaning of *heres*, like that of the German word *herr*. Thus Usher has (*Prim. p.* 860) from the Annals of Ulster ; “ *Duo heredes S. Patricii, nempe Forrannanus—et Dermotius—quieverunt.*” The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 295.) call them *comorbans* of St. Patrick. It is usually joined with the name of the founder of a church ; thus we read of the comorbans of St. Patrick, of Columbkil, of Adamnan not as abbot of Hy but as founder of Raphoe, of St. Iarlath of Tuam, of Comgall, &c. Yet sometimes it occurs united with the name of a church, as the *comorban of Inniscatthy*, the *comorban of the church of St. Brigid of Armagh*, a title given (*Tr. Th. p.* 299.) to Gormgal Laighsech, who died in 1085. And hence we see, that this name was used not only for bishops and abbots, but likewise became gradually extended to persons holding minor ecclesiastical dignities.

In the above quoted passage Colgan observes, that in his time the comorbans were mostly laymen. After the synod of Kells, which defined the episcopal sees, we find but few instances of our bishops being called *comorbans* ; and this title fell into disuse also as to regular abbots. The laymen, who usurped old ecclesiastical livings, that had belonged to decayed or neglected monasteries and churches, appropriated it to themselves ; and we find in later times a great number of comorbans, or, as corruptly called, Corbas or Corbes of this kind, chiefly in Ulster, as may be seen from the grand Inquisition, held in the year 1609, for the county of Tyrone and the other escheated counties, now in the

Rolls Office, Dublin, and abstracts from which are to be found among Harris' MSS. in the library of the Dublin Society. But an inquiry into this subject would lead me beyond the times, which I intend to treat of; and let it suffice to observe, that several of these corbes possessed even lands belonging to episcopal sees, paying, however, certain mensal dues to the bishops, who did not hold the lands in demesne. (See Sir John Davies' *Letter to the Earl of Salisbury in Collectan. Vol. 1.*) This system had partly begun before the times of St. Malachy.

Yet there were in Colgan's times some comorbas or corbes in holy orders, and they are described by Sir John Davies, (*ib.*) on the authority of an Irish scholar, as provosts of collegiate churches under the name of *plebani*, a title corresponding to that of *pievano* in the North of Italy. The certificate of the Irish scholar, or his description of the *corbanatus*, which is given by Davies, has been republished by Spelman, (*Glossar. ad Corba*) who got his information from Usher, and by the Benedictine editors of Ducange, (at *Corba*) who, by the bye, were mistaken in quoting it as if from Isidorus Moscovius *De Majest. Mil. Eccl.* This sort of Corbes were probably the heads of churches, which had been formerly small bishoprics, and who, as they could not be called bishops, were distinguished by that name. But there were other corbes not in holy orders and usually married, although Davies seems to say that all the corbes had some order, meaning, I suppose, the tonsure. Colgan, however, positively states, that the greatest part of them were mere laymen. This much is certain, that the corbes or comorbas were not in general, as Usher, Spelman, and others would fain insinuate, the substitutes for chorepiscopi, but persons occupying the church lands, which had formerly belonged to dignitaries of various ranks. Harris, in his usual mode of adding some mistake to Ware's works, says (*Antiq. p. 235.*) that the Corbes were anciently married men till celibacy was enjoined the clergy. What confusion! We do not find any married corbes or comorbas until very long indeed after the law of celibacy was established; and the married corbes, who appeared in late times, were either not clergymen in any sense of the word, or at most had received only some minor order, *ex. c.* the tonsure.

; Besides the corbes there was a much more numerous description

of persons somewhat like them, but considered as of an inferior rank, viz. the Erenachs. This name originally meant archdeacons, as has been justly remarked by Usher, (on *Corbes*, &c.) Spelman, (*ad Corba*) Ware, (*Antiq. cap. 17.*) &c. In Irish it is written *Airchinneach*, *Airchindeach*, or *Airchidneach*. Colgan's conjecture (*Tr. Th. p. 631.*) of its being perhaps derived from the Greek *ethnarches*, as if signifying the *head of a people*, is quite futile; and he himself was sometimes obliged to translate it *archidiaconus*. According to the ancient discipline the archdeacons were the managers and economes of the property of the church. By degrees this duty fell into the hands of laymen, who consequently assumed the title of *archdeacons*. This happened also in France. In the Capitularies it is more than once enjoined, *ut archidiaconi non sint laici*. In an old document (apud Catellum, *L. 5. Rerum Occitan. p. 872.*) we read; "*Ut tunc temporis erat mos milites tenere archidiaconatus.*" Ordericus Vitalis (*L. 3. p. 496.*) says, that about *A. D. 1066* Fulcoius son of Ralph de Caldreio gave to monks an archdeaconry, which he held in fief from his predecessors under the archbishop of Rouen. (See more in Ducange at *Archidiaconatus.*) In the middle ages we find several archdeacons in one and the same diocese, some called *majores*, others *minores*. (*Gallia Christiana in Episc. Antissiodor. No. 58.*) Hincmar of Rheims writes in his letter to the Church of Tournay, quoted by Usher (*ib.*); "*Ut pro constituendis ministerialibus ecclesiasticis praeium non accipiat (episcopus) sed archipresbyteros et archidiaconos eligat, facultatum ecclesiasticarum dispensatores,*" &c. In course of time the Erenachs became exceedingly numerous in Ireland. They were universally laymen, except that they were tonsured, on which account they were ranked among the *Clerici* or Clerks. In an inquisition taken for the county of Tyrone in 1608 we read; "*In qualibet dictarum baroniarum praeter illas terras, quae antehac possidebantur ac modo possidentur ab hominibus nunc laicis, sunt aliae quaedam terrae, de quibus quidam clerici sive homines literati, qui vocantur Erinaci, ab antiquo seisisi fuerunt.*" Then it adds, that each of these erenachs used to pay, and was bound to do so, a certain subsidy, reflections, and yearly pension to the archbishop or bishop, in whose diocese the lands held by them were situated, in proportion to the quantity of land and the custom of the country. Usher observes,

(*ib*) that in the dioceses of Derry and Raphoe the bishop got a third part, the other two thirds being reserved for the repairs of churches, hospitality, and Erenach's maintenance. In fact the erenachs were the actual possessors of old church lands, out of which they paid certain contributions either in money or kind towards ecclesiastical purposes. Davies says (*ib.*); "The church land (in Monaghan) was either monastery land, corbe-land, or erenach's land; for it did not appear unto us, that the bishop had any land in demesne, but certain mensal duties of the corbes and erenachs; neither did we find, that the parsons and vicars had any glebe land at all in this country." "There are," he states, "few parishes of any compass in extent, where there is not an erenach;" which he derives from a right of *juspatronatus* or advowson. This might have been sometimes the case, but was not generally so. Besides keeping the church in order, exercising hospitality, and giving alms, "he was also to make a weekly commemoration of "the founder in the church; he had always *primam tonsuram*, "but took no other orders. He had a voice in the Chapter, when "they consulted about their revenues, and paid a certain yearly "rent to the bishop, besides a fine upon the marriage of every "of his daughters, which they call a *Loughinipy*; he gave a "subsidy to the bishop at his first entrance into his bishopric: "the certainty of all which duties appear in the bishop's register; and these duties grew unto the bishop first, because the "erenach could not be created nor the church dedicated without "the consent of the bishop." Here Davies goes still on the principle that the erenachs held the lands in virtue of a *juspatronatus* founded on grants made to churches by their ancestors; but the fact is, that those erenachies consisted chiefly in usurpations made by laymen, or merely tonsured clerks, calling themselves *archdeacons*, who, as well as the so called comorbas or corbes, transmitted the church lands to their posterity, or at least to the sept, to which they belonged, according to the Irish laws of succession and inheritance. On the death of an Erenach, the sept used to elect another from among themselves, and, in case they did not agree, the bishop and clergy were authorized to interfere and chuse one out of said sept; for they could not take the erenachy into their own hands. And if a whole sept became extinct, it was necessary to look out for another, to which it should be transferred, and which

would be vested with the right of electing the erenach, under the same conditions and charges, without alteration, as those observed by the former erenachs. Similar regulations existed with regard to the corbes, and much may be seen concerning them and some other collateral points in the Inquisitions in Harris' MSS. above mentioned, in which, by the bye, there are some foolish and groundless speculations relative to the origin of corbeships and erenachies. Harris himself is not sufficiently correct in what he has on these subjects in his additions to Ware (*Antiq. p. 233. seqq.*); but I shall not enlarge further on them, having said as much as may suffice to illustrate the allusions to them in such part of our ecclesiastical history as I have undertaken to treat of; merely adding, that the corbes differed from the erenaghs in their possessing more extensive lands, and sometimes having erenachs under them, whereas the erenach's power and influence were of an inferior kind. Besides, many corbes held lands, that had belonged to old abbeys, independently, it seems, of the bishops; and such was St. Malachy's uncle, who was in possession of the property of the monastery of Bangor, and who was called *comorb* (tantamount to *abbot*) of Bangor. On the contrary, the erenachs were perpetual tenants of the bishops, under whom they held their lands. Add, that some corbes were in holy orders and heads of collegiate churches; whereas the erenachs had no higher order than the tonsure.

The name of *Termon lands* is often given to some of those, which the corbes and erenachs were possessed of. Concerning this name Usher (on *Corbes, &c.*) says, that "*Tearmuin* is used " in the Irish tongue for a sanctuary, (whence Termon-Fechin, a " town belonging unto the archbishop of Armagh, hath its deno- " mination, as it were the sanctuary of Fechin) and may well be " thought to have been borrowed by the Irish, as many other " words are, from the Latin *terminus*, by reason that such privi- " leged places were commonly designed by special marks and " bounds. *Terminus sancti loci habeat signa circa se*, says an " ancient synod of Ireland; and the old law of the Bavarians " (*Tit. 4. §. 1.*) *Si quis servum Ecclesiae vel ancillam ad fugi- " endum suaserit, et eos foras terminum duxerit. I conclude, " therefore, that Termons were indeed free land, but free from " all claim of temporal lords, not of the Church, being truly ter-*

“*ritorium ecclesiasticum.*” Colgan also, speaking of another Tearman-Fechin in the county of Sligo, explains it (*AA. SS.* p. 141.) as a sanctuary or refuge. But *Terminus* in the ecclesiastical style means originally district or territory; the idea of sanctuary was secondary. Gregory of Tours says; (*Lib. 1. de Miracul. cap. 59.*) “*Ecclesia est vici Iciodorensis sub termino Turonicae urbis.*” The patrimony of the Roman church is called by Pope John VIII. *Terminus sancti Petri ac Pauli.* Lotharius the third decreed, A. D. 1132, “*Ecclesiam parochialem S. Servatii solam in Trajectensi urbe habere decimas et terminum.*” (See more in Ducange, *ed. Bened. at Terminus.*) Some have thought, that *Termon* was the same as *terra monachorum*, or in French *Terre-moine*, the land of monks; but (as remarked *ib.* at *Termonlandes*) this is an idle derivation. Nor is there any necessity for deriving it from *terra immunis*, free land, although it is true that the church lands were, at least sometimes, exempt from tribute in Ireland, and some of them were considered as sanctuaries.

(64) St. Bernard, *ib. cap. 5.* Here we have an instance of the election of a cormoba or corbe, undoubtedly by the sept which had got possession of the lands, that formerly belonged to the monastery.

§. x. At this time the adjoining see of Connor being vacant, as it had been for many years, St. Malachy was chosen to fill it, but declined accepting of it, until he was ordered by Imar and his metropolitan Celsus to submit. Accordingly he was consecrated bishop, when about thirty years of age, but not, as is usually said, as early as the year 1124. (65) This diocese had been so much neglected, that every thing was in disorder, and he had never before met with a set of people in so deep a state of corruption. They made no offerings to the churches; did not contract lawful marriages; (66) neglected confession, nor was there any one who asked for penances, or who was to prescribe them. For the ministers of the altar were very few, and, had there been more of them, what could they have done amidst such a people? There was neither preaching nor singing

in the churches. St. Malachy finding his utmost exertions necessary, made use of all possible means to reclaim them and to introduce a correct system of discipline. He admonished them publicly and privately, used to stop them in the streets for the purpose of instructing them, and spent whole nights praying for their conversion. Attended by his faithful disciples of Bangor, whom he still continued to govern, he visited in all directions the smaller towns and country parts of his diocese, constantly on foot, and conducting himself as a really apostolical man. He suffered great hardships, met with many repulses, and received injuries. Yet he persevered, and, with God's assistance, succeeded at length in softening that hard-hearted people and bringing them to a sense of their duty. Instead of certain Irish practices of theirs he introduced the Roman ones, got the churches rebuilt, ordained clergymen for them, and took care that the sacraments should be duly administered. Confession is frequented; the people flock to the churches; marriage is celebrated in a solemn manner; and in short every thing was so much changed for the better, that what the Lord had said by the Prophet; *Those, who were not my people, are now my people*; might be justly applied to that diocese.

(65) St. Bernards' words, (*ib. cap. 6.*) "*Tricesimo ferme aetatis suae anno Malachius consecratus episcopus,*" have been understood by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 300.*) as referring to *A. D.* 1124, reckoning from his birth in 1095. He has been followed by Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Connor*). But this date cannot agree with St. Malachy's having been acquainted, before he returned to Ulster, at Lismore with Cormac Mac-Carthy, and his having been there when Cormac was liberated in 1127, a date which I find no sufficient reason for calling in question. We may suppose, that he was consecrated in that same year; for it is clear that he was but a short time at Bangor when he was appointed bishop; and St. Bernard's round number, *tricesimo ferme*, must be explained

not as meaning exactly or nearly thirtieth, but as we would say, *about thirty*, although in all likelihood St. Malachy was then thirty two years of age. *Ferme* is often used for *thereabouts, more or less*.

(66) The charge here made by St. Bernard is thus expressed; *Non legitima inire conjugia*. This is relative not to the neglect of marriage, but perhaps to the non-observance of the rule of the canonists, as to the seven degrees, which has been treated of above *Not. 51*. This rule had not been generally received in Ireland, and indeed it could scarcely be expected that it should, considering the system of clanships, and the Irish practice of marrying chiefly within their septs. It was found so difficult to observe it any where, that it was modified not very long after St. Bernard's death. He does not say, that the people of Connor did not marry; for were this his meaning he would have omitted the word *legitima*. Or, what is much more probable, St. Bernard alluded to the practice of not celebrating marriage by *sponsalia de praesenti*, but by those *de futuro*, a practice, which, however disapproved of by him, rendered marriage valid not only in Ireland but elsewhere. In short, he blamed, as followed in the diocese of Connor, that system, which, he tells us, was reformed by St. Malachy at Armagh, where in all likelihood the new matrimonial regulation consisted merely in substituting the *Sponsalia de praesenti* for those *de futuro*, or adding the former to the latter. (See *Not. 52*.) St. Bernard does not say, what Harris (at *Connor*) falsely attributes to him, that the people were adulterers; but Harris did not understand the meaning of *non legitima inire conjugia*.

§. XI. After some time it happened that Connor was destroyed by a king of a northern part of Ireland, and St. Malachy, being obliged to quit that country, went with 120 brethren to Munster, where he was received with a most cordial welcome by his friend Cormac Mac-Carthy, king of Desmond. This must have taken place after the death of Celsus, which in all appearance occurred while St. Malachy was still at Connor. (67) Celsus was very anxious to put a stop to the hereditary succes-

sion, which had continued so long in his family, and to be succeeded by Malachy. Accordingly, perceiving his end approaching, he drew up a sort of will, in which he declared his intention that Malachy should be appointed, on his demise, as the person fittest to govern the primatial see of Ireland. This he communicated to persons both present and absent, and particularly to the two kings of Munster, where he then happened to be, whom as well as others he enjoined by the authority of St. Patrick to exert themselves for that purpose. Some short time before his death a woman of tall stature and reverend countenance appeared in a vision to St. Malachy, and on being asked who she was, answered, that she was the wife of Celsus, (that is, the church of Armagh). She then handed him a pastoral staff, which she held in her hand, and disappeared. (68) After a few days Celsus being on his death-bed sent his staff or crosier to Malachy as the person, who was to succeed him; which, when he saw, he perceived that it was exactly like that, which he had seen in the vision. Celsus was then at Ardpatrik in the now county of Limerick, where he died on the 1st of April, *A. D.* 1129, in the 50th year of his age. His body was removed, according to his will, to Lismore, and honourably interred there, in the burying place of the bishops, on the Thursday following, which in that year was the 4th of April. (69) His name is in the Roman martyrology at the 6th of April. (70) Some writers have made him an author, and speak of him as a very learned man; but I greatly doubt whether much credit be due to their assertions. (71)

(67) It is true that St. Bernard speaks (*cap.* 6.) of St. Malachy's going to Munster before he treats (*cap.* 7.) of the last proceedings and death of Celsus. But he must be understood as writ-

ing by anticipation, and as continuing his account of the personal transactions of St. Malachy. And in fact he says that, while the saint was reforming the diocese of Connor, &c. Celsus happened to fall sick; and his stating that Connor was not destroyed until *some years, annos aliquot*, after St. Malachy had undertaken the administration of it, obliges us to suppose, that he did not go with his 120 brethren to Munster before the death of Celsus, which occurred on the 1st of April, *A. D.* 1129. Now St. Malachy could not have been bishop of Connor prior to 1127, according to what we have seen above *Not.* 65. We must therefore allow for the *some years* of St. Bernard some longer time than what had elapsed before April 1129. Perhaps the devastation in which Connor was destroyed, was that of part of Ulster 1130 by Conor, son of Artgoil Mac-Lochlin, at the head of the forces of Tirconnel and Tirone. (See Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1130.)

(68) St. Bernard, *ib. cap.* 7. Hence in all appearance, as already observed, (*Not.* 75. to *Chap.* xxv.) Hanmer took his fable of Celsus having been a married man.

(69) Four Masters and Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 300-301. See also the Annals of Innisfallen and of Mary's Abbey at *A.* 1129. Baronius was mistaken (*Note to the Roman Martyrology at 6 April*) in assigning his death to 1128. The Bollandists (at *Celsus, said day*) strangely observe, that Baronius' reason for the year 1128 was that the Ulster annals used to anticipate the common Christian era by one year. Had this been his reason, he should have marked not 1128, but 1130; for the Irish annals agree in affixing Celsus' death to 1129. Besides, that system of anticipation had ceased before the times we are now treating of.

(70) Its being placed at 6 April is owing to another mistake of Baronius, who was the first to insert it in the Roman Martyrology, which he revised by order of Gregory XIII. It was already in Molanus' Additions to Usuard, published in the year 1568. Not only the 4 Masters, but likewise Marian Gorman, who lived in the same century, has, in his martyrology, the death of Celsus at 1st April. As his interment was marked *iv.* April, this notation was probably mistaken for *vi.* April and thus adding a confu-

sion of said day with that of his death, this error seems to have originated.

(71) Ware (*Archbishops of Armagh*) refers to Brian Twine, who calls Celsus a *universal scholar*, and affirms from Bale (fine authority!) that he had spent some time at Oxford. And (*Writers at Celsus*) he says, that he wrote a Theological summary, which he was told had been extant (not published, as the English translator has) at Vienna. Then he speaks of certain letters and constitutions. That Celsus wrote some letters and regulations relative to ecclesiastical matters, and that he drew up a sort of a will, need not be denied; but these are not sufficient for reckoning him among the Irish writers.

§. XII. As soon as it was known at Armagh that Celsus was dead, Murchertach, or (according to his latinized name) Mauritius or Maurice, a son of Domnald the predecessor of Celsus, took possession of the see, which he retained, one way or another, for five years until his death. (72) Thus St. Malachy, who was far from being anxious to be removed to Armagh, was prevented from occupying it, notwithstanding the declaration of Celsus and the wish of the pious persons of those times. It was during Maurice's incumbency or usurpation that he went, as we have seen, to Munster, where, with the assistance of Cormac Mac-Carthy, he constructed a monastery in a place in that prince's kingdom, called *Ibrach*. (73) There he and the brethren were provided with every thing necessary, and the king often visited them, considering himself as a disciple of St. Malachy. In the attendance to the duties of the house the saint, although the superior and a bishop, performed in his turn every part of them as much at least as any of the brethren, setting them an example of monastic poverty and discipline.

He was probably still there, when Maurice O'Hindrectaigh, who is called comorban of St. Comgall, died at Armagh on the 3d of October, *A. D.* 1131. (74) Perhaps he was only a person, who had held

the lands, which had belonged to the monastery of Bangor, under the title of *comorban* or *corbe*. (75) In the same year died Moeliosa O'Foghlada, archbishop of Cashel, (76) and was succeeded by Domnald (not Donagh or Donat) O'Conaing, who held the see until 1137. To the year 1132 is assigned the death of a very eminent priest of Armagh, the blessed Maelbrigid Mac-Dolgen, who departed this life on the 27th of August in the eightieth year of his age, and the 52d of his priesthood. (77)

(72) *Tr. Th.* p. 301 and 303. St. Bernard *ib. cap.* 7. Ware and Harris, *Bishops of Armagh at Maurice*.

(73) Ware, who was greatly in error with regard to Ibrach in his *Coenoiba Cisterciencia* (at *Newry*) afterwards thought, (*Ant. cap.* 26. at *Cork*) that it was the same as the abbey near Cork called of St. Barr or Finbar. But the account, which he gives of this abbey, shows that he was mistaken. He says, that it was founded for Regular canons of the order of St. Augustin by king Cormac, that is, the Cormac friend of St. Malachy. Now the community, which St. Malachy governed at Ibrach, consisted not of Regular canons, but of monks of the old order of Bangor, or of St. Comgall, as is clear from St. Bernard. Next he says, that it was founded about the year 1134; but in this year St. Malachy was at Armagh, having already returned from Munster. It is therefore clear, that the abbey of St. Barr, otherwise called Gill-abbey, was quite different from the house of Ibrach. Alemand (*Hist. Mon. &c.* p. 54.) imagined, that Ibrach was the same as Beg-erin near Wexford, as if *Ibrach* were derived from the name of St. Ibar. This conjecture betrays his ignorance of Irish history. For Ibrach was, as St. Bernard states, in Cormac Mac-Carthy's kingdom, whereas Beg-erin certainly was not. It is strange that Butler (*Life of St. Malachy*) and some others have referred to this so clearly wrong opinion of Alemand. I have not the least doubt, but that Ibrach or *Ibrac*, as spelled by St. Bernard, was no other than the district still called *Iveragh* (*b* and *v* commutable in Irish) now a barony in the county of Kerry. The establishment formed there by St. Malachy seems to have ceased soon after his departure from Munster, as it is very pro-

bable that the brethren followed him back to Ulster, and we know that the monastery of Bangor, whence they had come, continued to exist after these times.

(74) *Tr. Th.* p. 303.

(75) See above §. 9. It is hard so think, that he could have been the superior of the monks of Bangor, whereas St. Malachy seems to have retained that office to himself; unless it might be said that he acted as a substitute for the saint, while attending to his diocese of Connor. It may be suspected, that Maurice O'Hindrectaigh was the uncle of St. Malachy, who, as we have seen, had possessed those lands, and who, being too old to follow the saint to Munster, had retired to Armagh. He is spoken of as a holy man; but I do not find him called uncle to St. Malachy.

(76) *Annals of Innisfallen at A.* 1131. 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th.* p. 308. and Ware, *Archbishops of Cashel.* Compare with *Chap.* xxv. §. 14.

(77) *Tr. Th.* p. 303.

§. XIII. Maurice had held the see of Armagh for three years, and consequently until 1132, when those, who were anxious to put an end to the usurpation, particularly Malchus of Lismore and Gillebert of Limerick, the apostolic legate, having assembled some bishops and chieftains, went in a body to where St. Malachy was, determined to use force if he should resist their plan for placing him on the see. After much expostulation on his part and their threatening him with excommunication, at length he submitted on condition of, in case of the peace of the Church being established and matters properly arranged, being allowed to return to his former spouse (Connor) and to his beloved state of poverty, from which, he said, they were dragging him. It seems, that he was then in his monastery of Ibrach, where he was in the habit of practising his system of poverty, and which, being in Munster, lay convenient for his being called upon by Malchus and Gillebert. His submitting to the demand made of him was chiefly owing to his recollection of the vision, in

which the pastoral staff of Celsus appeared as if handed to him, and he was afraid lest his further opposition might involve a resistance to the will of God. Accordingly he went to the diocese of Armagh, of which he undertook the care, as well as of its dependencies, but avoided entering the city, being apprehensive that bloodshed might be the consequence of his doing so. After two years Maurice died on the 17th of September in 1134, (78) having endeavoured, as much as he could, that his successor should be Niell a member of the same usurping family. This Niell, whose name has been latinized into *Nigellus*, was according to a very probable account, a brother of Celsus; for he is said to have been a son of Aidus and a grandson of a former archbishop Moeliosa. (79) At any rate, he belonged to that race, and their faction were preparing to install him, but were opposed by a king and several bishops and many pious persons, who assembled for the purpose of introducing St. Malachy into Armagh. A hostile party, headed by a very wicked man, placed themselves on a hill adjoining the place of assembly with the intention of rushing down and killing the king and St. Malachy. On his discovering their plan the saint entered a neighbouring church and prayed to God. All of a sudden clouds and darkness with great rain changed the day into night, and a dreadful storm came on accompanied with great thunder and lightning, which killed the leader of that party and some others of them, besides severely injuring others and dispersing the whole gang, while the storm and whirlind left St. Malachy's friends untouched, although not far distant. (80)

(78) *Ib.* p. 304. from the 4 Masters. This date agrees exactly with St. Bernard's account of Maurice having occupied the see for five years, reckoning from the death of Celsus in 1129.

(79) Colgan says, (*ib.*) that Niell was son of the Aidus, who died in 1108, and who was a son of Dubdalethe III. Elsewhere,

(*ib.*) owing to an omission of the press, Niell is called son of Dubdalethe. But (*ib. p.* 305.) Colgan makes him the son of the Aidus son of Moeliosa ; and O'Flaherty maintains (*MS. note*) that this is the true reading of the 4 Masters. If so, and if they were otherwise right, it will follow, that Niell was a brother of Celsus. (See *Chap.* xxv. §. 12.) But St. Bernard either did not know this, or did not choose to mention it.

(80) St. Bernard, *cap.* 7. According to the Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1134 the conspirators were from Tulach-og, now Tullyhog in the barony of Dungannon, county of Tirone, and the transaction is thus stated ; “ The Kineal Eogan (Tironians) of Tulach-Og conspired against Maolmaodhog (Malachy) bishop of Armagh, and twelve of them were struck dead by lightning on the very spot, where they were forming the conspiracy against the holy man.”

§. XIV. St. Malachy was then conducted to Armagh as its bishop and primate of all Ireland, towards the latter end of that same year 1134, (81) being then 38 years old. (82) Niell, finding it necessary to make his escape, took with him two great ornaments of the cathedral, *viz.* the text of the Gospels, which had belonged to St. Patrick, and the celebrated staff, called the *staff of Jesus*. (83) Carrying about these objects of the people's highest respect, he was received every where with great attention, and favoured by numbers of persons in preference to St. Malachy. A powerful chieftain of the usurping family, whom the king, St. Malachy's friend, had, before he left Armagh, forced to swear, that he would keep peace with the bishop, and even to give him many hostages to that effect, still harboured evil designs against him, and, on the king's having retired, went to Armagh, where with some relatives and friends he formed a plot for putting the saint to death. They were, however, afraid of the people, and did not dare to attack him in public. But on an evening, when with all the clergy and a multitude of the faithful he was celebrating Vespers in the

church, that ill-disposed chieftain sent some persons to request, that he would call upon him for the purpose of their coming to amicable terms. To this the assistants replied, that it was rather his business to wait upon the bishop, and that the church was the fittest place for settling such matters. The messengers answered, that the chieftain was afraid of the crowd, by whom he was hated on account of their attachment to the bishop, and nearly killed a few days before. While they were thus contending, St. Malachy interfered, and said ; “ Brethren, allow me to imitate my master. In vain am I a christian, if I do not follow Christ. Perhaps I shall soften the tyrant by this act of humility ; and, if not, I shall come off victorious by, although the ecclesiastical pastor, paying to a layman an attention, which he owed to me. You will be edified by my example. And what if I should happen to be killed ? I do not refuse to die, so as that you may receive an example of life from me. A bishop, as has been said by the chief of bishops, ought not to domineer over God’s inheritance, but be a model to the flock, and such a one as was exhibited by him, who humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death.” After some other words to this purpose he set out amidst the tears and supplications of all the bystanders, who requested that his wish to die for Christ should not induce him to leave the flock of Christ desolate. He was accompanied by only three of his disciples, who were ready to die along with him. On entering the house he found himself surrounded by armed men, who, on his appearing, seemed stupified, and did not lift a hand against him. The chief of the party, instead of attacking him, rose up to receive him in an honourable manner, and the very persons, who had meditated his death, offered him peace, which was soon concluded on a firm and solid footing, so that his former enemies became attached to him. As to Niell, he was soon after obliged to desist from

his pretensions and to give up the reliques or ornaments, which he had carried off. St. Malachy had it now in his power to exercise his ministry with perfect freedom, and was indefatigable in his exertions. Yet he had still some enemies; but his friends took care to guard him both day and night against their snares. A prating fellow, who used to insult the saint and constantly speak ill of him, was punished by his tongue having swelled and rotted, from which he continued to throw out worms for seven days until at length he died. On an occasion of St. Malachy's preaching to the people a woman of the usurping family interrupting him made use of the most opprobrious and blasphemous expressions against him, calling him a hypocrite, an invader of other people's inheritance, &c. He made no answer; but she was struck with madness, and, crying out that she was suffocated by Malachy, expired not long after in a horrid manner.

(81) Annals of Innisfallen, *ib.* and 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 304.

(82) The *anno aetatis suae tricesimo octavo* of St. Bernard must be understood of 38 years complete, whereas St. Malachy was born, as we have seen, in 1095 and apparently towards the latter end of the year, so that he was not as yet 39 years old when he entered Armagh after the death of Maurice in September, A. D. 1134.

(83) Concerning this staff, see *Chap. iv. §. 12.*

§. xv. In the same year, 1134, Imar O'Haedhagain, who had been St. Malachy's master, died at Rome, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage. (84) In said year a synod was held in Cashel by the archbishop, Domnald O'Conaing, and the bishops of Munster, who consecrated the church, which had been built or re-built there by Cormac Mac-Carthy. (85) This church must not be confounded with the great cathedral of Cashel, which, as generally known, was

not erected until many years later by Donald O'Brian about the time of the arrival of the English in Ireland. (86) I find it stated, that in the same year the cathedral of Tuam was stormed and forcibly entered by the Dalcassians, and that Derry, the churches of Rath-luirg (Rathlure) Raphoe, and Clonard, part of Cong and Eithne, Roscommon, Rossmor, and several other principal churches were burned and plundered by the Momonians headed by their king Conor O'Brian. These devastations must have been a part of those committed by the great army, composed of Irish and Danes, which he and other princes led in that year against Leth-cuinn or the northern half of Ireland. (87) In the following year Cumea-mor Macconmara (Macnamara) king of Ibh-Caisin, the chief plunderer of the cathedral of Tuam, was killed by the Desmonians under Cormac Mac-Carthy, who ravaged Thomond. (88) Other instances of this disgraceful mode of warfare and want of respect for churches occur in those times. Thus Kildare was plundered by Dermot O'Brian and others in 1136; and in the same year Clonard was pillaged and destroyed by the people of Breffny and Fermanagh. Even Cormac Mac-Carthy is said to have burned a place called *Maighe Deiscirt*, both houses and churches. (89) After this period I find no further mention of Malchus bishop of Lismore, and, as he was very old when St. Malachy first placed himself under his direction about the year 1123, (90) it may be fairly conjectured that he died not long after St. Malachy got full possession of Armagh. This appears more probable than that he lived until 1150, as some have supposed who made him the same as a bishop of Lismore named Moelmonech O'Lonsech. In 1135 died the blessed Fiachrius a very holy elder of Clonard. (91) Whether the title of *elder* given to him indicate that he was a bishop, as some have thought, I will not pretend to decide. To the same year is affixed the

death of Moeliosa O'Hamire, who appears as the second bishop of Waterford. Domnald O'Dubhai or Dubthaigh, a very wise man, who was bishop of Clonmacnois and of Elphin, called comorban of St. Kieran and archbishop of Connaught, died in 1136 at Clonfert, where he was buried on St. Patrick's day. From his having been honoured with the title of *archbishop of Connaught* some writers have concluded, that he was also bishop of Tuam. But, had he been such, why not styled *comorban of St. Iarlath*, as the bishops of Tuam usually were? It is more probable, that said title was given to him merely in an honorary manner, on account of his particular merit and the esteem he was held in (92). Nor was there as yet any Connaught bishop regularly entitled to the name of *archbishop*.

(84) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p. 303*. Imar's name is in the Carthusian martyrology at 12 November; but, according to Marian Gorman and the martyrology of Donegal, he died on the 13th of August.

(85) See above §. 7. and *Not. 58*. The Annals of Innisfallen have at *A. 1134*; "The church built by Cormac Mac-Carthy in Cashel was consecrated this year by the archbishop and bishops of Munster, at which ceremony the nobility of Ireland, both clergy and laity, were present." Ware (*Antiq. cap. 29 at Cashel*) states, from the Annals of the Priory of the island of All saints, that after the *rebuilding* of this church it was solemnly consecrated, and a synod held there in the year 1134. See also Harris, *Archbishops of Cashel, p. 464*.

(86) Dr. Milner fell (*Tour in Ireland, Letter 14.*) into a strange mistake on this point. Having made mention of Cormac's chapel, which, he says, was consecrated in the year 900, he adds; "A much more spacious and elegant cathedral was added to this above two centuries later, being consecrated, and a synod held in it, *A. D. 1134*; at which time the former church began to be used as a chapter-house. Thus he confounded the church, that was consecrated in 1134, with the spacious cathedral, which was not erected until about forty years later. It is very odd that he

did, whereas both Ware and Harris expressly and clearly distinguish them, (*loc. citt.*) representing the church consecrated in 1134, and which they supposed to be the same as Cormac's chapel rebuilt, as quite different from the great cathedral afterwards newly erected by Donald O'Brian.

(87) See the Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1134. Eithne and Rossmor, by which name various places might have been called, were probably in Connaught. There is a river, formerly named Ethne, which runs between the counties of Longford and Westmeath.

(88) *Ib.* at *A.* 1135. Ibh-Caisin was in Thomond.

(89) *Ib.* at *A.* 1136.

(90) See above §.7. (91) *AA. SS.* p. 407.

(92) See concerning him *ib.* p. 217. and Ware and Harris at Clonmacnois, Tuam, and Elphin.

CHAP. XXVII.

St. Malachy makes a visitation of Munster—Pestilence in Ireland—Death of Moeliosa Moelcolumb—St. Malachy retires to the bishopric of Down, and appoints Gelasius his successor in Armagh—Death of Domnald O'Conaing, archbishop of Cashel—and of Giolla Criost bishop of Clogher—Cormac Mc Carthy murdered—Death of Macbrigid O'Brolchan, suffragan bishop of Armagh—St. Malachy goes to Rome to procure the pallium for the sees of Armagh and Cashel—appointed legate by the Pope—Patrick bishop of Limerick consecrated by the bishop of Canterbury—Gelasius archbishop of Armagh, makes a visitation throughout Connaught—Synods held in various places by St. Malachy—Some of the monks of Clarivau sent by St. Bernard to form a monastery in Ireland—Cistercian house of Mellifont founded—Disputes between O'Conor of Connaught and O'Melaghlin of Meath—Great Synod under Muredach O'Dubhthaic bishop of Tuam—Another synod—

Several miracles wrought by St. Malachy—He calls a council at Lismore on account of a man denying the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist—Different monasteries and oratories erected by St. Malachy—He rebuilds or repairs the church of Down—Synod of Holmpatrick—St Malachy sets out for France to procure the palliums from Pope Eugene III.—Arrives at Clarivau, takes sick and dies there.—Different cistercian abbeys founded in Ireland—Cardinal Paparo arrives in Ireland—Synod of Kells convoked—names of the bishops who attended that synod.—Palliums bestowed on the sees of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin and Tuam—Archbishop of Armagh declared primate—Suffragan sees appointed for the four metropolitans.

SECT. I.

SOME time after St. Malachy was firmly seated on the see of Armagh, he made a visitation of Munster. (1) A pestilence having broken out, the clergy and people of Armagh went in procession, with the usual commemoration and reliques of saints; but on his joining them in prayer it immediately ceased. (2) In 1136 died a distinguished man, Moeliosa Moelcolumb, a very exact calculator of times for the use of the church of Armagh, its librarian, and an eminent antiquary. (3) St. Malachy, having in the course of three years settled ecclesiastical matters in the diocese, restored liberty to its church, reformed abuses, &c. now resolved on resigning the see, according to his previous determination and agreement, and on returning to the scene of his former labours. Yet he did not take to himself the see of Connor, where he had already placed a bishop, but fixed upon Down, which was united to Connor before and when he was bishop there. But, as they

had been distinct sees, he now thought it adviseable to separate them again, and leaving that of Connor, strictly so called, to the bishop in possession, undertook himself the care of Down, which was considered inferior to the other. (4) This could not have been earlier than some time in the year 1137, whereas St. Malachy continued to govern Armagh for about three years after his full accession in 1134. Before he retired to Down, he appointed as his successor in Armagh, Gelasius with the consent of the clergy and people. (5) This distinguished prelate was a native of the North of Ireland, and son of Roderic, a man distinguished for his learning, and an excellent poet. His birth is assigned to *A. D.* 1088, and he is usually called in Irish *Gilla Mac-Lieg.* (6) In his youth he embraced the monastic state in the abbey of Derry, (7) of which he became abbot, and consequently comorban or successor of Columbkil, in about 1121, which situation he held for sixteen years. (8) I find him called also archdeacon of Derry, (9) whence it seems that Derry was then considered an episcopal see. While he was abbot of this monastery, it was attacked in 1124 by a prince Ardgarr at Ailech near Derry, who, on the towns-people interfering, was killed by one of them. (10) In the same year 1137, in which Gelasius was placed at Armagh, died Domnald O'Conaing, archbishop of Cashel, who is most highly praised for his wisdom, devotion, spirit of prayer, and liberality to the poor and for pious purposes. (11) He was succeeded by Domnald O'Lonargan, who held the see until 1158. (12)

(1) The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 304.*) have two visitations of Munster by St. Malachy, one in 1134 (wrongly printed 1124) the very year of his getting full possession, and another in 1136. I strongly suspect, that they were mistaken as to any

such visitation in 1134. St. Malachy had enough to do in that year, particularly considering his not being well seated until the late part of it, at Armagh, not to have time to go so soon to Munster, and I am inclined to think, that there was only one visitation, *viz.* that of 1136.

(2) St. Bernard, *cap.* 8. (3) *Tr. Th.* p. 304.

(4) St. Bernard, *cap.* 9. Ledwich (*Antiq.* p. 438.) tells a monstrous lie, saying that St. Malachy, after his three years incumbency was *driven from Armagh by the old family.*

(5) Colgan has (*AA. SS.* at 27th March) a Life of this eminent prelate, which he collected from various sources. He vainly strives to show by means of some round-about calculations, that Gelasius was raised to the see of Armagh in 1136. It would be a waste of time to inquire into his modes of reckoning, and it is sufficient to observe that, as it is certain that St. Malachy did not get full possession of this see until the latter part of 1134, (see *Chap.* xxvi. §. 14.) as Colgan himself admits, (*Tr. Th.* p. 304.) Gelasius could not be a bishop of it before some time in 1137, (the year marked in the Annals of Mary's Abbey) whereas it is likewise certain, that St. Malachy held it for about three years after said part of 1134. What is here observed serves also to set aside a story, which Colgan has (*Tr. Th. ib.*) and which he repeats in the Life of Gelasius, (*cap.* 8.) *viz.* that Niell, or Niggellus, again seized upon the see in 1136, on the occasion of St. Malachy's retiring from it. But St. Malachy was still at Armagh himself in 1136. Nor does St. Bernard, who mentions the appointment of Gelasius, say a word about this second usurpation of Niggellus, but, on the contrary, states (*cap.* 8.) that, after he was forced to submit to St. Malachy, he was obliged also to remain quiet for the remainder of his life, *quiescere de reliquo in omni subjectione.* Had he made any second attempt, St. Bernard would not have spared him. Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Gelasius*) have the same story, having copied it from Colgan.

(6) *Mac-Lieg*, or, as he spells it, *Mac-Leigh*, is translated by Harris (*ib.*) *son of the scholar.* Others call him *Mac-Liagh.* *Leighin* signifies in Irish a scholar, as *Liagh* does a physician. Colgan observes, (*Not. 2. Life of Gelasius*) that he has been called, by antonomasia, the *son of the poet.* Dr. O'Connor quotes (*Rer. Hib. Scriptor. 2. Proleg. p. 144.*) a passage from Maolbrigte (see *Not. 94 to Chap. xxi.*) in which he is called *Mac*

Liag mac mic Ruadri, as if grandson of Roderic, and *Mac-Liag* seems to be explained *son of the man of poems*.

(7) Ware (*ib.*) makes him an Augustin Canon, according to his supposition that the abbey of Derry belonged to that order. But that abbey existed for centuries before there were Augustin Canons in the world, and was of the order of Columb kill. He tells us elsewhere, that many of the old Irish monasteries adopted in later times the rule of the Canons of St. Augustin; but he would not have been able to prove, that it was received at Derry in the times of Gelasius. There was indeed a certain affinity between the rule of these new Canons, who did not appear until the eleventh century, and the old general system of the Irish monks, which was bottomed on the monastic regulations introduced by St. Patrick from Tours and Lerins; yet they were not originally the same, and the ancient Irish rules were much stricter than that of the Augustin Canons. Harris (*ib.*) says; "It is certain the abbey of Derry owed its filiation to the house of St. Peter and St. Paul of Armagh, which past question was of the Augustin congregation." The first part of this assertion is quite unfounded. How could the abbey of Derry, which was founded by Columb-kill in the sixth century, owe its filiation to a house, that did not exist till the twelfth? There is no authentic account of the house or monastery of St. Peter and Paul at Armagh, until its church was erected by Imar O'Haedhagain, and consecrated by Celsus in 1126. (See *Chap. xxvi. §. 8.*) And Ware (*Antiq. cap. 26.*) and Harris (*Monasteries*) were wrong in supposing, that it had been founded by St. Patrick. Archdall has terribly bungled and confused this matter, (at *Armagh*) placing a long string of abbots, and even archbishops, &c. ever since the days of St. Patrick in the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, thus confounding it with the ancient religious house, which from the very beginning was annexed to the cathedral. He makes Imar abbot of it in 1100, that is several years before the church was built and consecrated, although it is certain from St. Bernard's account of him, that he was not one at that time. He might have acted as such afterwards, in consequence of having received several disciples besides St. Malachy, and thus have given rise to the community of Augustin Canons, which occupied the house of St. Peter and St. Paul. It

has been pretended, that the abbey of Derry was a Benedictine house in the times of Gelasius, and therefore that he belonged to that order. This is a silly pretension of some Benedictine writers, who strove to persuade the world, that many of our old Irish monasteries were of their institution. The attachment of the Columbians, such as the monks of Derry were to Columbkill, was too strong to allow us to suppose, that they would easily have changed their rule for that of the Benedictines.

(8) The 4 Masters (*ap.* Colgan in his *Life cap.* 30.) have 16 years for his administration as successor of St. Columba. Hence Colgan concluded, that he was appointed abbot of Derry in 1120, on the supposition that he was removed to Armagh in 1136. But, as he was not removed until 1137, his appointment at Derry was not prior to 1121.

(9) 4 Masters at *A.* 1137, quoted by Colgan, *AA. SS. p.* 779.

(10) *Life of Gelasius, cap.* 5.

(11) 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 308.

(12) See Ware and Harris at *Archbishops of Cashel*. The *Annals of Innisfallen* (at *A.* 1158) call him Donall O'Lonargan, and state that he was a Dalcassian.

§. II. St. Malachy, being now bishop of Down, began his new career with uniting some of his disciples into a congregation of Regular Clerks, apparently of the order called Canons Regular of St. Augustin. (13) He now exerted himself with fresh vigour, acting as a zealous bishop, enforcing monastic discipline, making ecclesiastical regulations, &c. Not long after his being stationed at Down he lost his brother Christian (Gilla-Criost) bishop of Clogher, who died in 1138, and was buried in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Armagh. His memory was revered on the 12th of June, the anniversary of his death. (14) In fact he was a very holy prelate, who, although not so celebrated as St. Malachy, was perhaps not unequal to him in sanctity of life and zeal for justice. (15) In what year he had been appointed bishop of Clogher I am not able

to ascertain. (16) Moelpatrick O'Drughan, who had been chief professor of Armagh since 1107, (17) died in the said year 1138, on the 2d of January, in the island Inis-locha-cre, *alias* the *Island of the living*, whither he had gone some time before on a pilgrimage. (18) He is praised as a man highly distinguished for sanctity and great knowledge of the Holy scriptures. (19) In the same year Cormac Mac-Carthy, the friend of St. Malachy, was murdered by his own son in law, Dermod Sugach O'Connor Kerry, at the instigation of Turlogh O'Brian. (20) He was a prince remarkable for his piety and liberality, as indeed appears from various instances already mentioned. (21) That was also the year, in which Gelasius made his first visitation of various parts of Ireland, particularly Munster, where he was received with great honour. (22) Maelbrigid O'Brolchan, a very wise and pious man, suffragan bishop of Armagh, died on the 29th of January, *A. D.* 1139. (23) He had belonged to the monastery of Derry, and it is probable, that Gelasius invited him thence to assist him in the government of his diocese. To the same year is assigned the death of the unfortunate Niell, or Nigellus, who seems to have been one of the last of the usurping family, which soon became extinct, and who is represented as having died a great penitent. (24)

(13) St. Bernard (*cap.* 13.) calls the community, formed by St. Malachy, simply *conventum regularium clericorum*. It is highly probable, that he gave them the rule of the Canons regular of St. Augustin, who by this time were spread far and wide throughout various parts of Europe. But this is the first occasion that I meet with of their being mentioned, or seemingly mentioned, as being in Ireland. Yet there might have been some of them a few years earlier at St. Peter and St. Paul's at Armagh, (compare with *Not.* 7.) and Ware says, (see *Not.* 73 to *Chap.* xxvi.) that the abbey of St. Barr near Cork, founded about 1134, belonged to that order. But I much doubt, whether he found the members of this abbey

called Augustin canons in any old document of those times. He was too much in the habit of giving the name of *Augustin Canons*, or *Canons regular of St. Augustin*, to our ancient monks. Thus he makes even Bangor from its very foundation in the sixth century an abbey of Augustin Canons. Hence it appears, that he was unacquainted with the true history and origin of these Canons, concerning which see *Notes* 133 and 134 to *Chap. iv.* I may here observe, by the bye, that Ware is wrong in assigning the original foundation of the monastery of St. Barr to about 1134. For it had existed since the seventh century, and whatever took place with regard to it in the twelfth consisted merely in its having been re-established or re-founded, as Archdall (at *Cork*) justly states, and perhaps in some alteration of its rules.

(14) See *Tr. Th. p.* 482. and *AA. SS. p.* 742. Ware thought, (*Bishops of Clogher*) that the year 1138, marked for his death, might have been in reality 1139. But at the times we are now treating of there is no necessity for adding a year to those of the Irish annals.

(15) St. Bernard, *cap.* 10. A great encomium is paid to him also by the 4 Masters, at *A.* 1138.

(16) Harris (*Bishops of Clogher*) assigns his promotion to *A.* 1126. I do not know what reason he had for this date except that in a list of distinguished persons of the church of Clogher (*ap. AA. SS. p.* 742.) one Muredach O'Cuillen, who was killed in 1126, is placed next before him. But this O'Cuillen is called only archdeacon of Clogher. Ware has (*ib.*) a Mac-Mael-Josa O'Cullean as bishop of Clogher and the immediate predecessor of Christian, but does not tell us in what year he died.

(17) See *Chap. xxvi. §. 2.*

(18) *Tr. Th. p.* 304 and *Ind. Chron.* The year of his death was the second of the incumbency of Gelasius, which confirms its having been *A. D.* 1138. Yet Colgan, persisting in his hypothesis of Gelasius having been raised to Armagh in 1136, has changed (*Life of Gelasius, cap.* 9.) 1138 into 1137, notwithstanding his assigning O'Drugin's death to 1138 in *Tr. Th. locc. cit.* Inislocha-cre is called also by other names, such as *Monaincha*, and is an island in the great bog of Monela, county of Tipperary, about three miles from Roscrea, and we shall have occasion to treat of it hereafter.

(19) *Tr. Th. and Life of Gelasius, locc. citt.*

(20) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1138.

(21) Dr. O'Connor (*Rer. Hib. Scriptor. 2 Proleg. p.* 141.) calls Cormac M'Carthy not only king but bishop of Munster. He quotes Maelbrigte, (of whom see *Not.* 94 to *Chap.* XXI.) who styles him *rig escop Muman*. But if *escop* mean *bishop*, as Dr. O'Connor thinks, it cannot in this passage be taken in a strict literal sense. *Escop* is not in several Irish dictionaries, *ex. c.* those of Lhuyd and O'Reilly, who have no other word for *bishop* than *easbog* or *easbug*. O'Brien, however, has, besides *easbog*, also *eascop*. Yet, admitting that *rig escop* signifies *king bishop*, either Maelbrigte was mistaken, or, what is more probable, he gave Cormac the title of bishop in an honorary manner on account of his piety and attention to ecclesiastical matters, similar to that, in which Constantine the great was styled *bishop*. Or, perhaps, *escop* indicates an allusion to his having taken a pilgrim's staff at Lismore. (See *Not.* 57 to *Chap.* XXVI.) That Cormac Mac-Carthy was not a real bishop is evident from the Annals of Innisfallen, which often make mention of him, as a king, a warrior, &c. Had he been also a bishop, it is impossible but that we would find him so called somewhere in said annals. Or would not St. Bernard, who speaks so highly of him, have told us that he was not only a king but a bishop? Keating relates (*History, &c. B. 2. p.* 103. *Dublin ed.*) his murder; and Lynch (*Cambr. evers. cap.* 21.) treats of him rather minutely; but neither of them has a word about his having been a bishop.

(22) Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 10. This is mentioned also in *Tr. Th. p.* 305. where, through a typographical error, 1139 appears instead of 1138, which, as O'Flaherty observes, (*MS. not. ib.*) is the year marked by the 4 Masters.

(23) *Ib. cap.* 11, and *Tr. Th. p.* 305.

(24) *Ib.* St. Bernard states, (*Vit. S. Mal. cap.* 8.) that the whole of that generation was swept away within a short time after their attempts against St. Malachy.

§. III. Crowds of people of various ranks flocked to St. Malachy at Down, and placed themselves under his direction. Having established several ecclesiastical regulations, he thought it not safe to act

upon them without the authority of the Apostolic see, and was particularly anxious to procure for the see of Armagh the pallium, with which it had not at any time been as yet honoured. (25) He thought that, as it had become very usual in those times to distinguish metropolitan sees by the use of it, Armagh ought to enjoy the same privilege, as an ancient church, and not inferior in respectability to most of the other metropolitan ones. He wished also to obtain another for the see of Cashel and to get confirmed by the Pope the act of Celsus, who had raised it to the metropolitanical rank. (26) Consequently he determined on going to Rome, but was strenuously opposed by the brethren and the chiefs and people of the country, who could not bear the idea of his absence, particularly as his brother Christian of Clogher had died a short time before; and they dreaded some great desolation, if after having lost one pillar of the Church the country should be deprived of the assistance of the other. At length, however, he succeeded in their letting him depart; but, before he set out, he provided for the see of Clogher by appointing to it and consecrating Edan or Aedan, one of his disciples, whom he considered the fittest person for that situation. Edan is surnamed *O'Kelly* or *O'Killedy*, and held that see for many years. (27) St. Malachy took his route by the way of England, after having landed in Scotland. When arrived at York, he was recognized by a holy priest, named Sycar, who had never seen him before, but to whom it had been revealed that he was to pass that way. Wallely, or Wallen, a nobleman, and then prior of a community of Regular brethren, waited upon St. Malachy at York, and observing that he had a large suite, among whom were five priests, and only three horses, offered him the one he rode himself, which the saint accepted of. Continuing his journey, and travelling through France, he stopped for a while at

Clairvaux, where he became acquainted with St. Bernard, who was most highly delighted by his society. St. Malachy was much pleased with this establishment, and the brethren were greatly edified by his presence and conversation. Taking his leave of St. Bernard and the brethren with the warmest feelings of attachment, he pursued his course towards Italy, and having crossed the Alps wrought a miracle at Ivrea by curing a child of his host, that was at the point of death. (28)

(25) St. Bernard, *ib. cap.* 10. Joceline among other fables of his concerning St. Patrick pretends, that he received the pallium at Rome. This nonsense has been sufficiently refuted already, *Chap.* VII. §. 1. and *ib. Not.* 2. Colgan, however, swallowed it, and has endeavoured in a really unlearned manner to support it, *Tr. Th. p.* 306. *seqq.* But I was surprised to find that M^cMahon, who lived in times when the origin and nature of the pallium, as granted to archbishops or bishops, were so universally known, could have undertaken to defend this silly paradox in various parts of his *Jus primatiale Armacanum*, particularly §. 219. *seqq.* Surely he ought to have been aware, that in St. Patrick's days the pallium, of which we are now treating, was not used in the Western church even by the Popes themselves; and it is a very lame evasion to say, that, although it ceased to be sent to the archbishops of Armagh during the Danish troubles, yet they had received it in the first times of that church. Now St. Bernard writes; "Metropoliticae sedi deerat adhuc et defuerat ab initio pallii usus." Here M^cMahon comes forward with a wretched quibble, distinguishing *ab initio* from *in initio*, as if St. Patrick's times were to be exempted from the general and plain assertion of St. Bernard. By why thus exempt them, whereas the pallium was not introduced into the Western church until many years after St. Patrick's death? But, if M^cMahon argued badly on this point, Peter Talbot of Dublin, against whom he wrote, was no less or rather more to blame for striving in his *Primatus Dubliniensis* to conclude from the want of the pallium, that therefore Armagh was not the primatial see of Ireland. Did he not know, that various gradations of ecclesiastical authority existed before the pallium was used,

and that there have been hundreds of metropolitans, who never wore it? St. Ambrose of Milan, who received no pallium, enjoyed as much jurisdiction as if he had been decorated with twenty of them. Nothing is clearer from the whole tenor of our ecclesiastical history than that the see of Armagh was the only truly metropolitan one until Cashel was added to it, yet as subordinate. (See *Chap. xxv. §. 13.*) St. Bernard is quite explicit on this subject, where mentioning an injunction of Celsus he says; (*Vit. S. Mal. cap. 7.*) “*Sancti Patricii auctoritate præcepit, cujus reverentia et honore tamquam apostoli illius gentis, qui totam patriam convertisset ad fidem, sedes illa, in qua et vivens præfuit et mortuus requiescit, in tanta ab initio cunctis veneratione habetur, ut non modo episcopi et sacerdotes, et qui de clero sunt, sed etiam regum ac principum universitas subjecta sit metropolitanæ in omni obedientia (ecclesiastica), et unus ipse omnibus præsit.*” Poor Ledwich took upon himself to meddle with this question (*Antiq. p. 391.*) where amidst lies and inconsistencies he quotes against the primacy of Armagh a passage of William Neubrigensis, who says, that “the prime see of Ireland is said to be at Arnagh in honour of St. Patrick, &c. Is not this a proof of its having been so? But, he argues, the words, *is said*, show that William knew nothing of Armagh but from report. Be it so; for he was an Englishman. Does it follow, that the report was false? What think of a scribbler, who pretends, that St. Patrick was not heard of at Armagh until the 9th century, when introduced by the Danes?

(26) St. Bernard, *ib.* That the new metropolis alluded to by him was Cashel, has been proved, *Not. 84 to Chap. xxv.*

(27) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Clogher.*

(28) St. Bernard *ib.*

§. iv. St. Malachy, being arrived in Rome, waited on the then Pope Innocent II. by whom he was most kindly received. The first favour he asked of him was permission to retire to Clairvaux, and to spend there the remainder of his life; but this the Pope refused to agree to. During the time of his stay at Rome, which was one month, he visited the holy places, frequenting them for the sake of prayer.

Meanwhile the Pope made many enquiries from him and his companions concerning the manners and customs of the Irish, the state of their churches, and how St. Malachy had exerted himself. He then appointed him Legate apostolic for all Ireland; for Gillebert, the former one, had communicated to the Pope, that on account of his great age and feebleness he was no longer able to attend to the duties of that office. St. Malachy then applied for the confirmation of the new metropolitan see, (Cashel) which the Pope immediately granted; but on his applying also for the palliums, the Pope replied; "This is a matter, which must be transacted with greater solemnity. Do you, summoning the bishops and clergy and the chiefs of your country, celebrate a general council, and, after ye will have all agreed on this point, apply for the pallium by means of respectable persons, and it shall be given to you." (29) Then taking the mitre off his head he placed it on that of St. Malachy, and gave him the stole and maniple, which he used to wear when officiating; and saluting him in the kiss of peace dismissed him with his benediction. Were we to believe the Registry of Clogher, St. Malachy obtained from this Pope, that the fourth part of the ecclesiastical property or dues throughout all Ergall or Oriel should be assigned to the bishops of Clogher, which was situated in that territory. I doubt very much, whether the saint, who, as will be seen, had no fixed income for himself, asked for any such favour. (30) On his return to Ireland he called again at Clairvaux, and regretting that he was not allowed to remain there, left four of his companions in the monastery for the purpose of learning its rules and regulations, and of their being in due time qualified to introduce them into Ireland. He said on this occasion; "They will serve us for seed, and in this seed nations will be blessed, even those nations, which from old times have heard of the

name of monk, but have not seen a monk." (31) Proceeding on his journey he arrived safely in Scotland, where he was honourably received by the king, David, and requested by him to cure his son Henry, who was dangerously ill. The saint blessed some water, and sprinkled Henry with it, saying to him; Child, take courage, thou wilt not die this time; and on the next day he recovered his health. Hence both David and Henry became greatly attached to St. Malachy, and continued so as long as he lived. Anxious to arrive soon in Ireland he declined their invitation to remain with them for some days, and on his way to the place of embarkation cured a dumb girl and an insane woman. Being delayed at that place, which was called *Lapasperi*, for some days, waiting for a passage, he constructed an oratory there, which he surrounded with a trench, and blessed the intermediate space, that it might serve as a cemetery. This spot was afterwards much resorted to, as a place of prayer, and where favours might be obtained from the Almighty. (32)

(29) St. Bernard, *cap.* 11. The Pope's object was to show, that the granting of palliums should be considered as a great favour, and that the obtaining of them required more than the request of any individual bishop. The rule, requiring that every archbishop should be invested with the pallium, was not as yet established. In what passed between the Pope and St. Malachy on this occasion there is not the most distant allusion to the strange story of the saint's reason for wishing to get palls for Ireland having been to get rid of the claims of Canterbury. (Compare with *Not.* 85. to *Chap.* xxiv.) It is laughable to hear Ledwich (*p.* 438.) resting the Pope's refusal to grant the pallium on his apprehension that the wearer would be insulted by the Irish clergy. So ignorant was he of the history of the transaction, that (*ib.*) he represents St. Malachy as archbishop of Armagh, when he applied for the palls, although he had left Armagh two or three years before that time, and was then only bishop of Down.

(30) This statement may be seen in Ware and Harris's (*Bishops of Clogher at Christian*). If true, it is odd, that St. Bernard has not a word about it, notwithstanding his making mention both of Christian and Edan. I suspect it is on a par with the pretty list of bishops of Clogher, which we find in said Registry. (See *Not. 5. to Chap. XII.*)

(31) St. Bernard, *ib.* It is difficult to determine, whether by the nations, who *had not seen a monk*, St. Malachy meant nations different from the Irish, among whom the order of Clairvaux would be propagated, or alluded to some parts of Ireland, in which there had not been monks before for a long time, but in which communities of that order would be placed. Be this as it may, neither he nor St. Bernard could have meant all Ireland; for they well knew, that there had been and was still abundance of monasteries in Ireland, and St. Bernard himself makes mention of many of them, particularly in older times. Ledwich (*p. 439*) misquoting St. Bernard's words carps at him as if he alluded to all Ireland, and adds in confirmation the following words from a letter of his, written some time after to St. Malachy (*No. 44. in Usher's Sylloge, and 357 in Mabillon's ed. Tom. 1.*) "*et in terra jam (tam, Mabillon) insueta, immo et inexperta monasticæ religionis.*" But St. Bernard is not speaking there of all Ireland, but of a particular spot, (Mellifont) where a monastery was formed by Cistercians sent over by him, and where there had not been already any monks; and therefore he says, that great vigilance is requisite there, *tanquam in loco novo, et in terra, &c.* Ledwich omitted the words, *loco novo*, lest the reader might understand in what sense St. Bernard used *terra*, by which he meant not Ireland at large but some particular district.

(32) St. Bernard, *ib.*

§. v. At length after a prosperous passage he arrived at his monastery of Bangor. With what joy he was welcomed there and by the people, who flocked from various parts to see him, it would be superfluous to relate. This was in the year 1140.

(33) By this time Gillebert of Limerick either was dead, or had resigned his see; for we find in that year a new bishop of Limerick, Patrick, who, owing to the influence of the Danes, was consecrated by

Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he made the following profession ; “ I Patrick, chosen
“ to the government of the church of Limerick,
“ and to be consecrated bishop, through the grace
“ of God, by thee, Reverend father Theobald,
“ archbishop of the holy church of Canterbury, and
“ primate of all Britain, do promise, that I will pay
“ due subjection and canonical obedience in every
“ respect to thee and to all thy successors, who shall
“ succeed thee canonically.” Concerning him I find nothing further, except that he is said to have held the see for only a short time, and to have been succeeded by one Harold a Dane. (34) In the same year 1140 Gelasius of Armagh made a visitation throughout Connaught, and was treated with great respect by the king, Turlogh O’Conor, and the nobles of the country, who allowed him full liberty to arrange and regulate ecclesiastical matters as he thought proper. (35) St. Malachy now set about performing the duties of his legateship ; held, or procured to be held, synods in various places ; re-established good old practices, and introduced new ones ; while every one submitted to his regulations as if they were dictated by heaven. He went all over Ireland, travelling on foot with his companions, and exercising his ministry, preaching &c. Whenever it was necessary to rest, he used to stop in monasteries, adapting himself to their practices and observances, and content with the usual fare of the respective communities. He had no house of his own, no servants, no fixed mensal income. (36) Some time after his return to Ireland he sent some persons to Clairvaux, besides the four whom he had left there, that they also might be instructed in the system of that establishment. (37) On this occasion he wrote to St. Bernard, requesting that he would allow two of those four brethren to return to Ireland, that they might provide a place for a monastery ; but St. Bernard answered, that he

thought it adviseable not to separate them so soon, and to allow them time to be better prepared ; and that in the mean while St. Malachy himself might look out for and prepare a proper place for that purpose. When, he adds, they shall be duly qualified, they shall return to their father and sing the canticles of the Lord in their own country. (38)

(33) Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1140.

(34) See Ware and Harris, *Bishops of Limerick*. The original of Patrick's profession is in Usher's *Sylloge*, and is the only one of any bishop of that sec. It is also the last of the professions of any Irish bishops made to archbishops of Canterbury.

(35) Life of Gelassius, *cap.* 12.

(36) St. Bernard, *Vit. S. Mal. cap.* 12. following the order of Messingham's edition. What is here said of St. Malachy not having had any fixed mensal income, or, as St. Bernard expresses it, that nothing was assigned for the episcopal *mensa*, on which the bishop might live, cannot mean, that there was no property really belonging to the see of Down, but that St. Malachy, who delighted in poverty, did not choose to exact the mensal portion from the erenachs or corbes, who had got the church lands into their possession and management. (See *Not.* 63. to *Chap.* xxvi.) In like manner he refused (*ib.* §. 9.) to accept of the lands, that had belonged to the monastery of Bangor, and allowed them to be enjoyed by a corbe. Even while archbishop of Armagh he possessed no property peculiar to himself; for St. Bernard states, (*ib.*) that from the first day of his conversion until his death he lived without any thing of his own, *sine proprio vixit*. Now it is certain, that there was property, and that considerable, annexed to the see of Armagh; otherwise how could the usurping family have been so eager to keep hold of it, or why should Maurice, and then Niell or Nigellus, have seized upon it after the death of Celsus? But whatever share was due to the bishop personally, St. Malachy gave it up; yet it cannot be supposed, that the rents or dues necessary for the expenses of the cathedral, the support of the officiating clergy, the repairs of churches, &c. were not exacted. All that St. Malachy could or would do was to resign his own peculiar por-

tion, which he probably ordered to be assigned to the stock intended for the poor.

(37) St. Bernard, *ib. Cap. 11.*

(38) St. Bernard's letter in reply to St. Malachy is No. 42. in Usher's *Sylloge*, and 341. in Mabillon's edition of St. Bernard's works, *Vol. 1.* Usher assigns it to *A. D.* 1140; but I think it must have been somewhat later; for it can hardly be allowed, that St. Malachy, who did not return to Ireland until that year, after having but lately left the four brethren at Clairvaux, could have so soon wished for the return of two of them. But Usher supposed that St. Malachy had been at Clairvaux in 1137, a date in which it is evident that he was mistaken. Very probably it was written in 1141.

§. VI. Some other letters passed between these holy men on this subject, and St. Bernard, anxious to gratify his friend's wish, as soon as convenient, sent over the Irish brethren under Christian one of themselves as their superior, who was brother to Malchus a former disciple of St. Malachy at Bangor.

(39) He sent along with them also some of the monks of Clairvaux, so as to make up a sufficient number of members for constituting a monastery.

(40) It was then that the Cistercian house of Mellifont in the now county of Louth, the first of that order in Ireland, was founded in 1142, and endowed by Donogh or Donatus O'Carrol, king of Ergall or Oriel.

(41) Some of the French brethren returned soon after to Clairvaux, although St. Bernard would have been better pleased if they had remained. He mentions with much satisfaction one of them, named Robert, who staid at Mellifont.

(42) In the same year 1142 died a worthy and very learned priest, Cathasach O'Kirchaorach, who had been professor of theology at Armagh.

(43) In said year Conor O'Brian, who had been very powerful during part of his reign, died at Killaloe, whither he had retired to spend his last days in pilgrimage, and was succeeded, as king of Munster,

by his brother Turlogh. (44) A great quarrel existed in these times between Turlogh O'Conor, king of Connaught, and Murrogh O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, to put an end to which Gelasius of Armagh and some other prelates were fixed upon as arbitrators. They succeeded in concluding a treaty, in the year 1143, between those princes before the altar of St. Kieran (at Clonmacnois) and many reliques of saints. But some time after, notwithstanding this agreement, O'Conor made an irruption into Meath, and took O'Melaghlin, as if he were guilty of a violation of the treaty, whom he placed as a prisoner in the castle of Dunmore. On this news Gelasius hastened to Connaught, and uniting with Muredach O'Dubhthaich, the worthy bishop of Tuam, the abbot of Fore, and several other distinguished persons, both ecclesiastics and laymen, induced O'Conor to allow the matter to be inquired into, as it was not right that O'Melaghlin should be punished in that manner, unless he were really guilty. Nothing was proved against him; but still O'Conor refused to enlarge him, except on condition of his giving up his principality of Meath for a while to Conor O'Conor a son of Turlogh. This condition, however disagreeable to the prelates, was accepted by O'Melaghlin; but Conor did not long enjoy his usurped power; for within little more than half a year he was killed by O'Dubhlach, chieftain of Fera-Tulach (now the barony of Fertullagh in Westmeath), who could not bear to be subjected to any prince different from his lawful one. (45) A great synod, consisting chiefly of the clergy of Connaught, is stated to have been held in 1143, over which Muredach O'Dubhthaich of Tuam presided. It is said that twelve bishops and five hundred priests were present at it, and that its principal object was to procure the liberation of Roderic O'Conor, son of Turlogh, who happened to be then a captive. (46) Another synod is men-

tioned as having sat in 1144, in which were present the archbishop of Armagh (Geladius), O'Lonergan (either the archbishop of Cashel or the bishop of Killaloe), the bishop of Roscommon, the king Turlogh O'Conor, &c. and in consequence of which Roderic O'Conor and others recovered their their liberty. (47) This was in all probability no other than the assembly, in which, as we have just seen, Geladius and others stipulated for the enlargement of O'Melaghlin. At this year 1144, I find marked the death of a bishop of Leighlin, Shuagad O'Catan, (48) and that of Gilla-Patrick Mac-Comgall, a very learned priest, scholastic of Clonard. (49)

(39) See *Chap. xxvi. §. 9.*

(40) St. Bernard, *Vit. S. Mal. cap. 11.* See also his letters to St. Malachy, No. 43, 44, in the *Sylloge*, and 356, 357 in Maillon's *ed.*

(41) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26.* at *County Louth.* The Annals (the same as those of Mary's Abbey) quoted by Usher (*Not. to Ep. 43. Sylloge*) have the same date and circumstances. Hence it appears, that those were mistaken, who calculated, that Mellifont was founded in 1141, for instance Fleury, *Hist. L. 68. §. 59.* This mistake proceeded from another, *viz.* that St. Malachy had returned to Ireland in 1139. But they were not mistaken in stating, (see Fleury's *Index*) that the abbey of Mellifont was the first Cistercian one in Ireland, as is quite clear from St. Malachy's speaking of the brethren, whom he left at Clairvaux, as the persons who would introduce that order into Ireland, and from St. Bernard's representing (*Vit. S. Mal. cap. 11.*) the community under Christian, that is, the abbey of Mellifont, as the parent of the other Cistercian houses in this country. Therefore what Ware has, (*ib.* at *Dublin*) and which he took from the Annals of Mary's Abbey, *viz.* that this abbey adopted the Cistercian rule in 1139, in imitation of the abbot of Savonac or Savigni in France, cannot be true; whereas there were no Cistercians in Ireland until three years after that date. Besides, the abbey of Savigni was not Cistercian itself until 1148. (Fleury, *ib. L. 69. §. 35.*) Ledwich,

who knew not how to be correct, says, (*Antiq.* p. 438.) that St. Malachy introduced the Cistercian order into this kingdom in 1140, and *settled* it at Mellifont, Newry, Bective, Boyle, Balinglas, Nenagh, and Cashel. Now this order was not at Mellifont until 1142, which he might have known from Usher, Ware, Harris, Archdall, &c. There was no Cistercian abbey at or near Cashel until about A. D. 1270, above 120 years after St. Malachy's death. Nenagh, the well known town in the county of Tipperary, never had a Cisterian establishment; but Ledwich con-founded it with Nenay, a place in the county of Limerick, where there was one, the time of whose foundation some place after the death of the saint, which, as will be seen was founded that of Newry, notwithstanding Usher's having thought (*Not. to Ep.* 43.) that it was established about 1144, which he took from a mistake of Ware in his *Coenob. Cisterciensia*. When St. Bernard was writing the Life of St. Malachy, there were only five Cistercian houses in Ireland besides Mellifont; (see *ib. cap.* 11.) yet Ledwich reckons up six before St. Malachy's death. What an antiquary!

(42) See *Ep.* 44. *al.* 357. (43) *Tr. Th.* p. 305.

(44) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1142.

(45) Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 13. and *Tr. Th.* p. 305. In the former place Colgan marks these transactions at *A.* 1143, and in the latter at 1144. This can be easily reconciled by supposing, that the assembly, in which the treaty was entered into by Tur-lough O'Connor and O'Melaghlin was held in 1143, and the other, in consequence of which O'Melaghlin recovered his liberty, in 1144.

(46) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1143. This synod must have been different from the assembly, in which Gelasius of Armagh appeared in 1143 as one of the arbitrators between Turlogh O'Connor and O'Melaghlin; for the Annals make no mention of Gelasius, and represent it as presided by O'Dubhthaich, which could hardly have been the case, were Gelasius present. I do not well understand what said Annals have about Roderic O'Connor's captivity; but Harris (*Bishops at Tuam, Muredach O'Dubhai*) says, from certain anonymous Annals, that he had been taken prisoner by Tiernan O'Roirk.

(47) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1144.

(48) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Leighlin*. Harris has (at *Meath*) one Eochad O'Kelly, who, according to certain anonymous annals, is called *archbishop of the men of Meath*, and died in 1140. And (at *Kildare*) he introduces Cormac O'Cathsuig, who is styled *bishop of Leinster*, and whose death is assigned to 1146. From the title, *bishop of Leinster*, it does not follow, that he was bishop of Kildare; for it may mean merely that he was a Leinster bishop, that is, a bishop somewhere in that province. In fact, Colgan makes no mention of him in his catalogue of bishops, &c. of Kildare, *Tr. Th.* p. 630. Of these two bishops I can find nothing further than what Harris says of them.

(49) *AA. SS.* p. 407.

§. VII. Gelasius, having laboured for the restoration of peace and tranquillity, now set about repairing the cathedral of Armagh and the adjoining sacred edifices. (50) Meanwhile St. Malachy was busily employed in various parts of Ireland, exercising the functions of his legatine authority; and it is related, that during his excursions he wrought several miracles. At Coleraine, Lismore, and other places, he delivered persons possessed with evil spirits; he cured paralytics, one instance of which occurred at Cashel, and relieved many persons afflicted with divers infirmities. At Cloyne being requested by a nobleman, whose lady was pregnant and having passed the usual time of labour, was supposed to be in danger of her life, and by the bishop Nehemias (O'Moriertach) to do something for her, he blessed a drink, which he ordered to be given to her, and in consequence of which she was soon after safely delivered. Happening to be in an island somewhere off the the Irish coast, near which the sea, from having once abounded in fish, was then very deficient in that respect, St. Malachy was supplicated by the inhabitants to obtain from the Almighty a larger supply. Having told them that he came among them to catch not fish but men, he, however, moved by their faith, prayed to God in favour of them,

who was pleased to restore to that part of the sea an abundance of fish, greater perhaps than what it formerly had. On a certain occasion St. Malachy, with three other bishops, came to Fochart, the place where St. Brigid was born. (51) The priest, in whose house they stopped, said to him; "what shall I do, for I have no fish?" The saint desired him to apply to the fishermen, to which he answered, that for two years back the river had been destitute of fish. Yet, replied St. Malachy, let them cast their nets in the name of the Lord. They did so, and at the first throw took twelve salmons, and at the second as many more. A very remarkable case is narrated in nearly the following words. The wife of a nobleman, who lived near the monastery of Bangor, being sick past hopes of recovery, St. Malachy was asked to administer to her the sacrament of Extreme unction. He went to the house; but, as he was preparing to anoint her, his assistants thought that, as it was then evening, it would be better to wait until the next morning. (52) He followed their advice, and giving her his blessing retired. But scarcely had he left the house, (53) when he heard shouts and cries announcing, that she was dead. He immediately ran back, followed by his companions, and, when at the bed-side he ascertained that she had expired, became sorely troubled in mind, imputing to himself that she had not received the grace of the sacrament. Lifting his hands towards heaven he said; "O Lord, I have acted foolishly, I have sinned, who deferred administering, not she, who wished for it." He then declared, that he could not enjoy any comfort or peace of mind, unless that grace might be granted to her. Ordering his companions to watch and pray, as they did singing psalms, &c. he remained the whole night near the bed, praying and pouring out floods of tears. When morning came, she opened her eyes, as if awaking out of a heavy sleep, and raising herself on the bed

saluted St. Malachy. Great was the joy and admiration on this occurrence; and the saint returned thanks to God. He then anointed her, and she recovered so as to live for some time after, and to prepare herself for a happy death by a good confession and by the performance of the penance, which he enjoined on her. (54)

(50) Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 14. and *Tr. Th.* p. 305.

(51) See *Chap.* VIII. §. 2.

(52) Probably the reason of this opinion was, that it was thought more becoming that the sacraments should not, except in cases of urgent necessity, be administered by the clergy unless fasting. In Butler's Life of St. Malachy, the cause assigned for waiting until morning is, that she might then be better disposed for the sacrament. But St. Bernard, who is the only authority on this subject, assigns no other motive than that it was evening, *erat enim vespera.*

(53) In Butler's Life St. Malachy is represented as having retired to a chamber in the nobleman's house. If so, his companions also must have had chambers allotted for them in said house. Now it would not have been consistent with the rules of monastic discipline for monks to stay out of their monastery at night without necessity; and in this case there was no particular necessity for doing so, as the monastery was so near the house that, if called for, they could be there in a very short time. St. Bernard's words plainly indicate, that St. Malachy and his companions had left the house; "*exiit cum his, qui secum erant.*"

(54) St. Bernard, *Vit. S. Mal. cap.* 13. Messingham's *ed.* 24. Mabillon's. The other miraculous facts which I have touched upon, and several others, are related by him in said *cap.* 13. (Messingham) although by oversight or through a typographical error marked 8. In a part of said chapter, or *cap.* 21. (Mabillon) Cloyne is erroneously called *Duenvania* or *Duevania*, instead of *Chuenvania.*

§. VIII. St. Malachy happened to be somewhere near Cork at a time that the see of that city was vacant. On the election of a bishop, a great contest

arose, which when he heard of he repaired to Cork. Summoning the clergy and people, he strove to unite the discordant parties, and induced them to leave the matter to himself as being invested with the legatine power. He immediately named not any one of the nobles of that country, but a poor man, a native of a different part of Ireland, whom he knew to be holy and learned. This man is looked for, and the account given of him was, that he was lying in bed so weak, that he could not stir out except carried by others. The saint said; "Let him rise in the name of the Lord; I command him; obedience will cure him." What could the man do? He was unwilling to obey, and, even were he strong, was afraid to be made a bishop. Yet not knowing how to resist St. Malachy's order, and wishing for his health, he exerted himself to get up, and gradually felt himself becoming stronger and soon able to walk with ease. When he appeared before the assembly, he was placed on the episcopal chair with the acclamations of the clergy and people. (55) The name of this worthy bishop is not mentioned; but I think there can be no doubt, that he was the same as the celebrated Gilla Aeda O'Mugin, who was a truly good and learned man, and who afterwards assisted at the council of Kells in 1152. He was a stranger in Cork, being a native of Connaught, and belonged to the monastery, called of St. Finbar's cave, near that city, and which, according to some writers, was at that time possessed by Canons regular of St. Augustin. (56) St. Malachy being at Lismore met with a clerk there, a man it is said of good conduct, who denied the real presence in the sacrament of the Eucharist. He often expostulated with him in private, but could not induce him to retract his error. This clerk was at length brought, but not in a public manner, by some laymen to a meeting of clerical persons in the presence of St. Malachy, and allowed to defend himself. Notwithstanding his

being fully refuted by St. Malachy, and the unanimous opinion of the meeting against him, he still remained obstinate, pretending that he was worsted not by argument but by the bishop's (St. Malachy's) authority. The saint much grieved for his obduracy, and dreading some injury to the Catholic faith, found it necessary to summon a general assembly of the church, before which this man was made to appear. Although publicly admonished by St. Malachy, and earnestly requested by the other bishops, who attended, and all the clergy, to recant his error, he still persisted in it, so that they were obliged to anathematize him and declare him a heretic. Still determined not to submit he said, that they were all favouring the man, not the truth. Well then, replied St. Malachy, may the Lord make thee confess the truth, even through necessity; to which he answered *Amen*, or be it so. Thus the assembly broke up, after which he resolves on quitting Lismore, where he knew he would be looked upon as infamous. But he had not gone far, when he was seized with a sudden illness and forced to throw himself on the ground. A wandering idiot, who was passing that way, asked him what was the matter with him. He said that he was so ill, that he was not able to go forward or to return. The idiot then helped him back to his habitation, and the man's sentiments were so changed, that the bishop is sent for, to whom he acknowledges that he had been in error, which he retracts, and confesses the truth. He is then reconciled to the Church, makes his confession and is absolved, asks for the holy viaticum, which he receives, and very soon after departs this life. (57)

(55) St. Bernard, *ib. cap.* 13. or 23. Mabillon.

(56) This monastery has been mentioned above *Not.* 13, and also *Not.* 73, to *Chap.* xxvi. It is to be observed, that it was founded, or rather re-founded, for strangers from Connaught as

the countrymen of St. Finbarr. (See Archdall at *Cork*.) Gilla Aeda O'Mugin is reckoned among its abbots, and from him it has been called *Gill-abbey*; but it is probable, that he did not assume the government of it until after he was bishop; and thus we may answer the only objection, that can be brought against his having been the same as the poor man spoken of by St. Bernard; for, it may be said, had he been an abbot before he became bishop of Cork, would St. Bernard have called him merely a *poor man*, while contrasting him with the nobles of the country? Ware distinguishes (*Bishops of Cork*) Gilla Aeda O'Mugin from the person mentioned by St. Bernard, probably on account of his thinking that this person was appointed bishop by St. Malachy about 1140, and his supposing that this might be too early a date for Gilla Aeda, who held the see until 1172. But St. Bernard says nothing about the time of that appointment, and it might have been six or seven years later than what Ware imagined. Perhaps he was moved also by St. Bernard's calling that man an *alienigena*, as if he meant to say a *foreigner*, as in fact Harris (*ib.*) has falsely translated it. But it is plain from the context, that St. Bernard styled him *alienigena* for no other reason than that he was not a native of the diocese of Cork; and this answers quite well for Gilla Aeda O'Mugin, who was from Connaught.

(57) St. Bernard, *ib. cap.* 13, Messingham; 26. Mabil'on.

§. ix. The man, whom St. Malachy had allowed to possess the lands belonging to the monastery of Bangor, (58) was constantly hostile to him and his disciples, and used to find fault with all his proceedings. He had an only son, who imitated him, particularly on one occasion. St. Malachy having undertaken to construct at Bangor a stone oratory, like those which he had seen in other countries, and begun to lay the foundation of it, some of the inhabitants wondered at it, because stone buildings were unusual in that part of Ireland. (59) That young man not only wondered, but became enraged, and by means of whisperings and detractions induced

several persons to join him in preventing the execution of the work. On their going to the spot, he addressed St. Malachy with much insolence, saying; "Good man, why have you taken it into your head to introduce this novelty into our country? We are Scots, not Frenchmen. What folly! What necessity is there for this superfluous and superb edifice? Where will you get money towards the completion of it? Who will see it finished? Stop then, desist from this madness; otherwise we will put a stop to it." Little did he know how unable he was to effectuate his threat, in which he was left alone; for the others, who went with him, had, on seeing St. Malachy, changed their minds. The saint replied; "Wretched man, the work, which you now see begun, will certainly be completed, and many will see it so; but you shall not, and beware lest you die in your sin." In fact he died in the course of that year before the oratory was finished. Meanwhile his father, being informed of what St. Malachy had foretold concerning him, said; "He has killed my son;" and denounced him to the duke and chief men of Ulidia, in which territory Bangor was situated, as a liar, &c. and abused him with the nickname of ape. St. Malachy did not answer a word; but on the same day the unfortunate man, having returned home, lost his reason and fell into the fire, out of which he was dragged not without the burning of a part of his body. St. Malachy called to see him, and found him in a dreadful ungovernable state; but on his praying for him the man opened his eyes, and recovered the use of his reason; but it seems that he was afterwards subject to certain intervals of insanity. Having become unfit to manage the lands, with which he had been entrusted, they reverted to the monastery. (60) St. Malachy really had nothing to enable him to erect the oratory, but he confided in Providence and fortunately discovered a sum of money, which had been hid in the very spot, where

the building was undertaken ; and he gave orders, that it should be all expended on the work. It is stated, that he saw in a vision a model of an oratory, and that he followed it in the construction of this edifice. It is added, that he had a similar vision with regard to not only the oratory but likewise the entire monastery of Saul. (61)

(58) See *Chap. xxvi. §. 9.*

(59) We have seen already, that long before this period there were buildings of stone in other parts of Ireland. An instance of them is Cormac's Chapel at Cashel, and a much older one was the ancient church of Duleek, which got its name, *Dam-liag*, from its house or church of stone. Harris had no right to say (*Bishops p. 56.*) that the stone oratory of Bangor is said to have been the first of that sort in Ireland.

(60) St. Bernard, *ib. cap. 14*, Messingham ; 28, Mabillon.

(61) *Ib.*

§. x. This monastery of Saul in the county of Down might seem one of those five Cistercian establishments, which St. Bernard says had been derived from Mellifont. (62) But it is not reckoned among the Cistercian monasteries, and seems to have belonged to the Canons Regular of St. Augustin after it had been erected, or rather, as usually said, repaired by St. Malachy. (63) The monastery, which he calls *Suriense*, or Suriam, was undoubtedly one of them, and, in all probability, the oldest next after Mellifont. I think it cannot be doubted, that it was somewhere near the river Suir. (64) As St. Malachy was passing through a town not far from it, where he was surrounded by a great crowd of people, he descried among them a young man, who had got upon a stone to see him, and was eying him with great attention. The saint immediately perceived that he was of a good disposition, and on the following night told the brethren what he foresaw concerning him. After two or three days a nobleman, the

master of that young man, brought him to St. Malachy and requested that he would, according to his wish, admit him among his followers. St. Malachy received him with pleasure, and entrusted him to the abbot Congan, who recommended him to the brethren of Surium, in which, in all appearance, Congan was the abbot. (65) The said young man was the first *conversus*, or lay-brother of that monastery, and led a holy life according to the Cistercian institution. (66) St. Malachy rebuilt or repaired his cathedral of Down, but in what year I do not find mentioned. (67) In 1148 he consecrated the church, under the names of St. Peter and Paul, of the monastery or Knock-na-Sengan, since called *Knock abbey*, near Louth, which was founded and endowed for Augustin Canons by Donogh O'Carrol, prince of Oriel, and Edan O'Kelly or O'Killedy, bishop of Clogher. (68) St. Malachy was uneasy about the palliums, and was sorry that they had not been applied for during the life-time of Innocent II. who had promised to give them. Innocent died in 1143; his successor Celestine II. held the pontificate for less than six months; and after him Lucius II. for little more than eleven months, on whose death in February, 1145, Eugene III. was placed on the Holy see. This Pope had been a monk of Clairvaux and a disciple of St. Bernard. St. Malachy had therefore a good right to suppose, that he would be favourable to his wish for obtaining the palliums, and thought it adviseable, that the opportunity of a journey of the Pope to France should be seized upon. Accordingly a synod is convoked by St. Malachy and Gelasius of Armagh to be held in the year 1148 in the church of Inis-Patrick, (Holmpatrick) which was attended by 15 bishops, 200 priests, and many of the inferior clergy. (69) Having sat for three days, and made many useful regulations, the business relative to the palliums was treated of on the fourth. It was agreed to, but a wish was expressed that St. Malachy should

not be the messenger. Yet, as he was inclined to go, and it being supposed that, having to proceed no farther than France, he would not be long absent, no one presumed to oppose his determination.

(62) See above *Not.* 41.

(63) Ware, who was very particular in investigating the history of the Cistercian houses in Ireland, has (*Antiq. cap.* 26.) the abbey of Saul, which, he says, was repaired by St. Malachy, among those of the Canons Regular of St. Augustin; but he was wrong in supposing, that it had belonged to them since the days of St. Patrick; for, as we have often seen, there were no such Canons in the world until many centuries after St. Patrick's death.

(64) Ware (*ib.* at *Tipperary*) makes mention of the Cistercian abbey of Inislaunaght, or De Surio, a place near the Suir 3½ miles West of Clonmel. He says, that it was founded in 1159, while others make it later. If so, it was different from the one mentioned by St. Bernard. But perhaps it was only re-founded or newly endowed after St. Bernard's death; or, as Ware observes, the monks of the former De Surio, or Surium, might have removed to Inislaunaght. I have remarked elsewhere (*Not.* 69. to *Chap.* xvii.) on the mistakes of Colgan, Harris, and Archdall relative to this place. Lynch was inclined to think, (*Camb. evers. p.* 169), that Surium was the same as Shrowl in the county of Longford; but, as he objects to himself, the monastery of Shrowl is said to have been founded in 1150 or 1152, and consequently after the death of St. Malachy. Besides, the name is much different from *Surium*.

(65) This is sufficiently clear from the context of St. Bernard, and his speaking of that young man as a member of the monastery of Surium. Congan was the person, at whose request St. Bernard wrote the Life of St. Malachy, and who helped him with materials for composing it. (See *Preface* to it.) Some say, that he wrote one himself. It has been also said, that he wrote *Acts of St. Bernard*. See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Congan*.

(66) St. Bernard, *ib.* *cap.* 14, Messingham; 29, Mabillon.

(67) See Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 29. at *Down*.

(68) *Tr. Th.* *p.* 305. Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Louth*, and

Bishops of Clogher at Edan. *Knock-na-Sengan* signifies the *hill of ants*. Colgan places it in the town of Louth, and Ware near it; it might have been formerly in the town. Colgan elsewhere (*AA. SS. p. 737*) speaks of the church consecrated by St. Malachy as merely the church of Louth, and seems to distinguish it from that of Knock-na-sengan. Ware (*loc. citt.*) and after him Harris (*Monast.*) and Archdall (at *Louth*) have another monastery of Augustin Canons in Louth itself, which, they say, was founded by the same prince Donogh and bishop Edan. It was probably no other than the ancient abbey of Louth restored and renewed, as may be conjectured from its church being called, as the old one had been, by the name of St. Mary. For Edan O'Kelly see above §. 3,

(69) Life of Gelasius, *cap. 15.* and *Tr. Th. p. 305.* See also the Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 1148.* In these documents mention is made of the enacting of good rules by the synod.

§. XI. St. Malachy immediately set out, and was accompanied as far as the sea shore by some brethren, but not many, as he ordered them not to follow him. One of them, named *Catholicus*, who was subject to epileptic fits, lamented with tears his being abandoned by the saint without his doing any thing for him, while he suffered so severely, and was constantly troublesome to the other brethren. St. Malachy, having compassion on him, embraced him, and making the sign of the cross on his breast said; "Be assured, that you will not suffer any thing of the kind until I return." In fact, *Catholicus* was freed from those fits without being afterwards attacked by them. Just as St. Malachy was entering the ship, two other brethren represented to him, that they wished for a favour. On his asking them what it was, they answered that they would not tell, unless he promised to do it. He promised that he would; and then they said; "your Reverence will please to give us your word, that you will return safe to Ireland," and in this they were joined by the rest

of them. At first he was sorry for the promise he had made, but wishing not to make them uneasy he agreed, as well as he could, to their request. When the ship was half way over, a contrary wind arose and drove it back to the Irish coast. St. Malachy landed on a part of it, where there was one of his own churches, in which he spent the night, and thanking Providence considered this circumstance as a fulfilment of his pledge to the brethren. Returning to sea he arrived after a quick passage in Scotland, and on the third day came to a place called *Green-Pool*, (70) where he had got a monastery prepared, in which he now placed a Cistercian abbot and monks, whom he brought with him from Ireland for that purpose. Taking leave of them and travelling along, he was met by the king David, who detained him for some days. On the saint's entering England, he stopped for a while at Gisbury, where some holy men following a canonical rule lived, with whom he had been long acquainted. While there, a woman afflicted with a dreadful cancer was brought to him, whom he cured by sprinkling water, which he blessed, on the ulcers. When arrived at a sea-port, he was denied a passage to the continent; for the king (Stephen), who had some dispute with the Pope, would not allow any bishop to pass over. (71)

(70) *Viride stagnum*. Some have confounded this place with *Viride lignum*, *Green wood*. But *Viride lignum* was the Cistercian monastery of Newry, which was founded some years after St. Malachy's death.

(71) St. Bernard, *ib. cap.* 16, Messingham; 30, Mabillon.

§. XII. Owing to this delay St. Malachy lost the opportunity of seeing the Pope Eugene III. in France, and particularly at Clairvaux, where he spent some time; (72) for he had returned to Italy, before St. Malachy, having got permission to sail

from England, could overtake him in France. The saint continuing his course reached Clairvaux in October, 1148, and was received with the utmost joy by St. Bernard and his holy monks. Having spent with them four or five of the happiest days possible on both sides, he was seized, after having celebrated mass, on the festival of St. Luke with a fever, and obliged to take to his bed. At first it was thought to be of little consequence; but every attention, that could be used, was paid to him. He told those good men, that it was all in vain; and when his Irish brethren, who had come along with him, encouraged him not to give himself up, he said to them; "Malachy must die this year; behold, the day is approaching, which, as you well know, I always wished should be my last." Having called for Extreme unction, he would not allow the clergymen to go up stairs to where he lay, but came down to them. Being anointed, he received the holy viaticum, and recommending himself to the prayers of the brethren, and the brethren to God, returned to bed. On finding the last night of his life coming on, he spoke with the greatest spiritual hilarity, and said to those about him; "Take care of me; I shall not forget you, if it will be allowed; but it will be allowed. I have believed in God, and do believe that all things are possible. I have loved God; I have loved you; and charity never faileth." Then looking towards heaven he says; "O God, preserve them in thy name, and not only them, but likewise all those, who through my words and ministry have bound themselves to thy service." Then placing his hands on the heads of each of them, and blessing them all, he desired them to go to rest, whereas his hour was not yet come. About midnight the whole community assembled, and several abbots were in attendance with St. Bernard and the brethren to watch his exit. Not long after he expired in the 54th year of his age, on the 2d of November, A. D.

1148, in the place and time (All Souls day), which he had wished for and foretold. His death was like a sleep; so placid and chearful was his countenance, as if he were alive. His body was carried on the shoulders of abbots to the oratory, where the holy sacrifice was offered for him, the funeral service performed; and every thing conducted with the greatest devotion. St. Bernard, having observed a boy in the oratory, one of whose arms was dead, pointed to him to come forward. The boy did so, and applied the dead arm to the hand of St. Malachy, upon which he recovered the use of it. The remains of the saint were deposited on the same day in the oratory of the Blessed Virgin Mary. (73) St. Bernard preached a funeral oration in honour of him on said day, and another sermon of a similar purport, apparently on an anniversary of his death. (73*) St. Malachy was canonized, many years after his death, by Pope Clement, probably the third, rather than the fourth, as some seem to have thought. (74) He was undoubtedly the greatest, the holiest, and the most disinterested of the bishops of his times. St. Bernard, a truly competent judge, could scarcely find words sufficient to express his admiration of him. It may seem odd, that St. Malachy has been called head of the religion not only of Ireland but likewise of Scotland; (75) but this may be understood relatively to the great esteem, in which he was held by the princes and people of that country, and to his having formed there some religious establishments; or perhaps to the traditionary account of a dependance of the Scottish churches of N. Britain on Armagh. (76) As to his being reckoned among the Irish writers, I cannot find any sufficient reason for it, except his having written some letters, not extant, to St. Bernard, and probably to some others. (77) He was succeeded in the see, of Down, by Moeliosa Mac-In-clericuir, a learned man who has been called Malachy II. (78)

(72) See Fleury, *Hist Eccl. L.* 69. §. 38.

(73) St. Bernard, *ib. cap. xvi. xvii. seqq.* Messingham; 31, Mabillon. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 305.) agree with St. Bernard as to the year and day of St. Malachy's death, observing, as does also Baronius, that his festival was transferred to the following day to avoid the concurrence with that of All Souls. The Annals of Innisfallen also place his death in 1148. Harris (*Archbishops of Armagh at St. Malachy*) mentions some idle opinions concerning the year of his death or the day of his festival, which are not worth examination.

(73*) These sermons may be seen in the first volume of Mabillon's edition of St. Bernard's works, *col.* 1047, *seqq.* He also announced St. Malachy's death to the religious brethren of Ireland, and particularly to the congregations which he had founded, in a most affectionate consolatory letter, No. 45, in Usher's *Sylloge*, and 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ in Mabillon's *ed.*

(74) The bull of canonization has been published by Mabillon, *ib.* immediately after the Life of St. Malachy. It is addressed to the general chapter of the Cistercians, and dated the third year of Pope Clement's pontificate. Mabillon says, *Chronologia Bernardina, col. x.* towards the end of the 1st *Vol.* of St. Bernard's works, that the canonization of St. Malachy is marked at *A.* 1192 in the chronicle of Clairvaux *ap. Fr. Chifflet.* It will be objected, that this cannot agree with its having been in the third year of Clement III. who died in 1191, and whose third year was 1190. But, although the bull may be fairly supposed to have been issued in 1190, it might not have been acted upon by the Cistercian order until 1192, after due notice had been given of it and matters arranged for the solemnization of St. Malachy's festival.

(75) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1148.

(76) See above §. 4. and 11. Also *Not.* 35 to *Chap. xv.*

(77) Concerning the tracts attributed to St. Malachy see Ware and Harris *Writers at Malachy.* In our days nobody will think of making him the author of the famous forged prophecy concerning the Popes.

(78) Ware, *Bishops at Down.* Some French writers, *ex. c.* Menard (*Observat. ad Martyrol. Bened. 18 Mart.*) and Fleury *Hist. Eccl. L.* 69. §. 41.) have said, that Christian, abbot of

Mellifont, was bishop of Down after St. Malachy, which they deduced from its having been stated, that St. Malachy was succeeded by Christian. But this should have been understood not relatively to the see of Down, but as to his having been the next Apostolic legate after St. Malachy; not that he was appointed to that office immediately after St. Malachy's death, nor probably until at least two years later. Christian was never bishop of Down, but became bishop of Lismore, the only see that he held at any time. The French ecclesiastical historians and antiquaries, not excepting even such men as D'Achery and Mabillon, have, when treating or touching on matters of Irish church history, fallen into many mistakes, owing to their not having thought it worth their while to consult the documents, by which they might have been best guided, such as Colgan's collections; and some of them seem to have been unacquainted even with the works of Ware.

§. XIII. In the said year 1148 after the departure of St. Malachy, Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh, brought about in an assembly held at Armagh a reconciliation between Murchertach or Maurice O'Lochlin, the prince of Tyrone, and the chieftains and nobles of Orgiel and Ulidia, who recognized the supreme power of O'Lochlin and gave him hostages. (79) To this year is assigned the foundation of a monastery of Augustin Canons in Louth by Donogh O'Carrol, prince of Orgiel, and Edan, bishop of Clogher, (80) and the death of O'Dubhin, bishop of Kildare. (81) In 1149 died Nehemias O'Morier-tach bishop of Cloyne, who is highly praised by Irish writers. (82) A very respectable prelate, Muredach O'Dubhthaich, or O'Dubhai, bishop of Tuam, greatly esteemed for his wisdom and liberality, died in the 75th year of his age on the festival of St. Brendan (16th of May) *A. D.* 1150, and was buried in the monastery of Cong. (83) During his incumbency Turlogh O'Conor erected the priory of St. John Baptist at Tuam. (84) In the same year 1150 a great part of Armagh was destroyed by fire,

after which Gelasius made a visitation of his diocese, partly for the purpose of procuring contributions towards re-building and repairing what been burned, in which he was successful. (85) According to some accounts four Cistercian abbeys were founded in 1151, *viz.* those of Bective in the county of Meath, Boyle in the county of Roscommon, Magio, *alias* Nenay, in the county of Limerick, and Baltinglass in the county of Wicklow. (86) But it is much more probable, that at least some of them were founded earlier. (87) If, as can scarcely be doubted, these were among the five monasteries derived from Mellifont, which existed at the time St. Bernard was writing the Life of St. Malachy, they must have been established prior to 1151. They are, next to Mellifont, the oldest that appear in the catalogue of the Irish Cistercian houses. (88) Now St. Bernard wrote that work before 1151, as is plain from his speaking of Christian merely as abbot of Mellifont at that time. But it cannot be doubted, that Christian was bishop of Lismore, and even Apostolic legate in said year. He succeeded Moelmonech O'Lonsec, who died in 1150. (89) Christian (Gilla-Criost) was of a family named *O'Conairche*; and, as he was brother to the monk Malchus, (90) it must be supposed, that he was a native of the country about Bangor.

(79) Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 15. and *Tr. Th.* p. 306.

(80) See above *Not.* 67.

(81) *Tr. Th.* p. 630. and Ware, *Bishops* at Kildare.

(82) The 4 Masters, (*ap. Tr. Th.* p. 308.) who have his death at *A.* 1149, call him a bishop of the South of Ireland, and represent him as very wise, devout and chaste. He is praised also in the Vision of Tundal or Tungal. (See Ware, *Bishops* at *Cloyne.*) St. Bernard makes mention of him, as we have seen above, §. 7.

(83) Ware and Harris, *Bishops* at Tuam.

(84) Ware, *ib.* and *Antiq.* *cap.* 26. at Galway, where he says,

that he does not find of what order said priory was. Harris (*ib.*) makes it of that of Augustin Canons; yet at *Monasteries* he states that the order is uncertain.

(85) Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 16. and *Tr. Th.* p. 306.

(86) Annals of Mary's Abbey at *A.* 1151.

(87) Ware states (*Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Limerick*) that the house of Magio, or Nenay, was founded in 1148 by, it is thought, O'Brian, I suppose Turlogh O'Brian king of Munster. Of Bective or the monastery *De Beatitudine*, he says, (*ib.* at *Meath*) that it was founded by Murchard O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath, but that the Cistercian Chronologists differ as to the time, some having *A.* 1146, others 1148, and others again 1151. Treating of Baltinglass, or *De Vale salutis*, (*ib.* at *Wicklow*) founded by Dermot Mac Morrogh, king of Leinster, he mentions that some assign it to 1118, others to 1151; and with regard to Boyle he relates (*ib.* at *Roscommon*) that, before the Cistercians removed to it, they were first settled in 1148, under an abbot Peter O'Morda, at a place called *Grellechdine*, whence they went to Dromconaid with their second abbot Egan O'Maccain, thence with his successor Maurice O'Dubhai to Buinfinny, and finally to Boyle in 1161, or, as others say, 1151. I pass by what he has about these monasteries in the *Coenob. Cisterc.* For he afterwards changed several of the positions stated in that tract.

(88) Harris has (*Monaster.*) a Cistercian abbey at Athlone, under the name of St. Peter and St. Benedict, which he assigns to *A.* 1150. He took this date from Ware's *Coenob. Cisterc.*; but Ware himself who makes mention of this abbey again (*Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Roscommon*) and says, that it was called *De Innocentia*, marks no date for it, nor does Archdall at *Athlone, Roscommon*. It may be said, that Shrowl or Shrule, *alias De Benedictione Dei*, might have been one of the five alluded to by St. Bernard, if it be true that it was founded in 1150. Yet Ware observes, (*ib.* at *Longford*) that some assign it to 1152. Probably Mary's Abbey of Dublin was become Cistercian at the time of St. Bernard's writing; but it was not derived from Mellifont. (Compare with *Not.* 41.)

(89) See *Chap.* xxvi. §. 15. Ware was right (*Bishops* at *Lismore*) in assigning Christian's accession to about 1150; I think it was in that very year. I have remarked above (*Not.* 78.) on

the mistake of those, who have made him bishop of Down. Another still grosser mistake is that of some writers quoted and refuted by Colgan, (*AA. SS.* at 18 *Mart.* where he treats of Christian) who have said that he was archbishop of Armagh, as if he could be so while Gelasius held that see. This, like the other mistake, was derived from his having been the next Apostolic legate after St. Malachy, whence it was inferred that he succeeded the saint also as bishop, or even archbishop.

(90) See *Chap.* xxvi. §. 9.

§. xiv. According to some accounts it would seem, that Christian, soon after he became bishop of Lismore, went to Rome. For it has been said, that he came to Ireland in company with Cardinal Paparo. (91) Yet it is odd that, had he gone to Rome, something more would not have been mentioned about it. (92) Perhaps he went to Scotland there to meet the Cardinal and conduct him to Ireland. For Paparo being sent with the palliums by Pope Eugene III. first came to England, but was refused a passport for the continuance of his journey by king Stephen, unless he would take his oath, that he would not in his progress do any thing prejudicial to the interests of the English kingdom. The Cardinal, feeling indignant at this proposal returned to Rome, where Stephen's conduct on this occasion excited much displeasure. Afterwards he set out again taking the route of Scotland, and was honourably received by the king David about Michaelmas. (93) Thence he went to Ireland, where he arrived in the latter part of the year 1151. (94) He remained seven days with Gelasius at Armagh, who, soon after it seems, went to Connaught, apparently for the purpose of consulting with the king Turlogh O'Connor, and forwarding the business of the approaching synod, (95) which, being convoked, met at Kells (96) on the 9th of March, *A. D.* 1152. (97) It was presided by Cardinal Paparo, as the Pope's legate, to whom some add as also presiding, Christian,

who was likewise Apostolic legate. (98) Several bishops did not attend at this synod; and one of the reasons of their absence seems to have been, that many of the Irish were displeas'd at palliums being intended for the sees of Dublin and Tuam, whereas they thought that none should be granted except to Armagh and Cashel, which was already an archbishopric. And it is observ'd, that the clergy of Armagh and Down particularly insisted on this point. (99) The names of the prelates, who, besides Paparo who was only a Cardinal priest of the title of St. Laurence in Damaso, were actually present, are thus given: "Christian O'Conairche, bishop of Lismore and the Pope's legate in Ireland; Gelasius comorban (successor) of St. Patrick, and primate of Ireland; Domnald O'Lonargain, archbishop of Munster (Cashel); Grenius, or Gregory (*alias* Greri) bishop of Dublin; Gilla nanoemh, or Nehemias Laigneach, bishop of Glendaloch; Dungal O'Coellaidhe, bishop of Leighlin; Fostius, bishop of Portlargo, or Waterford; Domnald O'Fogarty, Vicar general of the bishop of Ossory; Finn Mac-Kienan, bishop of Kildare; Gilda-An choim'dhe O'Hardmaoil, vicar of the bishop of Emly; Gilla-Aidus O'Maighin, bishop of Cork; Mac-ronan, comorban of St. Brendan, that is, bishop of Clonfert; Brendan, bishop of Kerry; Torgest, bishop of Limerick; Murchertac O'Moeluidhir, bishop of Clonmacnois; Moeliosa O'Connachtain, bishop of East Connaught (Roscommon); Huaruadhanic, or O'Ruadan, bishop of Lugnia (Achonry); Mac-crath O'Morain, bishop of Conmacne of Hi-Briun; Muredach O'Cohtaich, bishop of Kinel Eogain; Moelpatrick O'Banain, bishop of the Dalaradians (Connor); and Moeliosa Mac-Clerich-corr, bishop of the Ulidians (Down)." (100) There were present also many abbots and priors, besides a multitude of inferior clergy. (101)

(91) Ware in his treatise on the Archbishops of Cashel, published in 1626, many years before his general work on the Bishops of Ireland, quotes (at *Donatus O'Lonargan*) an anonymous writer of those times, who says at *A. 1152*, that Cardinal John Paparo came to Ireland together with Christian, bishop of Lismore, and legate of all Ireland. But he has omitted this quotation in the general work, probably thinking that it was not well founded. Fleury, however, refers to it, (*Hist. Eccl. L. 69. §. 62.*), and makes Paparo and Christian come together to Ireland.

(92) In the Annals of Mary's abbey it is said, that Paparo came to Ireland with Christian, but, unless the copy, which I have seen among Harris' MSS., be incorrect, under a palpably wrong date, *viz. A. 1148*. Colgan, although he quotes (*Life of Gelasius, cap. 17.*) from Ware the passage of the anonymous writer, yet in the very same chapter says, that there is no account of any one after St. Malachy having gone from Ireland to Rome for the purpose of procuring the palliums; whence we may conclude, that he knew nothing about a journey of Christian to Rome; for, if he did, he would naturally have mentioned it as connected with the affair of the palliums. And in the *Acts of Christian* at 18 March he has not a word about his having travelled to Rome.

(93) See Fleury, *loc. cit.* and Pagi (*Critica, &c. at A. 1151*) from John of Hagustald's Continuation of the History of Simon of Durham.

(94) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p. 306*. It is unnecessary to quote other authorities to prove, that this was the year of Cardinal Paparo's arrival in Ireland. For nothing is more certain, as will be soon seen, than that the synod of Kells was held in March, 1152. Now, as he did not reach Ireland until a late period of the year, his arrival must consequently be assigned to 1151, probably in October, between which and the following March there was not more than sufficient time for summoning the bishops to the council, their travelling to attend at it, and other necessary preparations. The anonymous writer quoted by Ware (see *Not. 91.*) places Paparo's arrival in 1152, and led him astray not only at *Donatus O'Lonargan*, but likewise in his general work on Bishops at *Gelasius of Armagh*. Fleury also (*loc. cit.*) fell into the same mistake. That writer confounded the year of the synod with that of Paparo's arrival, as if the synod could have assembled as soon

as the early part of March, 1152, if he did not reach Ireland until said year.

(95) Colgan (*Life of Gelasius, cap. 18.*) refers to the Irish annals, meaning those of the 4 Masters, for Gelasius having gone to Connaught in 1152; but Dr. O'Connor, who has before him the very original copy of said annals, says, (*Rer. Hib. &c. 2 Proleg. p. 156.*) that it was in 1151. Besides, Colgan contradicts himself; for he states, that in the same year the pious queen Dervorgalla, wife of Turlogh O'Connor, died at Armagh. Now elsewhere (*Tr. Th. p. 306.*) he assigns, from the 4 Masters, her death to A. 1151.

(96) The anonymous writer, quoted by Ware, has *Mell*, instead of *Kell* or *Kells*. Perhaps this is owing to a mistake of a transcriber; but hence seems to have proceeded the opinion of those, who thought that Mellifont, which they supposed the same as Mell, was the place where the council was held. Ware speaks doubtfully of this matter; yet he says, (*Archbishops of Armagh at Gelasius*) that it is more generally agreed that Kells is the place. Fleury, (*loc. cit.*) and Pagi (*Critica ad A. 1152*) following that anonymous authority, have Mellifont. But it is clear from authentic Irish documents, such as the Annals of Cluain-eidhneach, (Clonenagh) written about the same time, that the council sat at Kells, alias *Kennanus*, in the now county of Meath. Those annals are quoted by Keating (*Book 2. p. 104. Dublin ed.*) and from him by Colgan. (*Tr. Th. p. 306. and AA. SS. p. 654 and 775.*) Yet it may be, that after Cardinal Paparo's departure, some of the bishops assembled again at Mellifont under the presidency of Christian, who was then Apostolic legate. And thus perhaps we may account for the singular statement of the Annals of Innisfallen at A. 1152, that the synod was held at Drogheda, or, as some have said, *ad monasterium Pontanense*, inasmuch as Mellifont, being not far from Drogheda, might have been called its monastery.

(97) This is the year marked for the celebration of the council of Kells not only in the Annals of Innisfallen, but likewise in those of Mary's Abbey, Multifernan and others. (See Harris, *Archbishops of Armagh at Gelasius.*) It is the date also of the 4 Masters; and accordingly Colgan was wrong (*A. SS. p. 779.*) in saying, that they assign it to 1151. For, as observed by Dr. O'Connor, (*loc.*

et. in Not. 95. above) they have 1152. The same year is expressly marked in the Annals of Cluain-eidhneach; and, to confirm it still more, they add that it was a bissextile, or leap year, such as 1152 was. Usher seems to have thought, (*Ind. Chron. ad Pr.*) that the synod, although he does not mention it, was held in 1151; but, if he did, he confounded the date of it with that of Paparo's arrival in Ireland. The wretched translator of Keating, Dermot O'Connor, makes him say, that the synod assembled in 1157, and has greatly puzzled poor Harris, who set about proving (*ib.*) that Keating was mistaken. But Keating was not to blame; for in his genuine text, as quoted three times by Colgan, he has not 1157, but 1152; and Harris himself remarks, that in a MS. English translation of Keating's history in Marsh's library the year marked is 1152. That the first day of sitting was the 9th of March is clear from its being stated in the Annals of Cluain-eidhneach, that it was the *Dominica Laetare*, or the fourth Sunday in Lent, which in that year fell on the 9th not on the 8th, as Colgan says, of March, whereas Easter Sunday was the 30th. Dr. O'Connor quotes (*2 Prol. p. 159.*) from the old book of Flannan Mac Eogan a passage, in which it is said, that the synod began *pridie Non. Martii*, that is, on the sixth of March. But how can this agree with the assertion of its having begun on the *Dominica Laetare*? Of this more lower down.

(98) In the Annals of Cluain-eidhneach the Cardinal alone is spoken of as president of the council, and Christian is mentioned merely as having attended at it. But Keating himself says, that Christian also presided, and so does Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 654.* The anonymous writer, quoted by Ware, leaves out Paparo as president, and states that it was Christian, who held the council of Mell, as he calls it. (See above *Not. 96.*) And yet he supposes that Paparo was present. The Annals of Mary's abbey in like manner make Christian alone president of the council. I suspect, that this statement originated with the Cistercians, to whose order Christian had belonged. But the Annals of Cluain-eidhneach are more deserving of attention.

(99) Keating, as quoted by Colgan, (*AA. SS. p. 654 and 776.*) refers to the Annals of Cluain-eidhneach for this account; but his miserable translator has perverted his text by making him say, that it was not to the palliums for Dublin and Tuam, but to that for

Cashel, that the clergy of Armagh and Down objected. Keating's statement is confirmed by the old book of Flannan Mac-Eogan *ap.* Dr. O'Conor, *loc. cit.*

(100) This list is quoted three times by Colgan from Keating's original, as taken from the Annals of Cluain-eidhneach; but Keating's bungling translator has given us a different one, which is no other than that published by Ware (*Ant. cap.* 16.) from an old MS. except that he has spoiled some names mentioned by Ware. In Ware's list Eda, or Aidan O'Hossin (not *O'Heyn*, as that translator has) appears between O'Lonargain of Munster or Cashel, and Gregory of Dublin, and is called archbishop of Connaught, *i. e.* Tuam. But he is not in Keating's text, as Colgan expressly remarks. Perhaps he was sick at the time; for it cannot be supposed, that he had any ecclesiastical objection to the synod, as there was a pallium intended for him. The same pseudo-translator adds *Greine* to the name of *Tuam*, not knowing that Tuamgreine, now Tomgrany in the county of Clare, was quite different from the archiepiscopal town of Tuam in the county of Galway. He found *Greine*, or *Greri*, mentioned by Ware next after the word *Tuam*; but Ware's meaning is, that *Greine* or *Greri* was the same person as Gregory of Dublin. Among other alterations of Ware's words he has changed the name of O'Maigin, bishop of Cork, into *O'Heyn*: and hence Harris (at *Bishops of Cork*) says, that O'Maigin is called O'Heyn by Keating. He should have said, *by his translator*; for in Keating's original the name is *O'Maighin* or *Maigin*, as Harris might have easily found in the various quotations from it by Colgan. Ware calls Donnald O'Fogarty *bishop of Ossory*, and, in like manner Gilda-An-choimde *bishop of Emly*. To the bishop of Kildare he gives the surname not of *Mac-Kienan* but *Mac-Tiarcaín*. He makes Mac-ronan bishop of Kerry or Ardfert, instead of Clonfert, and then leaves out Brendan, who was the real bishop of Kerry. This was owing to his having found the name of Brendan occurring twice in this order; "*Mac-ronan, comorban of St. Brendan; Brendan, bishop of Kerry*. Now by the former Brendan was meant the great St. Brendan, founder of the monastery of Clonfert, and by the latter Brendan the then actual bishop of Kerry or Ardfert. Ware con-founded them into one Brendan, and thus made Mac-ronan bishop of Kerry; a mistake, which he has also (*Bishops at Ardfert*), and

in which he has been followed by Harris. He adds two bishops not mentioned by Keating or Colgan, *viz.* Ethru O'Miadachain, bishop of Clonard, and Tuathal O'Connachtaigh, bishop of Hua-mbriuin, which he explains by Enagh-dune, now Annadown. The Conmacne, of which Mac-crath O'Morain was bishop, he explains by Ardagh; for, one of the districts, called by that name, was in the now county of Longford. But he is not right in making Muredach O'Cobtaich bishop of Derry at the time of the council of Kells; for, in the first place Kinel-Eogain, of which he is called bishop, was the territory now called Tyrone, which did not comprize the district about Derry; and we find among the signatures to the foundation charter of the Cistercian abbey of Newry his name under the title of bishop of Tir-eoghain. Secondly, Ware himself (*Bishops at Derry*) does not make him bishop of Derry until after Flathbert O'Brolcan, who became bishop of that see in 1158, and lived for some years after. As to the particular name of Muredach's see in Tyrone, it was not Clogher, whose bishop was then Edan O'Killedy, and who, by the bye, did not attend at the synod. Besides, the bishops of Clogher used to be styled bishops of Ergall or Oriel. I have no doubt, that it was the ancient see of Ardsrath or Ardstraw in Tyrone, otherwise called Rathlure. (See *Chap. XII. §. 3* and *ib. Not. 35.*) Keating makes mention of it, under the name of *Ardsrath*, as existing at the time of the synod of Rathbreasil; (*Chap. xxv. §. 13.*) but, when treating of the council of Kells, he calls it Rathlure.

In the old book of Flannan Mac-Eogan there is another list of the prelates assembled at Kells, which has been published by Dr. O'Connor, 2 *Prol. p.* 159. In it we find Aed O'Ossin of Tuam. The bishop of Kildare is called *Mac-Tiarcaín*. Gilla Aeda O'Maigin of Cork is omitted. Donnald O'Fogarty is called *bishop of Ossory*. Torgesius of Limerick is omitted; but in his stead Gilla An-chomdhe O'Hardmaoil appears as bishop of that see. This is evidently a mistake; for he belonged to Emly, either as bishop or vicar. Likewise Mac-Ronan of Clonfert is omitted. In this list are the bishops of Clonard and Hua-mbriuin, as mentioned by Ware.

(101) The abbots and priors are mentioned by Keating from the Annals of Cluain-eidneach; and the 4 Masters, according to Dr. O'Connor, (2 *Prol. p.* 156.) say, that 3000 clergymen were

present at the synod. The anonymous writer *ap.* Ware adds kings, dukes, and other distinguished laymen.

§. xv. The council being assembled, Cardinal Paparo distributed the four palliums for Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam. (102) He then declared, as it was right to do, the archbishop of Armagh primate over the others. (103) A decree was issued against simony, a crime which was in those times but too prevalent throughout the Christian world. (104) Usury also was condemned; and the Cardinal ordered, in virtue of apostolical authority, that tithes should be paid. (105) On this point he was very badly obeyed; for it is certain, that tithes were, if at all, very little exacted in Ireland until after the establishment of the English power. Suffragan sees were fixed for the four metropolitans, and are thus reckoned; 1. Under Armagh were placed Connor, Down, Louth or Clogher, Clonard, Kells, Ardagh, Raphoe, Rathlure or Ardstraw, Duleek, Derry. 2. Under Cashel are named Killaloe, Limerick, Iniscathy, Kilfenora, Emly, Roscrea, Waterford, Lismore, Cloyn, Cork, Ross, Ardfert. 3. Under Dublin only five sees, Glendaloch, Ferns, Ossory, Leighlin, Kildare. 4. Under Tuam are mentioned Mayo, Killalla, Roscommon, Clonfert, Achonry, Clonmacnois, Kilmacduagh. (106) These were the only regulations, of which I find any authentic account, (107) enacted in this synod, the whole being relative to discipline and morality. No decrees were issued as to points of faith or doctrine; for there was no question concerning such subjects. (108) The synod being terminated, Cardinal Paparo immediately set out on his return to Rome, and crossed the sea on the 24th of March. (109) Hence we find that the synod did not sit for many days, as it had commenced on the 9th of said month. (110)

In the course of the same year 1152 one of the bishops, who had assisted at the synod, Dungal

O'Coellaidhe, or O'Cellaie, of Leighlin, died ; (111) as did also Fergal O'Ferehubuis, a professor of theology at Armagh. (112) To the preceding year is assigned the death of a bishop of Killala, Maelfogamair, probably the only one of that see, whose name occurs after that of the founder St. Muredach. (113)

(102) Such is the order, in which the four sees are mentioned by Hoveden at *A.* 1151, who calls them *Armarc, Cassel, Dive-line, Connath*. In the Annals of Cluain-eidneach in Keating's original text they are placed thus ; Dublin, Cashel, Tuam, and Armagh. The author did not attend to the rank of precedency. From his having accidentally mentioned Dublin first some persons derived a foolish argument as if to show, that its see was made the primatial one of Ireland. That author could not have thought so ; for he tells us immediately after, that the archbishop of Armagh was declared the primate. In all the lists of the prelates, who attended at the synod, Gregory of Dublin is named after not only Gelasius of Armagh, but likewise Donnald of Cashel. (See more in *Jus. Prim. Armac.* §. 17. *scqq.*) Hoveden, giving an account of the Irish sees, as they existed at the time of the arrival of Henry II. and reckoning them according to the order of rank, has first Armagh, subjoining its suffragan sees ; then Cashel with its suffragans ; next Dublin, &c. ; and this was undoubtedly the order of dignity and precedency of our archbishops until Dublin became the civil metropolis of Ireland.

(103) The words of the Annals of Cluain-eidneach are, as follows ; “ *Insuper Ardmachanum archiepiscopum in primatem super alios, ut decuit, ordinavit.*” The *ut decuit* refers to the ancient right of primacy annexed to Armagh since the time of St. Patrick.

(104) It is laughable to hear the mighty Ledwich saying, (*Antiq. p.* 445.) that the simoniacal traffic was more advantageously carried on Ireland by those lords, who had embraced the Romish, as he calls them, tenets and party, because they found more purchasers than in their own sept. Where did the great antiquary find this piece of intelligence ? The simony condemned by the council of Kells was not, at least in general,

such as that understood by Ledwich, *viz.* the selling of bishoprics and abbeys by great Lords, of which scarcely an instance can be found in our history, but the bad practice complained of by Lanfranc of Canterbury, who, to use the Doctor's phraseology, was of the Romish party, and followed by some bishops in taking money for conferring holy orders. See *Chap.* xxiv. §. 12.

(105) Annals of Cluain-eidneach *ap.* Keating. Ledwich does not grumble at Paparo's proposing the payment of tithes, and talks of the divine right of them, &c. They were dear to his heart: *Cicero pro domo sua.*

(106) It is thus the sees are reckoned by Keating (*Book 2. p.* 104.) with whom Ware agrees (*Antiq. cap.* 16.) as to the names, although differently spelled, which he took from the *Census Camerales* of Cencius styled *Camerarius*, who was afterwards Pope Honorius III. It is odd, that Derry is named among the sees, that existed at the time of the council of Kells; for we read in the Life of Gelasius, that it was not a regular see until the year 1158, as Ware himself has at *Bishops of Derry.* And, what is equally strange, Keating reckons it among the bishoprics fixed by the synod of Rathbreasil. But I greatly doubt, whether the suffragan sees enumerated by Cencius, were exactly the same as those fixed by the synod of Kells; for Cencius wrote many years after the synod. On the other hand Keating's list was, I believe, taken from that of Cencius, and thence the name of Derry might have crept into his account of the synod of Rathbreasil. The sees of Clogher and Louth were united, and probably for many years prior to the synod, the last bishop of Louth alone, whom we meet with, having been Moenach O'Ciordubhain, who died in 1045. (*AA. SS. p.* 736.) In later times the town of Louth and other parts of that ancient diocese were annexed to Armagh, as Ware observes *loc. cit.* Elphin is not named in these lists, which Ware wondered at (*Bishops at Elphin*) and therefore thought it highly probable, that it was already united with the see of Roscommon. This is certainly very probable, and I should think it certain, did not Ware himself supply us (*ib.*) with a difficulty founded on his mentioning a bishop of Elphin, Flanachan O'Dubhai, who, he says, died in 1168; and after whom he places in that see Moeliosa O'Connachtain, who assisted at the council of Kells under the title of bishop of East Connaught. By this title I do not know what bishop could be meant except one of either Roscommon or El-

plin, or of both together. If Moeliosa was then bishop of Roscommon, while the see of Elphin existed separately, as would appear from its having been governed by Flanachan as late as the year 1168, it will follow that the sees were not as yet united at the time of the synod of Kells. But, if Elphin was still not united with Roscommon, how can we account for its not being mentioned in the aforesaid lists? In this supposition it may be conjectured, that Ware was mistaken as to Flanachan O'Dubhai, whose name I do not meet with elsewhere; but, admitting that the sees were then united, it may be said, that Moeliosa was only a coadjutor bishop to him, while holding the united dioceses, which might justly go under the name of East Connaught. Thus, allowing that there was such a bishop as Flanachan, and that he lived until 1168, we can easily understand, how after his death Moeliosa became full bishop of Elphin, that is, of Elphin and Roscommon together, and why the name of Elphin does not appear in the lists, being comprized under that of Roscommon. Ware was, I believe right (*Antiq. cap. 16. and Bishops at Clonmacnois*) in giving the name of Clonmacnois to the see called *Cinani* by Cencius Camerarius. In after times it was wrested from the jurisdiction of Tuam, and placed under that of Armagh. Dromore is not mentioned in the list; perhaps it was then comprized under the diocese of Armagh, or rather Down. (*Not. 13. to Chap. xxxii.*)

(107) John of Hagulstad, quoted by Pagi, (*Critica &c. ad A. 1151.*) alludes to something done by Paparo in the synod with regard to the matrimonial contract, and is followed by Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L. 69. §. 62.* Concerning this point I do not find a word in our Irish documents. If any thing took place relatively to it, it was undoubtedly no other than an endeavour to establish the *Sponsalia de praesenti* instead of those *de futuro*, of which enough has been said already. (See *Chap. xxvi. §. 6. and ib. Not. 52 and 66.*)

(108) In spite of the clear account, that remains of the proceeding of the council of Kells, and the total silence of old writers concerning doctrinal matters being discussed in it, Ledwich had the effrontery to say, (*Antiq. &c. 444.*) that "the great objects of Paparo's legation were to extinguish our ancient doctrines and discipline," &c. Was the condemnation of simony and usury an extinction of Irish doctrines? What had the proposal of tithes

to do with doctrines; or would Ledwich have wished, that the discipline, according to which they were not paid, had been upheld? The giving of palliums is not a point of faith or doctrine. Then he tells us, that one of the objects was to new-model our hierarchy, and above all, lay the foundation of a revenue, for which purpose, he says, the number of Irish sees was reduced. But, if it was intended to raise a revenue for Rome, as he meant, surely the number ought rather to have been augmented. How was the revenue to be raised by our sees? Ledwich supposed by the annates paid on the granting of bulls, and says, that the four palls bestowed on the metropolitans together with the bulls for the other bishops brought a large sum into the Cardinal's coffers. This is not only a barefaced falsehood, but a proof of this malignant scribbler's profound ignorance, whereas in those times annates were not paid to Rome for bulls on the collation of bishoprics; nor did they even begin to be paid any where for, at least, 150 years later. And, even did that practice exist in Paparo's days, what bulls had he to give to bishops? There were no new bishops appointed at the council of Kells, and every one knows, that bulls are issued only for newly appointed ones, and that annates or First fruits are charged merely on new incumbents.

(109) The Annals of Cluain-eidneach *ap.* Keating have; "*Qui etiam Cardinalis protinus post peractum concilium iter arripuit, et nono calendas Aprilis transfretavit.*" Ware in his tract, *Archiepiscopi Cassiliensis*, had thought, that the year of Paparo's departure was 1153. In that supposition the synod should have been held in said year, which was not the case, as has been proved above, *Not.* 97. He was deceived by a passage of John of Hagulstad, but afterwards changed his opinion. That writer, treating of Paparo's arrival in Ireland, &c. gives the whole of the proceedings under *A.* 1152; but Pagi remarks, (*Critica, &c. ad A.* 1151) that the *A.* 1152 marked by him for Paparo's arrival was in reality 1151. Now, as Paparo did not reach Ireland until a late time of the year, and as John of Hagulstad speaks of Paparo's travelling, on his return, through Scotland after Easter, Ware had been led to think, that he did not leave Ireland until 1153. It is thus also that Fleury was led astray, who says, (*L.* 69. §. 62.) that Paparo left Ireland in 1153, adding that he did so after Easter. Here again he is mistaken; for, as Paparo sailed

from Ireland on the 24th of March, he consequently left it before Easter, which in 1152 fell on the 30th of that month. What John of Hagulstad says is to be understood of Paparo's travelling through Scotland after Easter on his way to Rome, although he was before it out of Ireland.

(110) In the Annals of Cluain-eidneach *ap.* Keating, as quoted by Colgan, (*AA. SS. p.* 776. and elsewhere) we read; "*Pridie nonas Martii haec synodus absoluta fuit.*" Thus the synod would have ended on the sixth of March. There must be a mistake in this reading; for, as it began on the 9th, (see *Not.* 97) how could it have terminate on the 6th? Accordingly Colgan conjectured, (*ib.*) that, instead of *pridie nonas*, we ought to read *pridie idus*, which would bring its termination to the 14th, thus allowing six days for its sitting, a time fully sufficient for its proceedings. Dr. O'Connor introduces a different correction, and maintains that, while *pridie nonas* should be retained, *coepta* ought to be read instead of *absoluta*, and quotes, as we have seen (*Not.* 97.) a passage to this purpose from Flannan Mac-Eogan. But in this hypothesis the synod would have begun on the sixth of March, three days prior to that marked in the above-mentioned Annals; and it cannot be supposed, that these Annals would have assigned two different days for its commencement. The passage in question is at the end of the account of what took place in the council, and is naturally relative rather to the ending than to the beginning of it, the date for which is given at the head of said account. Add, that, in Dr. O'Connor's supposition, the Annals would make no mention of the day, on which the synod was concluded, which, considering the precision with which they treat of it, would be very odd and can scarcely be admitted. It might seem from Paparo's not having crossed the sea until the 24th of March, that the synod sat even later than the 14th, the day supposed by Colgan, whereas it is stated that he set out immediately after it was over. But it will be allowed, that he did not leave Kells until the following day, that is, the 15th in Colgan's system; and while proceeding for a port whence to sail for Scotland, he might have travelled slowly, and, when arrived there, might have been detained waiting for a passage.

(111) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Leighlin.*

(112) *Tr. Th. p.* 308.

(113) See Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Killalla*. Maelfogamair was called bishop of Tir-amalgaid (Tirawly) and Hua-Fiachra (Tireragh). It was very usual in these times to denominate our bishops from the districts comprized in their dioceses. Harris places one Keliach as bishop of Killala between St. Muredach and Maelfogamair, who, he says, was bishop there in the reign of Tuathal, who was king of Ireland from *A.* 534 to 544. This cannot be right; for St. Muredach himself was not bishop of Killala until after that time. (See *Chap.* XII. §. 1.) Harris refers to Colgan's *AA.* SS. p. 248. But Colgan, although he calls Kellach a bishop, does not tell us when or where he was such.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Macarius superior of the Irish monastery at Wurtzburg—Church of Egidius at Nuremberg given for the use of the Irish—Pope Adrian IV. a scholar of Marianus, a monk of the Irish house at Ratisbon—An Establishment formed for the Irish at Vienna—The Irish houses of Wurtzburg, Nuremberg, Vienna, Ratisbon, &c. in course of time usurped by the Scotch—King Henry II. of England applies to the Pope for permission to take possession of Ireland—The Pope draws up a Bull making over to Henry the entire possession of that island—Synod at Mellifont and consecration of the church there—Great offerings made to God and the monks of Mellifont by several Irish princes, and by the wife of Tiernan O' Ruaire—Synod of Brigh-mac-Thaidhg—Derry raised to the rank of a regular episcopal see—Deaths of several bishops—St. Laurence, or rather Lorcan, O' Toole, consecrated archbishop of Dublin—Synod of Clane—Decree that no one should be a professor of theology in any church in Ireland who had not previously studied for some

time at Armagh—The canons of Christ-church from being secular canons become canons regular of the congregation of Aroasia—A cathedral erected at Derry—War between Murtoogh Mac-Loughlin king of Ireland, and Eochad king of Ulidia—Battle of Litterluin and death of Murtoogh—Burning of Armagh, and of several churches—Roderic king of Connaght, aided by several other Irish princes, depose Dermod Mac Murchard king of Leinster, who had seduced Dervorgal, the wife of Tiernan O'Ruairc—Religious houses founded by Dermod—Roderic O'Conor acknowledged king of all Ireland—Convention at Athlone—Dermod Mac-Morogh applies to Henry II. king of England for assistance to recover his kingdom—Enters into negotiations with Strongbow and others—Landing of the first of the Anglo-Saxons in Ireland, who are immediately joined by Dermod—Roderic O'Conor raises a great army to oppose them—War between Donald O'Brien king of Limerick and O'Conor—Donald assisted by the English—Landing of a fresh body of English—Landing of Strongbow—Waterford taken—Eva, daughter of Dermod, married to Strongbow—Dublin taken by Dermod and Strongbow—They march into Meath and Breffny—Synod of the Irish clergy at Armagh, who unanimously declare that the misfortunes now fallen on the Irish people was a judgment from God, for their purchasing from the English some of their children as slaves—Liberation of all the English slaves throughout Ireland—English who had gone into Ireland ordered to return by Henry II.—But afterwards permitted to remain—Death of Dermod Mac-Morogh—Dublin besieged by Roderic king of Ireland—The siege raised and the Irish army dispersed.

SECT. I.

MACARIUS, superior of the Irish monastery of Wurtzburgh, (1) died on a 19th of December some year before 1152. (2) He is said to have written an elegant work on the praise of martyrs. (3) Macarius was succeeded by Gregory, and he by Carus, who became chaplain to king Conrad (the third) and queen Gertrude, who gave him the church of St. Egidius at Nuremberg for the use of the Irish. After Carus, Declan, abbot of St. Egidius of Nuremberg, was appointed chaplain to the said king and queen, and after the death of Conrad, (which occurred early in 1152) was continued as such to his successor Frederic Barbarossa. Declan erected a noble church at Nuremberg, and formed a monastery there for his Irish countrymen. (4) If we are to follow certain accounts, (5) it was about the year 1152, or somewhat later, that Gilla Criost, or Christian Mac-Carthy, the second abbot of St. James' of Ratisbon, went over to Ireland to collect money for the support of the monastery. Their great benefactor Conor O'Brian was then dead, having departed this life, as we have seen, (6) in the year 1142. The funds, with which he had supplied them, being exhausted, Christian found it necessary to apply for relief to his Irish friends. He was very well received and generously treated by a Munster king or prince, and by several chieftains, so that he acquired a great deal of money. When preparing to return to Germany, he was taken ill and died in Ireland, and was honourably buried before the altar of St. Patrick in the metropolitan church of Cashel. (7) Christian had received into his community, which is said to have been then of the Benedictine order, an Irishman of great merit, named Gregory, who had been a Canon Regular of St. Augustin. This Gregory, who seems to have been different from the

one that succeeded Macarius at Wurtzburg, was appointed successor to Christian, and was the third abbot of St. James' of Ratisbon. It is related, that he went to Rome to be consecrated, that is, to be invested with the abbacy, by Pope Adrian IV. (8) His journey to Rome could not have taken place before 1155, whereas Adrian's pontificate began on the 3d of December, 1154. Among other subjects of conversation the Pope inquired of him concerning Marianus, who was then a monk of the Irish house of Ratisbon, and who had taught the liberal arts at Paris, where he had among his scholars Nicholas Breस्पere, afterwards Adrian IV. The Pope was very glad to hear that his old master was well, and spoke of him in the highest terms of commendation (9)

(1) See *Chap. xxvi. §. 4.*

(2) Bollandists at *Life of Marianus of Ratisbon, 9th Feb.*

(3) *Ib.* They quote Eysengrein, who states, that Macarius wrote *De laude martyrum elegans volumen.*

(4) *Life of Marianus, cap. 5.*

(5) I allude to the Extracts from a chronicle of the Irish monks of Ratisbon, of which above *Not. 36. to Chap. xxvi.* Lynch (*loc. cit. ib.*) justly complains, that said chronicle is full of anachronisms.

(6) *Chap. xxvii. §. 6.*

(7) In the said chronicle we read; "Christianus, abbas monasterii Scotorum S. Jacobi Ratisbonae, vir nobilis ex stirpe primariae familiae Mac-Carthy in Hibernia, jam exhaustis thesauris olim Ratisbonae submissis a rege Hiberniae, videns suos inopia laborare humani subsidii, rogatu fratrum suorum, ut novum repeteret levamen egestatis, concessit in patriam suam Hiberniam, ut a rege ejusdem christianissimo ac devoto *Donato O'Brian* (jam enim vita functus erat fundator Consecrati Petri et monasterii S. Jacobi Scotorum rex Conchor O'Brian) et ab aliis Hiberniae magnatibus impetraret eleemosynas. Quem rex *Donatus*, cum regina uxore, et principibus Hiberniae, feliciter expeditis suis negotiis, reditum in Germaniam parantem oneravit ingentibus thesauris. Sed Chris-

tianus in Hibernia spiritum Deo reddidit, et honorifice sepultus est ante altare S. Patricii Ecclesiae metropolitanae Casselensis." There is a mistake in the name *Donatus O'Brian*; for at the time that Christian came to Ireland there was no king of that name in this country. Lynch thought (*loc. cit.*) that, instead of *Donatus O'Brian*, the prince alluded to was either Donat Mac-Carthy of Desmond, or Turlogh O'Brian king of North Munster, who reigned from 1142 to 1164 or 1167. To me it seems more probable, that the prince meant was this Turlogh, whereas Cashel, where Christian was buried, and where it may be supposed that he died, belonged to Turlogh's kingdom. Turlogh was succeeded by Domnald or Donald O'Brian, who was a very pious prince and celebrated for his foundations of churches and religious houses. Owing to his great reputation as a benefactor to monasteries, it may be fairly conjectured, that the unchronological compiler of that chronicle confounded him with Turlogh O'Brian, latinizing at the same time his name *Domnald* into *Donatus*. From the Life of Marianus (*cap. 4.*) it would seem as if Christian, having collected the money, returned to Ratisbon and laid it out in purchasing lands for the monastery. Yet it states, (*cap. 6.*) that he died in Ireland.

(8) After the passage just quoted the said chronicle continues; "Vir magnae virutis genere Hibernus, nomine Gregorius ex ordine Regularium canonicorum S. Augustini, impetravit a Christiano admitti in ordinem St. Benedicti, qui Christiano extincto, apud Jacobi Ratisbonae in abbatis munere suffectus Romam ab Adriano Papa consecrandus petiit." That this Gregory was not the same as the one, who had governed the Irish monastery of Wurtzburg, seems clear from its being stated, that Gregory of Wurtzburg was succeeded by Carus. Therefore, if he died, as may reasonably be supposed, before Carus got that appointment, he must have been different from the Gregory, who succeeded Christian at Ratisbon, and who went to Rome in Pope Adrian's time. For Carus himself was dead some years before the pontificate of Adrian, as appears from his successor Declan having been chaplain to king Conrad, who died in 1152.

(9) *Ib.* This Marianus must not be confounded with the Marianus one of the founders of the original Irish monastery of Ratisbon. See *Chap. xxv. §. 2.*

§. II. When Gregory returned to Ratisbon, he was urged by his monks to go to Ireland for the purpose of receiving the money, which had been collected by Christian, and which was deposited with the archbishop of Cashel. He went thither and, besides the deposit, got still more money from divers noblemen, all which he brought to Ratisbon, and expended on the purchase of lands, &c. and on erecting a new magnificent monastery of hewn stone, having thrown down the old one that was in a ruinous state. (10) Under Gregory's government a new establishment was formed for the Irish at Vienna, Henry, duke of Austria, having given to him a monastery there, called of St. Mary and St. George, over which Gregory placed Sanctinus together with 24 brethren. This was after the 15th year reckoned from the time, in which Macarius was appointed superior of the house of Wurtzburg. (11) Meanwhile Walbrun, provost of the church of Eichstad, made over to Gregory a church called the *Lord's sepulchre*, which he had built in the suburbs of Ratisbon, together with lands, for the use of the Irish monks. (12) From what has been said of these establishments it is evident, that those of Wurtzburg, Nuremberg, Vienna, and others, including the old one of St. Peter's near Ratisbon, were all subordinate to that of St. James, and that they were, without exception, purely Irish, (13) except that, it seems, Scotchmen were occasionally admitted into them, whose countrymen afterwards in course of time, when the Irish gave up the name of Scots, obtained, under the usual trick of applying to themselves what belonged to the ancient and original Scots, exclusive possession of them, and went so far as to prevent Irishmen even from being received into them.

(10) *Ib.* In this narrative the aforesaid chronicle intermixes some of its anachronisms, such as making Gregory bring letters

to a king Murcertach O'Brian from the German king Conrad. But there was no king Murcertach or Murtoogh O'Brian in Gregory's time; and Conrad was dead before Gregory, who had already visited Adrian IV. could have set out for Ireland.

(11) See the Life of Marianus, (*cap.* 6.) and the observations of the Bollandists at 9 February. The precise year of Macarius' appointment to Wurtzburg is not known; (see *Not.* 38. to *Chap.* xxvi.) but it could not have been prior to about 1140, whereas Gregory, during whose incumbency the monastery of Vienna was founded, did not become abbot of that of Ratisbon until about 15 years after that date.

(12) *Ib.*

(13) See *Not.* 12. to *Chap.* xxiv. The Bollandists (*loc. cit. ib.*) observe that none but Scots, that is, principally Irish, were received into the monasteries, called *Monasteria Scotorum*, in Germany; "*In his porro coenobiis solummodo Scoti inhabitabant et nulli alii, uti vel sancit vel testatur Fredericus II. imperator in diplomate an. D. 1212.*"

§. III. Although Adrian IV. had such a regard for his old master Marianus, he was then concerned in hatching a plot against that good man's country, and in laying the foundation of the destruction of the independence of Ireland. Henry II., who became king of England about the same time that Adrian was placed on the chair of St. Peter, on being informed of his promotion wrote to him a complimentary letter of congratulation, and having thus opened the way for obtaining favours, applied to him in the year 1115 (14) by means of John of Salisbury then chaplain to Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, for a really important one. John, addressing the Pope in the king's name, asked him for permission for his master to take possession of Ireland for the purpose of extending the boundaries of the Church, of announcing to unlearned and rude people the truth of the Christian faith, and extirpating the weeds of vices from the field of the Lord. (15) What an apostolical and exemplary sovereign was

Henry Plantagenet! It is strange, that the Pope could have listened to such stuff, while he knew, that palliums had been sent, only three or four years before that time, to Ireland by his patron and benefactor, the good Pope Eugenius III. and must have been informed by Cardinal Paparo, who was, as St. Bernard states, a very worthy man, that many good regulations had been made; that there were excellent bishops in this country, such as Gelasius of Armagh and Christian of Lismore; and that the Irish church was not then in so degenerate a state as to require the intervention or the pious exertions of such a king as Henry. But the love of his country (England), (16) his wish to gratify Henry, and some other not very becoming reasons prevailed over every other consideration, and the condescending Pope with great cheerfulness and alacrity took upon himself to make over to Henry all Ireland, and got a letter or Bull drawn up to that effect, and directed to him, in which, among other queer things, he wishes him success in his undertaking, and expresses a hope, that it will conduce not only to his glory in this world but likewise to his eternal happiness in the next. He founds his right for making this grant on the notable principle, that Ireland and all the islands, which have received the Christian faith, undoubtedly belong to St. Peter and the holy Roman church. (17) Adrian requires of Henry to preserve the rights of the churches inviolate, and that, as he had promised to do, he would take care that a *denarius* should be annually paid from every house to St. Peter. (18) He sent to him, by John of Salisbury, a gold ring, adorned with a valuable emerald, as a token of investiture of his right to govern Ireland; which ring, it was ordered, should be kept in the public archives. (19)

(14) Matthew Paris and others, who are followed by Usher, (*Sylloge* at Adrian's Bull, No. 46.) assign this transaction to A.

1155; and Pagi (*Critica, &c. ad A. 1159*) observes, that the date, marked by Matthew Paris, is the true one. Fleury (*L. 70. §. 16.*) has it under 1156.

(15) These hypocritical reasons are given in the very beginning of the hopeful Bull of Adrian IV. “*Laudabiliter et satis fructuose de glorioso nomine propagando in terris, et aeternae felicitatis praemio cumulando in caelis, tua magnificentia cogitat; dum ad dilatandos Ecclesiae terminos ad declarandam indoctis et rudibus populis Christianae fidei veritatem, et vitiorum plantaria de agro Dominico extirpanda, sicut Catholicus princeps, intendis; et ad id convenientius exequendum consilium Apostolicae sedis exigis ad favorem.*” The entire Bull may be seen in the Appendix.

(16) This reason was assigned by Cardinal Pole in a speech, which he delivered in 1554, and in which, as quoted by Usher, (*Sylloge, Not. to Adrian’s Bull*) he said “*Pope Adrian IV. by nation an Englishman, induced by the love of his country, granted the dominion of Ireland to Henry II. king of England. This had been observed long before by Donald O’Neill and the Irish chieftains in their letter to Pope John XXII. in which they state, that Adrian had been blinded by his affection for England, Anglicana affectione.*”

(17) “*Sane Hiberniam et omnes insulas, quibus sol justitiae Christus illuxit, et quae documenta fidei Christianae ceperunt, ad jus beati Petri et sacro-sanctae Romanæ ecclesiae (quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit) non est dubium pertinere.*” By the words in the parenthesis the Pope probably meant to hint to Henry, that also his kingdom of England, as being in an island, belonged to the Holy see; and we find, that in the year 1173 Henry declared himself a vassal of Pope Alexander III. This nonsense of the Pope’s being the head owner of all Christian islands had been partially announced to the world in a bull of Urban II. dated *A. 1091*, in which, on disposing of the island of Corsica, he said that the emperor Constantine had given the islands to St. Peter and his vicars. (See Fleury, *L. 64. §. 8.*) But Constantine could nor give what did not belong to him, and accordingly, as Keating argues (*Book 2. p. 3.*) could not have transferred the sovereignty of Ireland to any Pope. Adrian IV. without mentioning Constantine, laid down a much larger plea, comprizing all islands, whether

they had formed parts of the Roman empire or not. From his not appealing to any other right of his over Ireland we see, how unfounded is the story which some writers have, of the Irish nobility having conferred the sovereignty of all their country on Urban II. in the year 1092. Keating has this fable (*ib. p. 113.*) and places the transaction in the time of Donogh O'Brian king of Munster, attributing it to their hatred of Donogh. Yet elsewhere (*ib. p. 3.*) he says, that the offer of surrendering Ireland to the Pope was made by Donogh himself. I have already observed, (*Not. 91. to Chap. xxiv.*) that Donogh could not have been empowered to make such an offer, and that he must have been dead long before the time, to which Keating assigned it. Then how absurd is it to introduce, as stated in the other story, the Irish nobility making over the whole island to Urban II. in 1092, because they hated Donogh and refused to pay him obedience? For Donogh had fled from Ireland to Rome in 1064, whence he never returned; and in 1092 the king not only of Munster but of other parts of Ireland, and who has been called king of Ireland, was Murtoth O'Brian. And supposing even that Donogh was then living in Ireland, why should the Irish nobility at large have made either then or at any time such an offer to Rome? For Donogh was never king of all Ireland, and in the end was king only of Munster; and consequently the nobility of the greatest part of Ireland had nothing to do with paying or refusing obedience to him. Or will it be supposed, that during the vigorous reign of the powerful king Murtoth the nobility of Ireland would have dared to transfer his kingdom to the Pope? Neither in any of the Irish annals nor in the ecclesiastical documents of those times, whether Roman or Irish, is there a trace to be found of a transfer of Ireland to Urban II. or to any Pope of that or a preceding period by either Irish kings or Irish nobility, although the sly Italian Polydore Virgil, who has been followed by two Englishmen, Campion and Sanders, and also by some Irish writers, has told some big lies on this subject. In the letters of Lanfranc and Anselm, both Apostolic legates, to the kings Turloth and Murtoth O'Brian, there is not the least allusion to any temporal power claimed or at all exercised by the Pope in Ireland; while, on the contrary, these kings are addressed by them in the most respectful manner indicating, that they considered them in the light of

sovereigns as independent as any in the universe. Nor is there a vestige of that pretended right in the accounts, that we have of the proceedings of Cardinal Paparo. But what sets the matter quite at rest is, that, if the Popes enjoyed the paramount dominion of Ireland, Adrian IV. would undoubtedly have alleged it as the foundation of his title to the granting of Ireland to Henry II. an argument, which, if it could be adduced, would have been infinitely preferable to that of the ownership of islands in general. I am therefore astonished, that Dr. O'Connor could have undertaken (*Columbanus' Second Letter*) the defence of the absurd story related by Keating, and headed his §. XII. with declaring it not fabulous. He admits, that Keating's chronology is wrong; but yet he does not prove a single part of the narrative, except what did not require to be proved, *viz.* that Donogh O'Brian fled to Rome, for which he refers to Tigernach and the Annals of Innisfallen, Ulster, and the 4 Masters. By the bye I think he was mistaken in assigning Donogh's flight to A. D. 1047. (See *Not.* 91. to *Chap.* xxiv.) But would it follow from Donogh's going to Rome, that the Irish nobility made over Ireland to the Pope, which is the main point of Keating's fable, that wanted defence? Would it not rather seem, that, having got rid of Donogh, such of the Irish nobility as did not like to obey him, *viz.* that of Munster alone, had no occasion whatsoever to apply to Rome? And that they did not is as clear as daylight from the fact, that after his flight Turlogh O'Brian, his nephew, was immediately, and without waiting for news from Rome, proclaimed king of Munster. (See *Chap.* xxii. §. 11.) Of what use was it for Dr. O'Connor to refer to Gregory the Seventh's letter to the same Turlogh, when king of Ireland, and to that Pope's insinuating a claim upon his kingdom? For surely Turlogh was not such a fool as to give it up to him. (See *ib.* §. 14.) Dr. O'Connor seems to reduce the substance of his whole argumentation to these words at *p.* 73. "What I state is, that Keating gives the tradition and the opinion of the great mass of the common Irish of his time." Be it so; but something more than the opinion of the common Irish of Keating's time would be requisite to prove, that either the Irish nobility or any Irish king had transferred the chief sovereignty of Ireland to Urban II. or to any other Pope of those days. What Keating adds about this pretended authority having been exercised in Ireland

from the year 1092 down to the time of Adrian IV. is so contrary to the Irish history of that period, that it is not worth the honour of refutation. Who were the Roman viceroys or governors acting for the Popes? Is it because Cardinal Paparo brought palliums in 1151, and that he presided over a synod in 1152? What had such things to do with a temporal dominion over Ireland? As well might it be said, that the Popes were at that time sovereigns of every part of the Christian world, to which they used to send legates.

How then did these fables originate? They were not even thought of until a considerable time after the Anglo-Norman settlers and undertakers had spread themselves throughout Ireland. The Irish knew nothing about them as late as the year 1316, in which Donald O'Neill, prince of Ulster, and several chieftains, &c. wrote their letter of complaint and remonstrance to Pope John XXII. against the tyranny and cruelties of the English. This letter may be seen in M^rGeoghegan's *Histoire d'Irlande*, Tom. 2. p. 106. *sqq.* It is strange, that he makes this letter be written during the reign of Edward III. of England; for it is certain, that it was in the reign of Edward II. as is clear from its having been written, while Edward Bruce and the Scots were in Ireland, and from the circumstance that the letter or brief addressed, in consequence of it, by that Pope to the king of England, was written in 1319, and therefore to Edward II. some years before the accession of Edward III. On the other hand it could not have been directed to said pope prior to 1316, that being the first year of his pontificate. To return to our subject, the Irish state in their letter, that from the conversion of the nation by St. Patrick, and their coming under the spiritual obedience of the Roman church, until the year 1170 they had sixty-one kings, who acknowledged no superior in temporals, *nullum in temporalibus recognoscentes superiorem.* They say, that Adrian acted unjustly without any respect for law or justice, *indebite, ordine juris omisso omnino.* Hence it is plain, that they had no idea whatsoever of any former grant made of Ireland to Urban II. or to any Pope. In later times it probably occurred to some of the Irish that, whereas their enemies used to allege, in favour of their system of plunder and extermination, the grant made by Adrian IV. and confirmed by Alexander III., it would not be a bad plan to admit, that said

Popes had some sort of right to have acted as they did; for in that supposition, if two Popes had made over Ireland to the English, other Popes would be equally authorized to turn them out again; and it gradually began to be believed, that the Popes enjoyed a paramount jurisdiction over the country. But then a question arose, how the Popes had acquired it. Some observed that, as Donogh O'Brian had gone to Rome, the transfer of dominion might have been made by him or by the nobility hostile to him. Next it was found, that Urban II. had asserted about 1092 a claim to dominion over islands, and this was considered a very convenient date for the grant of the sovereignty of Ireland to the Holy see. Thus those stories were patched up in spite of chronology or of any authority whatsoever; and Keating swallowed them as he did many others.

(18) "Jure nimirum ecclesiarum illibato et integro permanente, et salva beato Petro et sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae de singulis domibus annua unius denarii pensione." I need not tell the reader, that this charge of a *denarius*, vulgarly called a *penny*, was in imitation of the Peterpence, which used for centuries to be paid by England. As to its origin there and to the then value of the *denarius* it is not my business to inquire. Let it suffice to say, that it was worth a good deal more than our present penny.

(19) John writes (*Metalog. L. 4. cap. ult.*); "Annulum quoque per me transmisit (Adrianus) aureum, smaragdo optimo decoratum, quo fieret investitura juris in gerenda Hibernia; idemque adhuc annulus in curiali archivo publico custodiri jussus est."

§. iv. Adrian's bull is of so unwarrantable and unjustifiable a nature, that some writers could not bring themselves to believe that he issued it, and have endeavoured to prove it a forgery; but their efforts were of no avail, and never did there exist a more real or authentic document. (20) It was, however, kept secret until a convenient time should occur for taking advantage of it. (21) Had any knowledge of it transpired in Ireland, it would undoubtedly have been mentioned in the synods, that were held not long after it was issued, and particularly in the great one at Mellifont of the year 1157. This synod

was convoked for the purpose of consecrating the church of Mellifont, (22) and was attended by the primate Gelasius, Christian bishop of Lismore and Apostolic legate, 17 other bishops, and innumerable clergymen of inferior ranks. There were present also Murchertach or Murtoth O'Loghlin, king of Ireland, O'Eochadha, prince of Ulidia, Tiernan O'Ruaire, prince of Breffny, and O'Kerbhaill or Carrol, prince of Ergall or Oriel. After the consecration of the church Donogh O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath, was excommunicated by the clergy, and deprived of his principality by the king and the other princes, his brother Dermot being substituted in his stead. (23) On this occasion the king gave as an offering for his soul to God and the monks of Mellifont 140 oxen or cows, 60 ounces of gold, and a town-land, called *Finnavair-na-ningen*, near Drogheda. O'Kerbhaill gave also 60 ounces of gold, and as many more were presented by the wife of Tiernan O'Ruaire, who was a daughter of the prince of Meath, that is, a former prince Murchad. She likewise gave a golden chalice for the high altar, and sacred vestments, &c. for each of the nine others, that were in the church. This was the second year of Murtoth O'Loghlin being considered as king of Ireland, whereas he succeeded Turloth O'Conor, who died in 1156, (24) and was buried in the church of Clonmacnois near the altar of St. Kieran, after having distinguished himself by pious donations. Murtoth's reign continued until 1166. (25)

(20) Gratianus Lucius (Lynch) greatly exerted himself (*Camb. Evers. cap. 22.*) in striving to show, that the Bull is spurious, and Mac-Geoghegan would fain make us believe the same thing. It has not indeed been published in the *Bullarium Romanum*, the editors of which were ashamed of it. But there was a copy of it in the Vatican library, as is clear from its being referred to by Pope John XXII. in his Brief to Edward II. of England, written in 1319, which Brief is in the *Bullarium*, and may be seen in Wilkins'

Councils, Vol. 2. p. 491. in Brodin's *Descriptio regni Hiberniae* printed at Rome in 1721, and in Mac-Geoghegan's *Histoire, &c.* Tom. 2. p. 116. In said Brief the Pope not only refers to Adrian's Bull or letter by name, but says that he joins to the Brief a copy of it for the use of the king. And Baronius, who has published the Bull in his *Annales, &c.* at A. 1159, (not because he thought it was issued in that year) tells us, that he took his copy of it from a *codex Vaticanus*. Then we have the testimony of the very intriguer employed in procuring this Bull, John of Salisbury, who just before the words quoted (*Not prec.*) has; "Ad preces meas illustri regi Anglorum Henrico II. concessit (Adrianus) et dedi-Hiberniam jure haereditario possidendam, *sicut literae ipsius testantur in hodiernum diem*. Nam omnes insulae de jure antiquo, ex donatione Constantini quæ eam fundavit et dotavit, dicuntur ad Romanam ecclesiam pertinere. Annulum quoque," &c. Lynch, having seen this passage, thought that it was supposed to be taken from the *Polycraticus* of John of Salisbury, and then argues, that it is not in the genuine *Polycraticus*. But he ought to have known, that it was quoted not from the *Polycraticus*, but from another of John's works entitled *Metalogicus*. Adrian's grant of Ireland to Henry is expressly mentioned and confirmed by Pope Alexander III. in his letter to him of the year 1172. Giraldus Cambrensis, (*De rebus a segestis, Part 2. cap. 11.* and *Hiberni expugn. L. 2. c. 6.*) Matthew Paris (*Historia major, &c. ad A. 1155.*) and others give not only an account of said Bull, but the Bull itself; and Usher states, (*Sylloge, not. on No. 46.*) that he saw copies of it in the registers of the dioceses of Dublin and Lismore. What has been now said is surely more than enough to set aside the doubts of Lynch or of any other writer.

(21) Keating has (*Book 2. p. 113.*) an unfounded story about Henry II. having, on receiving the Bull, sent John of Salisbury with it to Ireland, and his having read it before the bishops and principal clergy assembled at Waterford. I am sure that he took this fable from Stanihurst's third book *De rebus Hibernicis*, where it is to be found in consequence of his having followed a corrupt copy of the *Hibernia expugnata* of Giraldus Cambrensis. Stanihurst has been corrected by his own nephew Usher, (*Sylloge, Not. on No. 47.*) from whose quotation of Giraldus' genuine text it appears, that Adrian's Bull was not read at Waterford until after

Henry had received also the confirmatory letter or brief of Alexander III. and had returned from Ireland. The reason, for which Henry deferred his expedition to Ireland is stated by Nicholas Trivet (at *A.* 1155.) to have been that, when Henry discussed with his nobles at Winchester the project of conquering Ireland, his mother opposed it. (See Usher, *ib. Not.* at *No.* 46.)

(22) There is an account of it from the 4 Masters (at *A.* 1157.) in *Tr. Th.* p. 309. and *AA. SS.* p. 655 and 776. It is mentioned at the same year in the Annals of Mary's abbey. The 4 Masters say, that it was held in the monastery of Drogheda, meaning, as Colgan observes, Mellifont, which is near that town. I do not find this synod marked in the Annals of Innisfallen, and I suspect that it has been confounded with that of Kells. Hence, perhaps, we may discover, why these Annals have placed the synod of Kells at Drogheda. (Compare with *Not.* 96. to *Chap.* xxvii.) Harris has (*Archbishops of Armagh at Gelasius*) a droll thought, as if the synod of Mellifont might have been a continuation by adjournment of the one of Kells, in the same manner as the council of Trent was adjourned different times. Pray, what was the multiplicity of business proposed at the synod of Kells, that could require adjournments? We have seen, that the few days, during which it sat, were fully sufficient for transacting all that it had to do, which was not a two hundredth part of the matters discussed in the council of Trent. Besides, it is positively stated, that this synod or assembly was held for the mere object of consecrating a church; and in fact very little more seems to have been done by it.

(23) Harris quotes (*ib.*) from certain anonymous annals, as the cause of the sentence passed against Donogh, "that the cursed atheist was excommunicated from the Church for dishonouring the Comorb (*i. e.* the primate), the staff of Jesus, and all the clergy."

(24) See *Chap.* xxvi. §. 1.

(25) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 4. Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 449. &c. &c.

§. v. Another synod was held in 1158 at a place in Meath called *Brigh-Thaig* or *Brigh-mac-Thaidhg*, at which Gelasius and Christian were present, besides several other bishops, consisting in all of 25 or 26 prelates. (26) Many useful decrees, relative to

ecclesiastical discipline and morals, were enacted by it; and, after the ordinary business was over, it resolved, that Derry should be raised to the rank of a regular episcopal see, and Flathbert O'Brolchan, abbot of its monastery, was appointed its bishop. (27) He was constituted also superintendent over all the abbeys of Ireland, which must be understood of those only of the Columbian order. (28) There were no Connaught bishops in this synod; for such of them as had set out with the intention of assisting at it were, after having passed Clonmacnois, met and plundered by some satellites of Dermod O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath; and, two men of their suite being killed, the bishops returned home. It seems, that they then held a synod of their own in Roscommon, in which some good regulations were made. (29) In the same year died a very respectable prelate, Donall or Donald O'Lonargan, archbishop of Cashel. (30) He had assisted at the council of Kells, and was succeeded by Donald O'Hullucan, who held the see until 1182. (31) The great church of Aghadoe in the now county of Kerry, was finished in said year, 1158, by Auliffe-mor, of the territory called Na-Cuimsionach, and son of Aongus O'Donoghue. (32) The history of the see of Aghadoe is exceedingly obscure; and I am not able to determine, whether it existed or not at this time. It is probable, that it rose from the monastery of Innisfallen, but when I cannot tell. (33) The Cistercian monastery of Newry was apparently founded about this time and richly endowed by Murtogh O'Loghlin or O'Laughlin, *alias* Mac-Laughlin, who in his charter or deed in favour of it calls himself king of *all* Ireland, a title which he could not have well assumed until the year 1156. (34) Another Cistercian house, called of *Kyrie Eleison*, had been established in 1154 at Odorney in the now county of Kerry, and supplied with monks from Magio or Nenay in the county of Limerick. (35) Two an-

chorets of Armagh, Abel and Gilla-Muredach are said to have died in 1159. (36) To this year is assigned the death of O'Dubery, bishop of Cloyne. (37) Finn Mac-Kienan, bishop of Kildare, who had assisted at the council of Kells, died in 1160 at Killeigh in the now King's county, and was buried there. (38) At this year I find the death of Gilla-na-Naomh O'Duinn, chief professor of the monastery of Inisclothrann in Lough-ree, a celebrated historian, poet and orator. (39)

(26) See for this synod *Tr. Th.* p. 309. and *AA. SS.* p. 655 and 777.

(27) Compare with *Not.* 106. to *Chap.* xxvii.

(28) Surely it cannot be supposed, that Flathbert was placed over, for instance, the Cistercian abbeys. If we are to believe Keating, (*Book 2.* p. 103) Christian, bishop of Lismore, was then superior of all the monks of Ireland; but Colgan observes, (*AA. SS.* p. 654.) that this must be applied merely to the Cistercians, to whose order Christian had belonged. It must also be remarked, that Flathbert's jurisdiction could not have been intended as subversive of the rights of the abbot of Hy over the Irish Columbians.

(29) See Harris (*Bishops*, p. 59 and 467.) from the Annals of the Priory of All-saints at *A.* 1158.

(30) The Annals now mentioned, and those of Innisfallen at *A.* 1158. The former Annals, as quoted by Ware and Harris, (*Bishops* at his name) call him *Chief elder of Munster, a learned and liberal man, especially to the poor.*

(31) Ware and Harris, at *Archbishops of Cashel.*

(32) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1158.

(33) I do not find any mention of Aghadoe in Ware or Colgan. Harris speaks of it (*Bishops* at *Ardfert*) for the first time at *A.* 1588, as if united with *Ardfert*. It does not occur, as far as I can discover, in any old catalogue of the Irish sees. There was an old abbey at Aghadoe, in which Aodh O'Donoghue, a grandson of Auliffe-mor above mentioned, was buried in 1231. (*Archdall* at *Aghadoe.*) Smith says, (*History of Kerry*, p. 147.) that its cathedral was dedicated to St. Finnian. This was the St. Finnian,

surnamed the *leper*, who founded the monastery of Innisfallen. According to Smith (*ib. p. 67.*) the diocese of Aghadoe comprized the southern part of Kerry, while the northern part belonged to that of Ardfert. He adds, that in the Register's books there is no distinction between the parishes belonging to the respective sees.

(34) This deed is referred to by Ware, (*Antiq. cap. 26. at County of Down, Newry,*) and called a charter of foundation. It is entitled *Charta abbatiæ de Newry*, and may be seen in the *Monast. Anal. vol. 2. p. 1031.*) and in Dr. O'Coner's 2. *Proleg. to Rer. Hib. Script. p. 158.* In it the king says, that he has granted and confirmed to the monks serving God in Nyvorcintracta (Newry) the town-land O'Cormaic, where was founded the monastery Atherathin, and also those of Enaratha, Crumglean, Caselanagan, Lissinelle, Croa-Druimfornacta, &c. &c. together with their waters, woods, mills, &c. He then speaks of the abbey, as if he were the original founder of it, and states that he has taken the monks under his protection; "*Et quia ipsum monasterium Ybarcintracta (another name for Newry) mera mea voluntate collocavi, ipsos monachos, tamquam filios et domesticos fidei, sub protectione mea suscepi.*" Among the witnesses, whose names are signed to this charter, were Gilla-Mac-Liag (Gelasius) archbishop of Armagh; Aed O'Killedy, bishop of Ergall (Clogher); Muriach O'Coffay (Muredach O'Cobthaich), bishop of Tireheogain (Ardstraw, see *Not. 100. to Chap. xxvii.*); Melissa Mac In clerig-cuir, bishop of Ultonia (Ulidia or Down); and Gillacomida O'Caran, bishop of Tirconail (Raphoe). Then come the names of divers princes and nobles. If the monastery of Newry was founded at the same time that these grants were made, its foundation could not have been prior to 1156, unless it might be said, which it would be hard to suppose, that Mur-togh or Maurice O'Laughlin assumed the title of king of *all* Ireland before the death of Turlogh O'Conor. In the hypothesis of these endowments, and the foundation having taken place about one and the same time, we cannot admit the statement of the Annals of Mary's abbey, which assign the foundation to *A. 1153.* Ware had in his *Coenobia Cisterciensia*, published in 1626, affixed it to 1144; but afterwards, when treating of it in his *Antiquities*, (*loc. cit.*) he marks no date for it, and says, that it was

founded by Maurice Mac-Loghlin, king of Ireland; and at *Bishops of Raphoe* (*Gilbert O'Caran*) he assigns Maurice's charter to about 1160. A strong difficulty, however, occurs from its being said, that Finn Mac-Kienan, *alias* Mac-Tiarcaín, bishop of Kildare, who had assisted at the council of Kells in 1152, (see Chap. xxvii. §. 14. and *ib.* Not.) had been abbot of the house of Newry *Tr. Th.* p. 630. where he is called son of Gorman, and Ware *Bishops of Kildare*, who makes him abbot of *Viride lignum*, that is, Newry. Now if Finn had been abbot there before he became a bishop, the abbey must have been founded before 1152, which would make it earlier than even the Annals of Mary's abbey have it. It is difficult to reconcile these statements. Might Finn, although bishop of Kildare, have been appointed to the government of the abbey of Newry after its foundation by Murtogh Mac Loghlin? It was not unusual for bishops to superintend monasteries. For instance St. Malachy, while bishop of Connor, was also abbot of Bangor. Or may we suppose, that Finn some time before his death resigned his see and withdrew to Newry? In either of these suppositions the monastery must have existed before 1160, that being the year, in which Finn died. Or, admitting that he was an abbot before he was raised to the episcopacy, might it be that he governed the monastery called *Atherathin*, which seems to have been prior to that of Newry, and of which the latter was perhaps a continuation. In this case it may be conjectured, that Finn was called abbot of Newry, inasmuch as the monks of Atherathin might have been removed to it. Be it as it may, and supposing that Finn had been an abbot some time or other, the foundation of the abbey of Newry cannot, I think, be placed earlier than about 1157.

(35) The date marked for Kyrie eleison in the Annals of Mary's abbey is *A.* 1154, and is followed by Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 26.), Harris, &c. Odorney is near the river Brick in the barony of Clanmaurice. I suppose it was on this account that Alemand attributed the foundation of this monastery to the Fitzmaurice family. Was he so ignorant as not to know, that there were no Fitzmaurices in Ireland in the year 1154?

(36) *Tr. Th.* p. 309.

(37) Ware, *Bishops at Cloyne*. Harris adds, that in the Annals of Innisfallen he is called *Dubrein*, abbot of *Cluainvana*.

(38) Ware, *ib.* at *Kildare*. See more above *Not.* 34. The *Annals of Innisfallen* have his death also at *A.* 1160.

(39) Said *Annals ib.* and also (*A.A. SS. p. 52 and 200.*) He died on the 17th of December.

§. VI. The death of several Irish prelates are marked at *A.* 1161. Among them was Gregory, the first archbishop of Dublin, who departed this life on the 8th of October, after a long incumbency of forty years. (40) He is represented as having been a prudent and learned man. Likewise the first archbishop of Tuam, Aedan O'Hoisin, who is much praised for his piety, learning, and liberality, died in this year, and was buried in his own cathedral under a monument inscribed with an Irish epitaph. He was immediately succeeded by Catholicus or Cadla O'Dubhai. (41) Next comes Teige or Thady O'Lonargan, bishop of Killaloe, a learned and charitable man. (42) Brendan the bishop of Kerry or Ardfert, who had attended at the council of Kells, died also in the same year on the 22d of September, and was buried at Ardfert. (43)

The see of Dublin being now vacant, several competitors started for it; but the electors fixed their eyes upon the holy abbot of Glendaloch, Laurence O'Toole, who for a long time resisted their proposal and wishes, but at length was forced to submit, and was consecrated archbishop in the cathedral of Dublin by Gelasius the primate, accompanied by many bishops. (44) This was in the year 1162. (45) The original name of this great and good man was *Lorcan*, (46) and he was of the illustrious house of the O'Tuathals, being the youngest son of Muriartach O'Tuathal, prince of Imaly, or Imaile, in the now county of Wicklow. (47) His mother was of the equally great family of the Hy-Brins, now usually called *Byrne*. (48) Lorcan or Laurence remained with his parents until he was about ten years old, when he was given as a hostage by his father to

the king Diermit. (49) This wicked king bore a great hatred to Muriartach, and sent the boy to a barren district, where he was treated with great cruelty. His father, on being apprized of it, seized upon twelve of Diermit's soldiers, and threatened to put them to death, unless his son was restored to him. Diermit alarmed at this menace, and knowing that Muriartach's territory was impregnable and could defy all his power, thought it adviseable to dismiss Laurence, and sent him not to his father, but to the bishop of Glendaloch under the condition of getting back his twelve soldiers. The good bishop kept Laurence with himself for 12 days, placing him under the care of his chaplain, who treated him very kindly, and instructed him in the principles of the Christian doctrine. Laurence, who was at that time 12 years old, then returned to his father's residence. (50)

(40) Ware, *ib.* at Dublin. In divers Irish Annals Gregory's death is placed in 1162. But this is a mistake, owing to their having confounded the year of it with that of the accession of his successor, St. Laurence O'Toole, which was in 1162.

(41) Ware, *ib.* at Tuam.

(42) Ware (*ib.* at Killaloe) assigns his death to 1161; but the Annals of Innisfallen mark it at A. 1160.

(43) Ware (*ib.* at Ardfert) calls him *Mel-Brendan O'Ronan*, and strives to confound him with Mac-Ronan, bishop of Clonfert. But we have seen, (*Not.* 100 to *Chap.* xxvii.) that he was mistaken on this point. Harris adds, that Keating called him *Maol Breanuin O'Ruanain*. His wretched translator has indeed these names, which he took from Ware with some alteration; but Keating himself has not, who gave no other name to that bishop of Kerry than *Brendan*, as appears from the quotations of his original text by Colgan.

(44) *Vita S. Laurentii*, cap. 10. This Life was written by a Canon Regular of Eu, in the diocese of Rouen, on the frontiers of Normandy, not many years after the saint had died in the mo-

nastery of that place. It has been published by Surius, and republished by Messingham in his *Florilegium*.

(45) Four Masters *ap. Tr. Th.* p. 309. Ware, *Archbishops of Dublin at Laurence O'Toole*.

(46) Four Masters, *ib.* *Lorcan* was latinized into *Laurentius*. In the quoted Life (*cap. 2.*) there is a ridiculous story about his having been called *Laurentius* from *laurus*, laurel.

(47) In said Life (*cap. 1.*) his father is called *Muriartach O'Toheil*, and is made king of Leinster. This is a mistake; for the O'Tuathal country was far from comprizing all that province. In Butler's Life of St. Laurence, at 14 November, the principality of Muriertach or Maurice is said to have been *in the vicinity of Dublin*. But Imaile, or, as usually called, the Glen of Imaile, is several miles from Dublin, lying to the S. W. of Glendaloch, and stretching to near the town of Donard.

(48) The author of the *Vit. S. L.* says (*cap. 1.*) that the saint's mother was called *Inian Ivrien*, that is, as he adds, *daughter of a prince*. But this is not the meaning of the words, which ought to be translated *daughter of Hy-Brin* or *O'Brin*, from the Irish *Ingean*, pronounced like *Inian*, a daughter, and *Ivrien*, that is, *Hy-Brin*. It is strange, that Harris did not see into this, when quoting (*Archbishops of Dublin at Laurence, &c.*) the passage of that author. In a note to the Life in Butler I find, instead of *Hy-Brin* or *O'Brin*, *alias Byrne*, the name written *O'Brian*. This is wrong; for the O'Brians were a quite distinct family, being of the Dalcassian princes of Munster, whereas the O'Brins were originally a Leinster house, supposed to be descended from the celebrated king Brandubh, who was killed about the year 602.

(49) This Diermit is usually, and I think justly, supposed to have been the famous Dermot Mac-Morough, king of Leinster, although Usher (*Sylog. Not. ad No. 48.*) makes him a different person. But I believe he was mistaken. Mac Morough was king of Leinster at the time that St. Laurence was ten years old.

(50) *Vit. S. L. cap. 3.* The then bishop of Glendaloch was apparently the immediate predecessor of Gilla-na-Naomh Laig-nech, who assisted at the council of Kells; but his name is not known.

§. VII. After some days his father, taking Laurence with him, paid a visit to the bishop of Glendaloch, and proposed to him to inquire, by casting lots, which of his sons he should dedicate to the ecclesiastical state. Laurence, on hearing this, is reported to have laughed, and said; "Father, there is no necessity for casting lots; if you allow me, I will embrace it with pleasure." The father smiled, and the bishop and others present were rejoiced to find, that a boy of such high lineage should offer himself for the service of the Church. His father then, consenting with joy, and taking him by the right hand, offered him to God and St. Coemhgen the patron of Glendaloch, recommending him to the care of the bishop for his instruction in learning and piety. Under his tuition and protection Laurence made great progress in the religious duties and acquirements necessary for a clergyman; but after some years he lost this worthy friend and master, who was carried off by death. (51) Yet he still persevered in his pious pursuits, and continued to improve in virtue, so that after some time he was, when 25 years of age, elected abbot of the monastery of Glendaloch, which was distinct from the bishopric. (52) This abbey was very rich, and it had been the custom to choose for its abbots men of the highest families, who might be able to protect the adjacent country. Laurence made the best possible use of the wealth of the monastery, distributing it among crowds of distressed and poor persons, who were afflicted by a dreadful famine, that raged throughout all that district for four years. (53) He used to provide them, by means of his monks, with corn and other necessaries, and his liberality was so extensive, that at length, the riches of the abbey not being sufficient for the wants of the poor, he distributed among them a treasure, which his father had left with him in deposit. He was, however, as great and holy men usually are, reviled by certain false

and envious brethren, but who with all their malignity could not find any thing in his conduct deserving of reproach. By dint of prayers he cleared the country from some powerful robbers, who were overtaken by the divine vengeance. Towards the end of the first four years of his administration tranquillity was restored, and a very abundant harvest ensued; yet Laurence still continued his largesses to the poor, and set about building churches. About this time the then bishop of Glendaloch died, and every one called out for Laurence as his successor. But he refused to accept of the appointment, excusing himself on his not having as yet reached the age required for a bishop. (54) Some years after these occurrences Gregory, archbishop of Dublin, died, and Laurence was, as we have seen, appointed his successor. (55)

(51) *Ib. capp. 4. 5.*

(52) In Butler's Life this matter is not stated correctly. In it we read; " Upon the death of the bishop of Glendaloch, who was at the same time abbot of the monastery, Laurence, though but 25 years old, was chosen abbot, and only shunned the episcopal dignity by alleging, that the canons require in a bishop thirty years of age." Now in the first place there is no authority for saying that the bishop was also abbot of the monastery. What the Latin Life has is merely, that there were in the church of Glendaloch both an episcopal see and an abbey; but it does not state, that any bishop possessed them both together. On the contrary it constantly represents them as quite distinct, and informs us, (*cap. 6.*) that the abbey was far more wealthy than the see. Nor had Butler any reason for supposing, that it was upon the death of the bishop that Laurence was chosen abbot; and probably a considerable time elapsed between said death, and Laurence's promotion to the abbacy. Next comes a great mistake in Butler's imagining, that the bishop, after whose death Laurence shunned the episcopal dignity, was the same as the one, by whom he had been instructed, and after whose death he became abbot; as if the appointment to the abbacy and the offer of the bishopric

had taken place at the same time. Laurence was, as will be soon seen, abbot for four years before he refused to accept of the see, that became vacant at the end of them by the death of the bishop, who consequently was not the one, who had been his master, but his successor.

(53) I do not know why Butler has four *months* instead of four *years*; for in Messingham's edition of the Latin Life four years are mentioned in *cap. 6.* and *cap. 9.*

(54) *Vit. S. L. cap. 10.* Laurence was then only 29 years old, having been appointed abbot at the age of 25. That foul-mouthed liar Ledwich gives, (*Antiq. &c. p. 48.*) as the reason of Laurence not having accepted of the see of Glendaloch, that "his ambition aspired to an higher dignity—the pall and the see of Dublin, and he soon attained them." But he did not soon attain them; for some years intervened before he became archbishop of Dublin. What idea could he have had at that time of his ever being chosen to govern the Danish city of Dublin, he a Tuathal, an O'Toole? It is as clear as day light that, instead of having an eye to that situation, he was forced to submit to it, the proposal relative to it having come, without his knowledge, from the electors of Dublin. The fact is, that Laurence did not wish to be a bishop at all. Many a conscientious man may agree to being made abbot; but holy men do not aspire to bishoprics. Harris was much more honest, who says, (*Archbishops of Dublin at Laurence*) that "he could not have the opportunities of exerting his strong disposition to charity, when bishop of Glendaloch, as he had when abbot; because the revenues of the bishopric were infinitely inferior to those of the abbacy." The bishop, in whose stead it was proposed to appoint Laurence, was, I am sure, Gilla-na-Naomh, mentioned above *Not. 50.* In what year he died I do not find; but it must have been between 1152 and 1161. the year of the death of Gregory of Dublin.

(55) Butler is wrong in stating that St. Laurence was only thirty years of age about the time of Gregory's death. This cannot agree with the Latin life, which states (*cap. 10.*) that a no short time, *non breve tempus*, elapsed between the time of Laurence's refusing the see of Glendaloch and that of the death of Gregory. Now Laurence was 29 years old when he made that refusal, and in Butler's hypothesis only one year would have passed between it

and said death. But surely so short a space would not have been called a *non breve tempus*; or how could the author of said Life have said (*cap. 33.*) that he died full of days, *plenus dierum*, if he was only about thirty when he became archbishop of Dublin? For in this case he would not have outlived the age of fifty, whereas his incumbency began in 1162, and he died in 1180. Accordingly Harris was right (*ib.*) in reckoning some years between his refusal of the see of Glendaloch and the death of Gregory.

§. VIII. In the same year 1162 Gelasius of Armagh held a synod at Clane in the now county of Kildare, which was attended by 26 bishops, many abbots, and other clergymen. After enacting several decrees relative to Church discipline and morals, it was ordered, with the unanimous consent of the synod, that for the future no one should be admitted a *Fer-leghinn*, that is, a professor or teacher of theology, in any church in Ireland, unless he had previously studied for some time at Armagh. (56) When returned to his diocese Gelasius did not remain idle, but immediately made a visitation of it, exerting himself most strenuously to correct whatever abuses fell in his way. (57) To said year 1162 is assigned the death of Cathasac a scholastic of Derry. (58) As soon as St. Laurence was placed on the see of Dublin, Dermot Mac-Murrough, king of Leinster, forced upon the monks of Glendaloch a certain person as their abbot, in opposition to the reclamations and ancient privilege of the clergy and people, who used to elect the abbot of that monastery. But he was afterwards put out, and in his stead was appointed Thomas, a nephew of the saint, and an excellent and learned young man. (59) Meanwhile St. Laurence was busily employed in attending to the government of his diocese, being particularly anxious for the regular and constant celebration of the Church offices. Not long after his accession he induced the Canons of Christ-church, who were until then Secular canons, to become

Canons Regular of the congregation of Aroasia. (60) He himself took the habit of the order, which he used to wear under his pontifical dress over a hair shirt, and observed its rules as much as he could, observing silence at the stated hours, and almost always attending along with them at the midnight offices, after which he often remained alone in the church, praying and singing psalms until day light, when he used to take a round in the church-yard or cemetery, chaunting the prayers for the faithful departed. Whenever it was in his power, he ate with the Canons in the refectory, practising, however, austerities, which their rule did not require; for he always abstained from flesh-meat, and on Fridays either took nothing at all, or, at most, some bread and water. Yet occasionally he entertained rich and respectable persons, treating them sumptuously, while he contrived to touch the poorest sort of food, and, instead of wine, to drink wine and water, so much diluted that it had merely the colour of wine. And as to the poor there were no bounds to his charity. Among his other acts of beneficence he took care to see fed in his presence a certain number of them every day, sometimes sixty or forty, and never fewer than thirty. He delighted in retiring now and then to Glendaloch, and used to spend some time, even to the number of forty days, in an adjoining cave, famous for the memory of St. Coemhgen or Kevin, in fasting, praying and contemplation. (61)

(56) Thus the Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 23. and the 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th.* p. 309. But, according to certain anonymous annals, quoted by Harris, (*Bishops at Gelasius*) the decree was, as he explains it, that they should have been *fostered*, or *else adopted by Armagh*. As *fostered* it means that they must have studied at Armagh, conformably to the phrase *alumnus*, which is used for a student in a university or college; thus *ex. c. alumnus universitatis Parisiensis* signifies a student of the university of Paris. But the

words, *adopted by Armagh*, indicate a class of persons, who had not actually studied there, but who should be approved of by, to use a modern technical term, the faculty of Armagh, and authorized by it to teach theology publicly, in the same manner as in our times degrees and diplomas are taken out at universities, and in many of them are granted, after previous examination, to persons, who had studied elsewhere. It is very probable, that the decree of Clane did not require, that all those, who might afterwards be appointed public professors of theology, should have actually studied at Armagh, and that it was sufficient that, on their capability being ascertained, they had been approved of by the president and doctors of that distinguished school. It is difficult to think, that, while there were several other great schools in Ireland, *ex. c.* Lismore, Clonmacnois, Clonard, &c. persons of aspiring genius, bent on improving themselves in theology, would have been forced to repair from all parts of the island to Armagh to prosecute their studies there. It was a sufficiently high compliment to its school or university to grant it the exclusive privilege of approving of and authorizing persons to become public teachers. The decree, understood in this manner, was a very wise one, inasmuch as it served to uphold uniformity of doctrine.

(57) *Life*, &c. *cap.* 25. (58) *Tr. Th.* p. 632.

(59) *Vita S. S.* *cap.* 16. The time, at which Thomas became abbot of Glendaloch, is not marked; but, Archdall (at *Glendaloch*) assigns it to *A. D.* 1162. This is a mistake, as appears not only from the *Life* now referred to, but likewise from the circumstance, that in or about 1166 the abbot of Glendaloch was Benignus, whose name is signed to the foundation charter granted at that time to the priory of All Saints near Dublin. (See Harris, *Bishops*, p. 375.) Benignus was undoubtedly the abbot forced upon the monks by king Dermot. It cannot be supposed that Thomas was abbot prior to Benignus; for it is plain from said *Life*, that Thomas held the abbacy for several years; and consequently he must be placed after Benignus. Archdall (*ib.*) has a strange statement, relative to that abbey, expressed in these words; “*A.* 1173. Earl Richard, king Edward’s lieutenant in Ireland, granted to Thomas, his clerk, the abbey and parsonage of Glendaloch, and the lands,” &c. In the first place there was no king Edward at that time. By Earl Richard, Archdall must have meant Strongbow; but

how will this agree with his telling us immediately after, that the English adventurers plundered Glendaloch in 1176? Which shows, that it did not belong to any Englishman at that period. Dr Ledwich, quoting the Black book of Dublin, gives (*Antiq. &c p. 48.*) a more minute account of this pretended transaction. He says, that “ in 1173 Richard Strongbow—granted to Thomas, nephew of Laurence O’Toole, the abbey and parsonage of Glendaloch,” and that the charter was signed by Eva, wife of Strongbow, and other witnesses. If the Black book contains what he states, it contains a forgery. Thomas, the nephew, &c. did not get that abbey from Strongbow, but, as expressly mentioned in the above quoted Life (*loc. cit.*) from the clergy and people of Glendaloch. The Dr. himself tells us, that one of the witnesses to that deed marked Luke, archbishop of Dublin, whose incumbency began in 1228. He would fain change *Luke* into *Laurence*, that is, St. Laurence O’Toole. But the truth is, that this was a grant not of Richard Strongbow, but of Richard de Burgo, who was chief governor of Ireland in 1227 and 1228. (See in Ware’s and Harris’s *Antiq. the Table of the Chief Governors, &c. of Ireland.*) The fact is thus related by Archdall (*ib.*); “ A. 1228. Earl Richard, “ king Henry III.’s Lieutenant in Ireland, granted to Thomas, “ his clerk, the abbey and parsonage of Glendaloch, together with “ all its appurtenances, lands, and dignities, situate within and “ without the city in pure and perpetual alms.” The deed is in Harris’s *MS. Collectanea* at A. D. 1228, copied from the Black book of Dublin, *Lib. nig. Archiep. Dublin. fol. 92*, the very leaf, to which Ledwich refers. It mentions the numerous lands, &c. &c. and privileges belonging to the abbey, according as king Dermot had testified, “ *sicut in verbo veritatis Diarmicius rex testatus est.*” Richard is called simply *Count* without any addition indicating, that he was the same as Strongbow. Thomas is called his beloved and spiritual clerk, without the least hint, that he was the nephew of Laurence O’Toole. The names of the witnesses are Luke, archbishop of Dublin, the countess Eva, Walter de Riddell, Meiler son of Henry, and Nicholas a clerk. The Dr. makes Eva the same as the wife of Strongbow; but there was another Eva, her grand-daughter, and daughter of William Marshal earl of Pembroke. I do not find in Harris any grant made in 1173 by Strongbow, relative to Glendaloch. It is plain, notwithstanding

Archdall's mistake, to which Ledwich added circumstances of his own, that the grant to the clerk Thomas was by Richard de Burgo in 1228. In Strongbow's days the English were not in possession of Glendaloch.

(60) *Ib. cap. 11.* The abbey of Aroasia in the diocese of Arras had been founded eighty years prior to these times. (Fleury, *L. 63. §. 25.*)

(61) *Ib. cap. 12. down to 17.*

§. ix. A cathedral was erected at Derry in the year 1164 by the new bishop of that see, Flathbert O'Brolchan, (62) with the assistance of Maurice or Murtoogh Mac-Laughlin, king of Ireland. (63) Between this king and Eochad king of Ulidia, son of Dunslevi, a great contention had broke out, and Eochad in revenge for some injuries, which he alleged to have received from Murtoogh, plundered and laid waste Dalrieda, and some other tracts subject to the immediate jurisdiction of Murtoogh, who incensed by these proceedings marched with a great army into Ulidia, destroyed with fire and sword every thing, except the churches, declared Eochad despoiled of his kingdom, and carrying off the nobles of Ulidia returned to Armagh. While he was there, Donagh O'Kervail, prince of Ergall, and Eochad himself, waited upon him, and together with Gelasius the primate and the clergy of Ulster supplicated for the pardon of Eochad. At length it was obtained in 1165, Eochad was restored to his kingdom, and the Ulidian nobles, on giving up their children as hostages to Mac-Laughlin, were allowed to return home. But this agreement did not last long; for in the next year, owing to some false reports, as if Eochad had violated the treaty, Mac-Laughlin, in a fit of anger, got his eyes put out. Gelasius was sorely afflicted at this outrage, and several princes were highly incensed, particularly Donogh O'Kervail of Ergall, who raising an army, and being joined by the forces of Hy-Briun and

Conmacne, attacked with superior numbers Mac-Laughlin at Letter-luin, who, after having lost many of his nobles, fell himself in the field, *A. D.* 1166. (64) In the same year Gelasius met with another cause of grief, the dreadful conflagration of Armagh, which consumed the far greatest part of the city, and almost all the churches except that of St. Peter and St. Paul. (65) It is very singular, that a number of towns and places, distinguished in our ecclesiastical history, were destroyed by fire about these times. Thus Emly was burnt in 1162; Glendaloch in 1163; Clonfert, Clonmacnois, Louth, Tuam, and Tomgrany in 1164; Ferns in 1165, and again in 1166, by order of the king Dermot Mac-Morogh, lest it should fall into the hands of the Connacians. In said year also Louth was burnt again. (66) And yet I do not find any of these conflagrations attributed to the violence of contending parties, or to malicious or voluntary motives, except the second one of Ferns. The death of Moeliosa O'Lagenan, bishop of Emly, is marked at *A.* 1163; Donogh O'Brian, bishop of Killaloe, at *A.* 1165; (67) and that of Gilla Mac-Aiblen, bishop of Clonfert, at 1166. (68)

(62) See above §. 5.

(63) Ware, *Bishops of Derry*, and Harris, (*ib.* at *Flathbert O'Brolcan*) who mentions, that in the anonymous annals the king is called on this occasion Murtoth O'Neil. But, as he justly observes, this king was also an *O'Neil*, although he has been often called *O'Laughlin* or *Mac-Laughlin* from his grandfather Domnald Mac-Laughlin, who was likewise an *O'Neill*. (See *Chap.* xxiv. §. 14.)

(64) Life of Gelasius, *capp.* 25-26. Lettir-luin is there said to be in a wild tract or forest called *Fiodh-Hua-nechach* in Ulster, that is, as well as I can judge, somewhere near Lough-Neagh. Hy-briuin was probably that of Breifne (now Cavan and Leitrim) and Conmacne the adjoining one of Leitrim. (See Harris, *Antiq.*

ch. 7.) They belonged to O'Ruarc, who was hostile to the king Murtogh Mac-Laughlin.

(65) Life, &c. *cap.* 26. It is odd, that Colgan in *Tr. Th.* p. 309. assigns this great fire to A. 1167, although he quotes said Life, which has it at 1166.

(66) See *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron.* For the second burning of Ferns see *AA. SS.* p. 223.

(67) Ware, *Bishops at Emly and Killaloe.* Harris adds, that the Annals of Innisfallen place Maeliosa's death in 1164, and that other Irish annals assign to the same year that also of Donogh O'Brian.

(68) Ware, *ib.* at *Clonfert.* He has this bishop erroneously also at Ardfert, and, I believe, for no other reason except that he found him called *comorban of Brendan.* For, as Harris observes, (addition *ib.*) he is thus mentioned in the Annals of Innisfallen; *Gilla-nem-Aiblen O'Hannicada, comorban of Brendan.* But, although the church of Ardfert was dedicated to St. Brendan, who was a Kerry man, yet the title *comorban of Brendan,* constantly means the bishop of Clonfert.

§. x. On the death of Murtogh Mac-Laughlin the influence of the house of O'Conor, revived, and Roderic, the son of Turlogh, and king of Connaught, marched to Dublin, where he engaged the inhabitants in his cause, and, accompanied by a party of them, proceeded to Ulster and was there submitted to by the chieftains of the province. Returning thence, and having among his auxiliaries Tiernan O'Ruarc, prince of Breffny, he overran Leinster, was recognized as their chief superior by the lords and nobles, and deposed the profligate and tyrannical king of Leinster, Dermot Mac-Murchard or Mac-Morogh, another of his family being substituted in his place. The immediate cause of his dethronement was not, as vulgarly supposed, his having seduced and taken away Dearbhfhorguill or Dervorgal, daughter of Murchad or Murtogh O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, and wife of Tiernan O'Ruarc. This crime had been committed several years before, and

as far back as *A.* 1153, (69) at a time when O'Ruarc had been dispossessed of his territories by Connaught and Leinster princes. As to the circumstances connected with this vile business, or how far the lady was culpable, this is not the place to inquire; and I will only observe, that the wicked Dermod availed himself of the opportunity of O'Ruarc's distressed situation for gaining his infamous end. O'Ruarc on being informed of it was greatly provoked, and, having contrived to get into favour with Turlogh O'Connor, then king of Ireland, applied to him for redress, who marching with an army into Leinster, rescued Dervorgal from Dermod's filthy embraces in the year 1154, and gave her up to her relatives in Meath. Thenceforth, in atonement for her follies, she distinguished herself by pious donations, and we have seen her making some considerable ones in 1157 to the church of Mellifont. (70) On the death of Turlogh O'Connor in 1156, and the accession of Murtoigh Mac-Laughlin to the throne of Ireland, Dermod attached himself to the new king, and was in the habit of harassing O'Ruarc. But the death of Mac-Laughlin in 1166 was fatal to him, and the day of retribution came at length for this bad man, when O'Ruarc, supported by Roderic O'Connor, had it in his power to wreak his vengeance on him in 1167, the year in which he was deposed. As he was hated almost by every one both in Leinster and elsewhere, (71) he became for some time an outcast and a vagabond. (72) Yet Dermod had founded religious houses. The oldest of them, that I meet with, was the nunnery of St. Mary de Hogges (73) near Dublin, as the city then stood, and near where the present church of St. Andrew is situated. He founded it about 1146 for nuns following the rule of St. Augustin according to the order of Aroasia. Gregory, archbishop of Dublin, and St. Malachy of Armagh, are said to have directed the building, and to have been benefactors to this nunnery. In

1151 Dermot subjected to it, as cells, two other nunneries, apparently of his own foundation, Kilclehin or Kilcleheen *alias De Bello portu*, in the now county of Kilkenny, near the Suir opposite to the city of Waterford, and Athaddy somewhere in the now county of Carlow. (74) In the same year 1151 he erected and endowed the abbey *De Valle salutis*, that is, of Baltinglas, for Cistercian monks. (75) Next, he founded and richly endowed a monastery for Augustin Canons at Ferns, his usual residence, in probably either 1160 or 1161. (76) Dermot's last foundation was the priory of All Saints on Hoggin-green, now called College-green, then outside Dublin, and on that part of it where Trinity college stands. He established it either a short time before or in the early part of 1166 for Arosian Canons, and made over to Edan O'Killedy, bishop of Louth or Clogher, for its use the lands of Ballidubgail, (Balldoyle) &c. (77)

(69) Gerald Barry, usually called Giraldus Cambrensis, attributes (*Hibernia expugnata*, L. 1. cap. 1.) the punishment inflicted by Roderic O'Conor, &c. on Dermot to his having taken away O'Ruarc's wife, as if only a very short time had intervened between these transactions. Keating has the same mistake, (*Book 2. p. 105. Dublin ed. A. 1723*) which he seems to have copied from Giraldus, and introduces O'Ruarc applying to Roderic, when king of Ireland, for redress for the injury done him. But O'Ruarc's wife had been taken out of Dermot's hands several years before Roderic became king of Ireland, and about two years before he was even king of Connaught. Leland, who treats this matter with great perspicuity, (*History of Ireland, Book 1. ch. 1.*) has ably refuted the position of Giraldus.

(70) Above §. 4.

(71) Giraldus, although partial to the consequences occasioned by Dermot's proceedings, yet gives him the following character (*Hib. exp. L. 1. cap. 6.*); "*Nobilium oppressor, humilium erector, infestus suis, exosus alienis. Manus omnium contra ipsum, et ipse contrarius omni.*"

(72) See more on these subjects in Leland, *Book 1. ch. 1.*

(73) It has been observed, I think justly, as very probable, that *Hoggis* was not originally the name of the spot, but that it signified *virgins*, through an English corruption of the Irish word *Ogh* a virgin, so that *St. Mary de Hoggis* was the same as *St. Mary of the virgins*.

(74) See Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26.* at *Dublin* and *counties of Kilkenny* and *Carlow*; also Archdall at *Dublin (St. Mary de Hoggis)*, *Kilcleheen*, and *Athaddy*. I do not find in what part of the county of Carlow Athaddy was situated.

(75) Some have assigned this abbey to 1148, as Ware states (*ib.* at *County of Wicklow*); but the Annals of Mary's abbey, itself a Cistercian house, place its foundation in 1151. Said annals are not apt to be wrong in making the Cistercian establishments later than they really were.

(76) Ware (*ib.* at *County of Wexford*) and Harris (*Monast.*) say, that this monastery was founded about 1158. On the other hand Archdall, (at *Ferns*) assign it to after 1166. Both these calculations are wrong; the former, because we find among the witnesses to Dermod's deed of foundation Malachy, bishop of Kildare. Now this Malachy, who is surnamed *O'Brin* or *O'Birn*, was not bishop there in 1158; for he succeeded Finn Mac-Kienan, who died in 1160. (Above §. 5.) Perhaps it may be said, that Finn had resigned his see some time before his death. (Compare with *Not. 34.*) Should this be admitted, I meet with nothing to set aside Ware's date. At any rate the foundation could not have been later than 1161, whereas another of the witnesses was St. Laurence O'Toole, while still abbot of Glendaloch, consequently before 1162. And this alone is sufficient to show the error of Archdall's calculation. Or who will imagine, that Dermod was engaged after 1166 in founding monasteries? Besides it is well known, that for some time after his dethronement in 1167 he was concealed in that same house of Augustin canons, in which he was received as having been the founder of it. (See Ware's *Annals of Ireland* at *A. D. 1167*) The foundation charter of this monastery may be seen in the *Monasticon Angl. Vol. 2. p. 1040.*

(77) The charter for the foundation of this priory is in Harris *MS. Collectanea* in the library of the Dublin Society. It is signed, among others, by Laurence, archbishop of Dublin. Ware (*Antiq. cap. 26.* at *Dublin*) and Harris (*Monast.*) mark this house

at 1166; but, if this date be correct, I think it must have been in the early part of said year, and before, in consequence of the death of the king Murtoigh Mac-Loughlin, Dermod become exposed to the attacks of Roderic O'Conor and O'Ruarc. Edan, bishop of Clogher, is in that deed called Dermod's confessor. This was, I believe, owing to Dermod having, in his visits to Mac-Laughlin, occasionally met with Edan and confessed to him; but it is more than probable, that this intercourse ceased with Mac-Laughlin's death.

§. xi. Roderic O'Conor, having arranged matters in Leinster, went to Munster, where he made some regulations, being by this time recognized as king of all Ireland. He then returned to Meath, and held in the same year 1167 a great convention at Athboy, which was attended by the primate Gelasius, St. Laurence O'Toole, Cadla O'Dubhthaigh, archbishop of Tuam, and many others of the principal clergy; as also by Eochad O'Dunslevi, king of Ulidia, Dermod O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, Tiernan O'Ruairc, prince of Breffney, Donogh O'Kervail, prince of Ergall, Reginald, prince or chief of Dublin, Donogh O'Foelain, prince of the Desii, together with many noblemen and 13,000 horsemen. In this convention several decrees were made or renewed relative to the political state of the country and to ecclesiastical discipline. (78) Afterwards the king Roderic compelled the people of Hy-falgia (the ancient Offaly in Leinster) to restore the cattle and other property, which they had taken from the tenantry of Gelasius. (79) At the same year is marked the death of a very distinguished holy priest of Armagh, Moel-Michael O'Dothecain (80) and likewise that of O'Flanagan, bishop of Cloyne. (81) Flanachan O'Dubhai, bishop of Elphin, died in 1168, and was succeeded by Moeliosa O'Connachtain, who had assisted at the council of Kells, under the title of bishop of East Connaught. (82)

Dermod Mac-Morogh, bent on recovering his

kingdom, and not caring by what means, set out for England with 60 followers in 1168, and arrived at Bristol. Being there informed, that Henry II. was in Aquitaine, he sailed for that country, and when introduced to him, offered himself as his vassal and placed his kingdom, in case he should be reinstated in it, under his supreme dominion. Henry promised to assist him, but not being then able to succour him with any considerable force gave him a letter patent directed to all his subjects, English, Normans, Welsh, Scots, &c. encouraging and inviting them to help him towards the attainment of his object. (83) Thence Dermot returned to Bristol and negotiated with Richard, surnamed Strongbow, Earl of Chepstow or Strigul, who promised, on certain conditions, to send him assistance in the course of the following spring. He then went to Wales, and there engaged in his cause, on pledging himself to reward them amply, Robert Fitz-Stephens and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, both Normans and maternal brothers. Having made these arrangements, he returned to Ireland and remained during the whole winter concealed at Ferns. (84) While waiting for his Norman auxiliaries, he was near being totally ruined, and would have been so, had his Irish opponents used greater circumspection. (85)

(78) Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 27. and *Tr. Th.* p. 310. This assembly is called a convention of the clergy and princes of Lethcuin, or the northern half of Ireland, and it was principally so. For the only person from the South, who is mentioned as present at it, was Donogh O'Foelain.

(79) *Ib.* Hence it appears, that the see of Armagh possessed lands in Leinster.

(80) *Tr. Th.* p. 309.

(81) Ware, *Bishops at Cloyne.*

(82) Ware, *ib.* at *Elphin.* To what I have said elsewhere (*Not.* 106. to *Chap.* xxvii.) concerning Flanachan and Moeliosa, their sees, and the hypothesis of Moeliosa having been only a coadjutor to him until his death, I may here add that it is probable,

that Moeliosa had been bishop of Roscommon, while Flanachan was bishop of Elphin, and that the union between the two sees did not take place until, after Flanachan's death, Moeliosa became bishop also of Elphin, after which the united sees went under one name either of *Elphin* or *Roscommon*. Should it be objected, that they must have been united before the council of Kells, because Roscommon, with the omission of Elphin, is reckoned among the suffragan sees supposed to have been constituted by that council, I answer, that we are not bound to believe, that the list of Cencius Camerarius (of which *ib.*) was exactly the same as that drawn up by the council. Yet I do not pretend to decide upon this matter; whereas in either one or the other supposition it can be easily cleared up.

(83) Giraldus Cambr. *Hib. expugn. L. 1. cap. 1.* Henry's letter is as follows; "Henricus, rex Angliae, dux, &c. Universis fidelibus suis Anglis, Normannis, Gualensibus, et Scotis, cunctisque nationibus suae ditioni subditis, salutem—Cum praesentes ad vos literae pervenerint, noveritis nos Dermitium Lageniensium principem in gratiae nostrae et benevolentiae sinum suscepisse. Unde et quisquis ei de amplitudinis nostrae finibus, tamquam *homini et fidei nostro*, restitutionis auxilium impendere voluerit, se nostram ad hoc tam gratiam noverit quam licentiam obtinere."

(84) Ware, *Annals of Ireland, Introduction.* According to him Dermot returned to Ireland in 1168; but Leland (*History, &c. ch. 1.*) says in 1169.

(85) See Leland, *ib.*

§. XII. In 1169 Roderic O'Conor added to the salary of the chief professor of Armagh an annual donation of ten oxen, and by a deed, which he published, bound his successors to continue the same, on condition that the general school should be kept up both for students from all parts of Ireland and for those from Scotland. (86) It was in this year, according to several authors, and in the month of May, that Fitz-Stephen, accompanied by Miler Fitz-Henry, Milo-Fitz-David, Hervey de Monte Marisco (Mount-Morris) and several other horsemen or knights, together with 360 soldiers of different descriptions,

landed near Bannow, in the now county of Wexford, being the first of the Anglo-Normans that made an attempt upon any part of Ireland. (87) On the next day Maurice de Prendergast arrived with an additional number of troops, and the whole army was soon after joined by Dermod himself at the head of five hundred of his best Leinster soldiers. The united body then marched to Wexford, where they met with a very sharp resistance from the Danish inhabitants; but not long after the town was surrendered to Dermod, who, according to promise, made it over, together with two adjoining cantreds, to Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald. He gave also some lands to Hervey de Monte Marisco. After this, being joined by many Irish and by the Wexford Danes, they advanced into Ossory, whose prince was then Donald Mac-Gilla-Patric (Fitzpatrick) a man very obnoxious to Dermod. They were repulsed several times by the Ossorians, who would in the end have beaten them off, had they not imprudently pursued them into a plain, where they were overpowered by the cavalry. Two hundred heads of the Ossorians were laid at Dermod's feet, who repeatedly leaped with savage joy, and actually bit off the nose and lips of one of them, which had belonged to a man, whom he particularly hated. Yet this beastly prince was at length obliged to make peace with Donald and the Ossorians. (88) Meanwhile Roderic O'Conor, being joined by several Irish princes, raised a great army and marched into Leinster, but finding Dermod's party, which many of the Irish had already forsaken, and his foreign auxiliaries encamped in an almost impregnable position not far from Ferns, did not think it prudent to attack them, and endeavoured to negociate with Fitz-Stephen and with Dermod himself for the departure of the strangers. Dermod seemed willing to agree to Roderic's proposals on condition of being reinstated in the kingdom of Leinster, and even delivered up an illegiti-

mate son of his as a hostage to remain with Roderic. But on the arrival of Maurice Fitz-Gerald at Wexford, with an additional body of auxiliaries, he broke his word, and repaired with his united army to join him in that town. It was then determined to march upon Dublin, the environs of which they cruelly ravaged. Dermod was soon after under the necessity of accommodating matters with the citizens of Dublin, and agreed with them to leave the government of the city to Hasculph, their Danish prince, under fealty to himself. For at this time Roderic O'Connor was making war on Donald O'Brian, usually called king of Limerick, but in reality king of North Munster, who was married to a daughter of Dermod, and had entered into a league with him, to prevent the consequences of which he was attacked by Roderic. Dermod then sent Fitz-Stephen with an army to the assistance of O'Brian, which, united with his forces, forced Roderic to return to Connaught. (89) Thus, while the infatuated Irish were fighting among themselves, the common enemy was making his way towards undermining them all.

(86) Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 23. and *Tr. Th.* p. 310. Whether this mode of contributing to the emoluments of the head professor was owing to a scarcity of money, or to the consideration that payments in kind are less variable in value than those in specie, I am not able to tell.

(87) Ware, *Annals &c.* at *Henry II. ch.* 1. He assigns their arrival to *A.* 1169, as does also O'Flaherty, *Ogygia. Part.* III. *cap.* 94. and *MS. note* to *Tr. Th.* p. 310. Colgan (*ib.*) seems to place it in *A.* 1170, although in the dedication of the work he quotes the Irish annals, which mark the arrival of a fleet from England in Ireland at 1169. Leland, having placed Dermod's return to Ireland in 1169, (see *Not.* 84) affixes (*loc. cit.*) the landing of Fitz Stephen to the following year, *i. e.* 1170. As I am not writing the civil history of Ireland, I shall not enter into a controversy on this subject; but I think Ware's and O'Flaherty's

dates more correct, and will follow them. I must, however, add, that also Lord Lyttleton (History of king Henry, II. *Book 4.*) assigns the arrival of Fitz-Stephens to *A.* 1169. I pass by Keating, or his wretched translator, who (*Book 2. p.* 107) marks it at 1175. This is a strange blunder; for afterwards mention is made of 1171 and 1172, as years before which the English had come to Ireland. Perhaps it is a typographical error.

(88) See Giraldus, *Hib. exp.* Lyttleton, and Leland, *loc. citt.*

(89) Ware, *Annals at A.* 1169, Lyttleton, *loc. cit.* &c. &c.

§. XIII. Dermot, elated by his success, took it into his head to become king of all Ireland, but was advised to wait for the reinforcements, which Strongbow had promised to send him, to whom he accordingly wrote a very pressing letter, urging him to fulfil his promise. After some time Strongbow dispatched in the beginning of May, *A. D.* 1170, Raymond le Grose with some knights and archers, who landed on the Wexford coast not far from Waterford under a rock then called *Dundolf*, (90) where they fortified themselves, expecting the arrival of Strongbow. They were soon after joined by Hervey de Monte Marisco and a few other knights. The citizens of Waterford thought it adviseable to attack them before their numbers should be increased, and being joined by O'Faolain of the Desies, and O'Ryan of Idrone, (91) crossed the Suir, and invested their fort, which they entered, on which occasion some desperate fighting ensued, and after great loss in slain, seventy of the citizens were made prisoners. These were, on the advice and instigation of Hervey, and in opposition to the opinion of the valiant Raymond, most cruelly put to death by first breaking their limbs, and then throwing them headlong into the sea. (92) In the course of the same year 1170, Strongbow landed near Waterford on the 23d of August, with about 1200 men, 200 of whom were knights. (93) Without waiting for a junction with Dermot's forces, or even with those of Ray-

mond, which were still in the fort, he attacked Waterford, and, though twice repulsed, took it by storm on the 25th. The inhabitants were dreadfully slaughtered, and on his taking also a tower, in which, among others, were Reginald prince of the Waterford Danes, and O'Faolain, they were condemned to death, but saved through the intercession of Dermod, who came up with Fitz-Stephen and others just after the victory. Not many hours afterwards Eva, (94) a daughter of Dermod, was, according to a former stipulation, married to Strongbow, and they were publicly declared heirs to king Dermod. But on intelligence being received that Dublin and its governor Hasculph had shaken off all obedience to Dermod, he and Strongbow hastened to march to that city, leaving a garrison at Waterford. Proceeding by mountainous and bye ways they arrived under the walls of Dublin, and at length, owing to the bravery of Milo de Cogan and Raymond, got possession of it; Hasculph and many others having escaped to ships lying in the harbour, and sailed to the Northward. Before the taking of the city St. Laurence O'Toole had been negotiating with the besiegers for good terms for his flock, and after their entrance exerted himself as far as he could for their protection. Amidst the dreadful massacre and plundering of the city he exposed himself in all directions, dragged the palpitating bodies of the slain from the hands of the enemies, and got them buried. Such persons as survived he relieved in every possible manner. At great risk he obtained that the clergy might remain in their situations, and recovered from the pillagers the books and ornaments, which had belonged to the churches. (95)

(90) Smith (*History of Waterford*, p. 99.) calls this place *Dundrone*. I do not find a place of this name. Perhaps it was the now Duncannon fort. At any rate it was on the co. Wexford side of the Suir.

(91) This Idrone must not be confounded with the Idrone of the now county of Carlow. Smith (*ib.*) says, that it was a part of Ossory, *i. e.* a part near the Suir.

(92) Lord Lyttleton bitterly exclaims against this barbarous act of iniquity.

(93) The date of this arrival marked by Ware, O'Flaherty, and Lyttleton is *A.* 1170. Leland has 1171; but I think he was mistaken.

(94) Keating (*Book 2. p. 110.*) calls her *Aoife*.

(95) *Vita S Laurentii, cap. 18.*

§. XIV. At this time Roderic O'Connor was in Connaught, whither he had been obliged to repair for the purpose of defending his hereditary territories against the aggressions and devastations of Donald O'Brian. After the fall of Dublin Dermod and Strongbow, leaving the government of the city to Milo de Cogan, marched into Meath, then under the administration of O'Ruarc, and into Breffny, O'Ruarc's own principality, which countries they ravaged, committing incredible barbarities on the inhabitants. Roderic was so incensed at these proceedings, that he sent messengers to Dermod with a letter, in which upbraiding him with his perfidy and perjury in having violated the agreement entered into between them, he required of him to desist from his measures and send back the foreigners, and, in case of his refusal, threatened to send him the head of his son, whom he held as a hostage. To this Dermod replied, that he would neither dismiss the foreigners, nor cease in his pursuits until he should become monarch of all Ireland. Some say, that Roderic, on receiving this insolent answer, actually executed his threat; but this is denied by others. (96) About this time a general synod of the Irish clergy was held at Armagh, in which, after much deliberation concerning the arrival of the foreigners in Ireland, it was unanimously declared, that this misfortune was a judgment of God on ac-

count of the sins of the people, and particularly because they used to buy English persons from merchants, robbers, and pirates, and reduce them to slavery, and that it would appear, that they in their turn were to be enslaved by that nation. For the English people, while their kingdom was still firm, were, through a common vice of the nation, accustomed to expose their children for sale, and, even before they were in any want or distress, to sell their own sons and relatives to the Irish. It might therefore be probably supposed, that for this enormous crime the purchasers deserved the yoke of slavery, in the same manner as the sellers had been treated already (in consequence of the Norman conquest of England). It was therefore decreed, and unanimously ordered by the synod, that all the English throughout Ireland, who might happen to be in a state of slavery, should be restored to their original liberty. (97) Dermod and Strongbow, after their expedition in Meath and Breffny proceeded to Leinster, and expelled from their territories O'Connor of Ophaly and Fitzpatrick of Ossory. Then, as winter was coming on, Dermod returned to Ferns, and Strongbow to Waterford. Meanwhile the king, Henry II. became jealous of the progress of Strongbow, and, among other measures taken to put a stop to it, issued an order, that all his subjects, who had gone to Ireland, should return before the following Easter. But Strongbow found means to appease him, and was allowed to remain with his troops in Ireland.

(96) Keating (*ib. p. 111.*) states, that Roderic, although highly provoked at Dermod's insolence, yet on mature reflection abstained from putting the hostage to death.

(97) I have taken this remarkable narrative from Giraldus, (*Hib. exp. L. 1. cap. 18.*) adding only the few words within the parenthesis, which I think necessary for understanding his meaning. His text is, as follows: "His itaque completis, convocato apud

Ardmachiam totius Hiberniae clero ; et super advenarum in insulam adventu tractato diutius et deliberato ; tandem communis omnium in hoc sententia resedit, propter peccata scilicet populi sui, eoque praecipue quod Anglos olim tam a mercatoribus, quam a praedonibus atque pyratis, emere passim et in servitutem redigere consueverant, divinae censura vindictae hoc eis incommodum accidisse, ut et ipsi quoque ab eadem gente in servitutem vice reciproca jam redigantur. Anglorum namque populus, adhuc integro eorum regno, communi gentis vitio, liberos suos venales exponere, et, priusquam inopiam ullam aut inedia sustinerent, filios proprios et cognatos in Hiberniam vendere consueverant. Unde et probabiliter credi potest, *sicut venditores olim*, ita et emptores tam enormi delicto juga servitutis jam meruisse. Decretum est itaque praedicto Concilio, et cum universitatis consensu publice statutum, ut Angli ubique per insulam servitutis vinculo mancipati in pristinam revocentur libertatem." The editors of Ware's Annals in English make him say, (at *A.* 1170) that it was concluded by the clergy, that "God had afflicted the Irish, particularly *for their selling the English taken by pirates, or otherwise.*" This is a shameful, and, I am sure, a wilful perversion of Ware's original. What Ware actually wrote I cannot tell, whereas the part of his Annals, prior to the reign of Henry VII., was not published until many years after his death ; but this much is certain, that he never wrote what those editors have here attributed to him ; for he understood Latin very well, and was too honest to corrupt his authorities. Could he have said, that the Irish used to sell the English, in direct opposition to Giraldus, whom he had before his eyes, and who positively states that they were Englishmen, who used to *sell* them, and mentions as the only fault of the Irish, that they were wont to *buy* them? Those editors wished to throw the whole blame upon the Irish, and to screen the English from the direct charge brought against that nation ; and this was also their reason for omitting what Giraldus has about Englishmen selling their children and relatives. He is not the only authority for this nefarious practice ; for it is mentioned and prohibited in the 28th canon of the council of London held under Anselm, *A. D.* 1102 (*ap.* Wilkins *Concil.* §c. *V.* 1. *p.* 383) ; "Ne quis illud nefarium negotium, quo hactenus homines in Anglia solebant velut bruta animalia venditari, deinceps ullatenus facere praesumat."

§. xv. Dermot died at Ferns on the 4th of May in the following year 1171. (98) It is said, that his disease was of a horrid and unknown kind, and that he died in a state of impenitence, as an object of divine wrath for his many crimes during a long reign, and for the mischiefs and bloodshed caused by his tyranny and ambition. Hasculph, the late governor of Dublin, having during his absence procured from the Orkneys and other Islands an army of Norwegians, commanded by John, surnamed the *Furious*, entered in this year the Liffey with sixty ships, and landing the men, attacked the eastern gate of the city; but after much hard fighting, in which many were slain on both sides, was repulsed by Milo de Cogan, owing chiefly to an unexpected attack on the assailants made by his brother Richard with a body of cavalry. In this conflict John was killed, and Hasculph taken prisoner, whom, on account of a bold declaration of his publicly announced, Milo ordered to be beheaded, while the survivors returned to their ships. After this affair Strongbow, together with Fitzgerald, Raymond, &c. repaired to Dublin, and was soon after reduced to a very perilous state. For St. Laurence, who was a great lover of his country, and had been an eyewitness of the atrocities committed by the foreigners on their becoming masters of the city, encouraged by means of messengers, the king Roderic and other Irish princes to unite for the total expulsion of these marauders, and joined them in applying for assistance to Godred, the king of Mann, and of other islands. A short time elapsed before Roderic invested Dublin with a great army, and thirty ships, sent by Godred, blockaded the harbour. Roderic's plan was to compel Strongbow and his forces by means of famine to capitulate and quit Ireland; and, as the siege and blockade continued nearly two months, they were brought to great distress. St. Laurence was on this occasion employed in arranging terms,

and in the name of the Irish assembly announced to Strongbow and his people, that it was required, that they should give up all the places that they occupied, and leave Ireland on a certain fixed day. (99) But the Irish, notwithstanding their high demands, carried on the siege in a very slovenly manner; and the besieged, unwilling to submit to their proposals, availed themselves of their negligence to make a sudden and vigorous sally with a chosen and numerous body of knights, esquires, and infantry, in which they succeeded even beyond their expectation, the Irish being taken quite unawares, and through want of foresight of such a desperate attempt, in a state of disorder and confusion. Roderic, against whose quarters the chief attack was made, was then bathing, and had a very narrow escape. The whole Irish army suffering great loss, was dispersed, and the victors returned to Dublin, bringing with them great spoil of baggage, and particularly of provisions.

(98) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1170. Others assign his death to the close of *A.* 1170. Keating (*Book 2. p.* 112.) has it in May, but erroneously, I think, of the year 1172. He himself discovers his error by telling us, that Dermod died in the May next after the murder of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, which he supposed to have occurred in 1171. Now it is well known, that said murder was committed on the 29th of December, *A. D.* 1170.

(99) Leland, *History, &c. B.* 1. *ch.* 2. See also for St. Laurence's proceedings. Giraldus, *Hib. exp. cap.* 22. Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1171. Lyttleton, &c. &c.

CHAP. XXIX.

Arrival of Henry II. in Ireland—several of the Irish princes submit to him—Synod of Cashel, not attended by the northern bishops—Decrees said to have passed there—The payment of Peter-pence never enforced in Ireland—Fabulous story of the Irish baptizing their children with milk—Decrees of the Synod of Cashel not observed by the people of Ireland—Departure of Henry from Ireland—Provincial Synod of Tuam—Deaths and succession of several bishops—The Bull of Adrian IV. and confirmatory Brief of Alexander III. sent into Ireland by Henry II.—Conference between O'Ruarc and Hugh de Lacy—Murder and barbarous treatment of the body of O'Ruarc by the English—Atrocities committed by the English in various parts of Ireland—The English defeated by Donald O'Brien—Roderic O'Conor ravages Meath—Fortifications of Trim and Duleek demolished by Hugh Tirrel—Reymond le Grose and Donald prince of Ossory besiege Limerick—Treaty of Windsor between Henry II. and Roderic O'Conor—St. Laurence O'Toole a subscribing witness to this treaty—Augustin, an Irishman, appointed bishop of Waterford by Henry—St. Laurence O'Toole wounded by a madman, whilst approaching the Altar to celebrate Mass in the Church of Canterbury—Death and succession of other bishops—Priory of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham founded—Death of Strongbow—Castle of Slane attacked and demolished by Mac Loughlin—War between De Courcy and Mac Dunlevy—Synod of Dublin—Foundation of the abbey of St. Thomas at Dublin—Disensions between Roderic O'Conor and his son—Connaught invaded by the English—they are compelled by hunger to retreat, and are attacked

and defeated by the Conacians—John declared king of Ireland by his father Henry II.—Several districts in Ireland granted by Henry to his followers—John De Courcy defeated in Ulster—Foundation of the Abbey of Rosglas or Monastereven—Irish bishops who attended the 3d General Council of Lateran—St. Laurence O'Toole recives a Bull from the Pope confirming the jurisdiction of the see of Dublin over those of Glendalough, Kildare, Ferns, and Ossory—Foundation of the Abbey of Ashroe, or Easrue Several churches burned—Hugh de Lacy appointed Lord Deputy—St. Laurence O'Toole exerts himself in reforming the manners of all ranks of people—goes to England for the purpose of settling a dispute between Henry II. and Roderic O'Conor—Henry refuses him permission to return to Ireland—He passes into France, takes sick, and dies in the monastery of Augum, now Eu, at the entrance of Normandy—Canonized by Pope Honorius III.

SECT. I.

PASSING over some minor transactions, the detail of which would be too tedious, and not within my plan, I now proceed to the arrival of Henry II., who landed at Waterford on St. Luke's day, the 18th of October, *A. D.* 1171, (1) with an army consisting of 500 knights (2) and about 4000 men at arms. He remained there for some days, and appeared rather as a protector than an enemy of the Irish people. During his stay in that city he was waited upon by Dermod Mac-Carthy, who has been called by some writers king of Cork, but who should rather have been styled king of Desmond. Dermod submitted to him, swore fealty, and giving him hostages promised to pay an annual tribute. It has been falsely and foolishly said, that *all* the archbi-

shops, bishops, and abbots of Ireland attended Henry at Waterford, and tendered him their obedience. (3) The only bishop whom, in all probability, the king saw there was that of Waterford, whoever he was. Thence he marched with his army to Lismore, and afterwards to Cashel, where, or near which city, he was met by Donald O'Brian, king of Thomond, who submitted to him, and acknowledged himself his vassal. About the same time O'Faolain of the Desies, and Donald Mac-Gilla-Patric of Ossory acted in the same manner. These princes were well received and honourably treated by Henry, who soon after proceeded to Dublin. Here he was waited upon by Murchard O'Carrol prince of Ergal, Tiernan O'Ruarc of Breffny, and some other princes, who also submitted themselves to his supreme authority. Those of the northern parts of Ulster did not attend, and Roderic O'Conor delayed to imitate the example of the minor potentates. At length, however, he agreed to meet, on the borders of his Connaught kingdom near the Shannon, Hugh de Lacy and William Fitz-Aldelm, who were empowered by Henry to receive his act of homage, and to treat of the tribute, which he would have to pay. The matter was thus settled, and peace was declared between the two kings. (4) Henry spent the Christmas festival of 1171 in Dublin, and splendidly entertained such of the Irish princes and nobles as were in that city.

(1) This is the year marked by Ware, O'Flaherty, Lyttelton, Fleury (*Hist. Eccl. L. 72. §. 37.*) &c. &c. Keating (*Book 2. p. 112*) has *A. 1172*, and so has Leland, *B. 1. ch. 3.* But they were mistaken; and it is clear even from Hoveden, who seems to favour their opinion, that Henry's arrival was in 1171; for he tells us, that the Christmas day, which Henry spent in Dublin, fell on a Saturday. Now that was the Christmas day of 1171, not of 1172, in which that festival fell on Monday.

(2) Maurice Regan, as Ware observes, mentions only 400. Giraldus and Keating have 500.

(3) Hoveden, whether the author of it or not, has this lie, and so has Brompton, the lying abbot of Iorval, of whom more hereafter; but Giraldus has it not. It is not only a lie, but a foolish one. For how could *all* the archbishops, bishops, &c. have come to Waterford time enough to pay their obeisance to Henry? Or would Roderic O'Connor, or O'Ruarc have allowed the bishops of their states to wait upon him? Next it is certain, that neither the primate Gelasius nor any bishop of the Ulster province called upon Henry, at least until he was arrived in Dublin. Ware says nothing about this fable, nor does Keating; and it is rejected by Lyttelton (*Book* 4.) and Leland, *B.* 1. *ch.* 3. Hoveden then, gives a list (nearly followed by Brompton) of the archiepiscopal and episcopal sees, which, he says, existed at that time in Ireland, reckoning them according to the order and dignity of the archiepiscopates, 1. Armagh. 2. Cashel. 3. Dublin. 4. Tuam. His account of the suffragan sees, which, according to him, were only 28, is quite incorrect; for there were at that period not fewer than 34 such sees. (See *Chap.* XXVII. §. 15.) And his names for several of those, which he has, are so strange and unlike the Irish ones, that it can hardly be guessed what places he meant. Who could understand what were such sees as *Thuensis*, *Ceneversis*, *Lucapniarensis*, *Erupolensis*, *Kinfernensis*, *Kinlathensis*, &c.? Yet the *soi-disant* antiquary Ledwich (*Ant.* p. 440. *seqq.*) would fain prefer this wretched catalogue to any other of our sees at that time. Any thing was good enough for him, except Irish documents. I suppose, that the sees mentioned by Hoveden, or Brompton, are those, which Dr. Milner alludes to, when he confidently tells us, (*Additional note to his Letters on Ireland*, p. 50.) "that it was not till the English invasion that the Irish prelates found themselves enabled to establish regular and canonical limits to their dioceses and succession among themselves." I wish he had told us, where he picked up this piece of information. Not to speak of the synod of Rathbreasil, did he not know, that matters of this kind had been treated of and settled by the council of Kells?

(4) Giraldus pretends, (*Hib. exp.* L. 1. *cap.* 32.) that this act of Roderic virtually subjected all Ireland and its inferior kings and

princes to the power of Henry, inasmuch as he had been the head of them. This is a false conclusion; for Roderic was only an elective and little more than nominal king of Ireland, and the only consequence of his submission was at most, that his hereditary kingdom of Connaught became feudatory to Henry. No act of his could be binding on the other kings and princes, no more than, according to the late Germanic constitution, all Germany, including the Prussian states, &c. &c. could have been made over by an Emperor to a foreign power.

§. II. Early in the following year 1172 a synod was held at Cashel, (5) which met by order of Henry for the purpose of regulating some matters of ecclesiastical discipline. It has been said, that all the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, besides abbots, &c. attended. (6) This is not true; for in the first place the primate Gelasius did not appear there, not because his great age or infirmities prevented him, but because he did not choose to assist at said synod. (7) And we know that in the same year Gelasius was able to make a general visitation of the whole province of Connaught, which he continued through Ulster, until he returned to Armagh, where he spent the remainder of his life. (8) Next it is certain, that no suffragan bishop of Ulster was present at the council of Cashel, (9) except it may be supposed, that the bishop of Ergall or Clogher might have attended in compliment to his master O'Carrol. Donald O'Hullucan of Cashel, St. Laurence of Dublin, and Catholicus, or Cadla, of Tuam are stated to have assisted at it, together with their suffragan bishops, besides abbots, archdeacons, &c. On the part of Henry, and sent by him, there were Ralph, archdeacon of Landaff, Nicholas his chaplain, and some other ecclesiastics. The president was Christian, bishop of Lismore and apostolic legate. Were we to believe certain authors, a list was drawn up of what they were pleased to call enormities and dirty practices of the Irish, and sealed by Chris-

tian. This is a silly tale of a lying faction; (10) for, whatever real abuses in matters of church discipline might have existed in Ireland, they had been already corrected in various synods, at several of which Christian had been present. We may judge of those pretended enormities from the tenour of the wonderful regulations proposed to the synod by Henry's messengers for the reformation of the Irish church, and afterwards agreed to. According to one account it was decreed, 1. That children should be brought to the church and baptized there in clean water, with the triple immersion, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that this should be done by the priests, except in case of imminent danger of death, in which they may be baptized any where, and by any person whatsoever without distinction of sex or order. 2. It was ordered, that tithes should be paid to the churches out of *every* sort of property; and 3. That all laymen, who wish to take wives, should take them according to the Canon law. (11)

(5) Giraldus places this synod after Henry had received various Irish princes at Dublin and passed Christmas there. Consequently he assigns it to *A.* 1172. But the summons for its assembling had been issued earlier. Hoveden, amidst other bungling, tells us, that it was held while Henry was still at Waterford, before he went to Dublin. (See *Rerum Anglican. Scriptores*, p. 528. Frankfort, *A.* 1601.) This is truly ridiculous; as if prelates from various parts of Ireland could have assembled at Cashel during the short time that Henry was at Waterford, or as if they would have obeyed his summons before their sovereigns had recognized his authority.

(6) This is insinuated by Hoveden, (*ib.*) after having previously given the notable list of Irish sees, of which above *Not.* 3.

(7) Giraldus pretends, (*Hib. exp. L. 1. cap. 34.*) that the absence of Gelasius was owing to his age and infirmities, but adds that he afterwards waited on Henry at Dublin. This is, I am sure, a fabrication of Giraldus' own; for, had Gelasius done so, it

cannot be doubted that so memorable a visit would have been recorded in his Life, which is very particular as to his transactions, or in some of the Irish annals. Now neither the one nor the other have a word about it. The fact is, that Gelasius was not afraid of Henry's displeasure; for none of the Ulster princes, except O'Ker-vaill or Carrol of Ergal, who was not Gelasius's sovereign, had submitted to Henry. Lyttleton conjectures, (*Book 4.*) that Gelasius absented himself on account of his unwillingness to yield the precedence in the synod to Christian of Lismore the Pope's legate. This is a pitiful conjecture; but Lyttleton did not know, that Gelasius had yielded that precedence in the synod of Kells of 1152, and in that of Mellifont in 1157.

(8) Life of Gelasius, *cap.* 29. and *Tr. Th.* p. 310.

(9) Giraldus (*loc. cit.*) mentions only the suffragans of the archbishops of Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam. See also Leland, *B. 1. ch.* 3. and Lynch, *Camb. evers.* p. 189.

(10) Giraldus has this story, (*ib. cap.* 33.) but Hoveden has it not.

(11) Such is the summary of the decrees as given by Hoveden (*loc. cit.*) whose words are; " In concilio illo statutum est, ut pueri deferrentur ad ecclesiam, et ibi baptizentur in aqua munda, sub tria mersione, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti; et hoc a sacerdotibus fiat, nisi metu mortis impediante ab alio et alias oportuerit fieri, et tunc a quolibet fiat sine exceptione sexus et ordinis. Et ut decimae dentur ecclesiis *de omnibus, quae possidentur.* Et ut omnes laici, qui uxores habere velint, eas secundum jus ecclesiasticum habeant."

§. III. There is another account of the decrees of this synod, which is fuller and more correct, and which is stated to contain the very words, in which they were drawn up. It runs thus: " 1. That the faithful throughout Ireland do contract and observe lawful marriages, rejecting those with their relations either by consanguinity or affinity. 2. That infants be catechized before the door of the church, and baptized in the holy font in the baptismal churches. 3. That all the faithful do pay the tithe of animals, corn, and *other produce* to the church, of which they are parishioners. 4. That

“ all ecclesiastical lands and property connected
“ with them be quite exempt from the exactions
“ of all laymen. And especially, that neither the
“ petty kings, nor counts, nor any powerful men
“ in Ireland, nor their sons with their families do
“ exact, as was usual, victuals and hospitality or
“ entertainments in the ecclesiastical districts, or
“ presume to extort them by force; and that the
“ detestable food or contributions, which used to
“ be required four times in the year from the farms
“ belonging to churches by the neighbouring counts,
“ shall not be claimed any more. 5. That, in case
“ of a murder committed by laymen, and of their
“ compounding for it with their enemies, clergy-
“ men their relatives are not to pay part of the
“ fine (or *Erick*), but that, as they were not con-
“ cerned in the perpetration of the murder, so
“ they are to be exempted from the payment of
“ money. 6. That all the faithful, lying in sick-
“ ness, do, in the presence of their confessor and
“ neighbours, make their will with due solemnity,
“ dividing, in case they have wives and children,
“ (excepting their debts and servants wages) their
“ moveable goods into three parts, and bequeathing
“ one for the children, and another for the lawful
“ wife, and the third for the funeral obsequies.”
(Then come regulations relative to the disposal of
the property in case the man had no legitimate
issue, or that his wife was already dead.) “7.
“ That due respect be paid to those, who die after
“ a good confession, by means of masses, vigils,
“ and decent burial.—Likewise that all divine mat-
“ ters be henceforth conducted agreeably to the
“ practices of the holy Church, according as ob-
“ served by the Anglican church.” (12) These
decrees, being subscribed by the members of the
synod, were afterwards confirmed by the king.
They are the only ones that emanated from the
synod; and some writers have been greatly mis-

taken in supposing, that some words, in which Giraldus Cambrensis praises Henry to the skies, and attributes to him a mighty reformation of the Irish church, contain a declaration, with which the synod complimented him. (13)

(12) These are the decrees detailed by Giraldus, (*Hib. exp. c. 34.*) and in all appearance, faithfully and correctly. The short account, which I have just copied from Hoveden, is not in the words of the synod, but is partly abridged and partly paraphrastic. For the clearer understanding of the proceedings of the synod, I here lay before the reader the whole account of it as drawn up by Giraldus, *ib. capp. 33, and 34.* After having mentioned Henry's spending the Christmas holidays in Dublin, he writes: "Silente igitur insula in conspectu regis, tranquilla pace gaudente, Ecclesiae Dei decus Christique cultum in partibus illis magnificandi ampliori desiderio rex accensus totius cleri Hiberniae concilium apud Cassiliam convocavit. Ubi requisitis et auditis publice terrae illius et gentis tam enormitatibus quam spurcitiis, et in scriptum, et sub sigillo legati Lismorensis, qui caeteris ibidem dignitate tunc praeerat, ex industria redactis, constitutiones sacras, quae adhuc extant, de matrimoniis contrahendis, et decimis dandis, et ecclesiis debita devotione venerandis et frequentandis, quamplures emisit, ecclesiae illius statum ad Anglicanae ecclesiae formam redigere modis omnibus elaborando. Quas constitutiones *sub eisdem verbis, quibus et promulgatae sunt*, hic intersere non superfluum reputavi."

"Anno igitur Dominicae Incarnationis 1172, primo autem anno, quo illustrissimus Anglorum rex et Hiberniae triumphator ipsam insulam acquisivit, Christianus, Lismoriensis episcopus, et apostolicae sedis legatus, Donatus Cassiliensis, Laurentius Dubliniensis, et Catholicus Tuomenensis, archiepiscopi cum suffraganeis suis et coepiscopis, abbatibus quoque, archidiaconis, prioribus, et decanis, et multis aliis Hiberniensis ecclesiae praelatis, ex ipsius triumphatoris mandato, in civitate Cassiliensi convenerunt, et de utilitate ecclesiae, et statu ejus in meliorem formam producendo, ibidem concilium celebrarunt. Huic concilio interfuerunt isti a rege missi; venerabilis vir Radulphus, archidiaconus de Landaff. Nicolaus capellanus, et alii clerici, et nuncii domini regis.

Concillii autem statuta subscripta sunt, et regiae sublimitatis aucto-rite firmata. Primo statutum est, quod universi fideles per Hiberniam constituti, repudiato cognatorum et affinium contubernio, legitima contrahant matrimonia et observent. 2. Secundo, quod infantes ante fores ecclesiae catechizentur, et in sacro fonte in ipsis baptismalibus ecclesiis baptizentur. 3. Tertio, quod universi fideles Christi decimas animalium, frugum, caeterarumque proven- tionum ecclesiae, cujus fuerint parochiani, persolvant. 4. In quarto, quod omnes terrae ecclesiasticae et earum possessiones ab omnium secularium hominum exactione penitus sint immunes. Et specialiter, quod nec reguli, nec comites, nec aliqui potentes viri Hiberniae, nec eorum filii cum familiis suis cibaria et hospitalitates in territoriis ecclesiasticis, secundum consuetudinem, exigant, nec amodo violenter extorquere praesumant; et quod de villis ecclesi- arum cibus ille detestabilis, qui quater in anno a vicinis comitibus exigitur, de caetero nullatenus exigatur. 5. In quinto, quod pro homicidio a laicis perpetrato, quoties inde cum suis inimicis com- ponunt, clerici videlicet eorum cognati nihil inde persolvant, sed, sicut in homicidii perpetrato, sic in pecuniae solutione sint im- munes. 6. Sexto, quod universi fideles in infirmitate positi, con- fessore suo et vicinis astantibus, cum debita solennitate testamen- tum condant, bona sua mobilia, dummodo uxores et liberos ha- beant (aere alieno et servientum mercede exceptis) in tres partes dividant, unam liberis, alteram uxori legitimae, tertiam propriis exequis relinquentes. Et si forte prolem legitimam non habuerint, bona ipsa inter ipsum et uxorem in duo media dividantur. Et si legitima uxor decesserit, inter ipsum et liberos bipartiri debent. 7. Septimo, ut cum bona confessione decedentibus et missarum et vigiliarum exhibitione et more sepeliendi obsequium debitum persolvatur. Item, quod omnia divina ad instar sacrosanctae Ec- clesiae, juxta quod Anglicana observat ecclesia, in omnibus par- tibus ecclesiae (Hiberniae) amodo tractentur." Wilkins has the whole of this *Concilia M. B. &c. Vol. 1. p. 472. seqq.*

(13) To his report of the decrees Giraldus added, (*ib. cap. 34.*) that it was worthy and most just, that Ireland should receive a better form of living from England; whereas to its magnanimous king she entirely owed whatever advantages she enjoyed both as to church and state; and that the manifold abuses, which had pre- vailed in Ireland, had since his coming gone into disuse. !!!

It is surprizing, that both Lyttelton and Leland have attributed this trash to the synod itself, notwithstanding its being self-evident from Giraldus' text, that it was not announced by the synod. Surely the synod could not, while sitting for the purpose of commencing the work of that mighty reform, have said, that the manifold abuses had gone into disuse, *in desuetudinem abiere*. Giraldus might have spoken so, as he did not write his tract until many years after the synod was held. Lyttleton and Leland, or whosoever they took their idea from, were aware of this difficulty, and accordingly translated the words, *in desuetudinem abiere* by *are now abolished*; meaning to insuate, that this was then done through the proceedings of the synod. But surely a schoolboy, who had not yet passed his Cordery, would not translate those three Latin words in that manner. Wilkins saw, that the passage in question was not a part of the acts of the synod, from which he consequently separated it; nor is it united with them by other authors, who have given a list of the synod's decrees, *ex. c.* Fleury, *L. 72. §. 36.*

§. iv. Here then we have the sum total of that great reform, which the Irish church stood in need of, and for attaining which the English pope Adrian made a grant of Ireland to Henry II. (14) There is nothing relative to religious dogmas, to matters of faith, or to points of essential discipline; and some of those decrees refer to matters rather of a political than of an ecclesiastical nature. Great attention was paid to the immunities and comforts of the clergy, Henry's policy leading him to favour as much as possible that body in Ireland, that he might draw them over to his party; although he had but a short time before been doing his utmost to curtail the privileges of their brethren in England. While he was so kind to the Irish clergy, he seemed to forget his stipulation concerning what Adrian had so much at heart, the payment of the *denarius* or Peter-pence out of every house in Ireland. There is not yet a word about it in the transactions of the synod; nor did Henry, as far as I

can find, ever set about enforcing the payment of it. The reasons for enacting the two first decrees have been most falsely and basely misrepresented by some English writers. They tell us, that the one relative to marriages was made in consequence of the Irish having been in the habit of marrying as many wives as they pleased. For this foul charge there is not the least foundation in any part of our church history; (15) and from the very words of the decree it is as clear as day-light, that the only object of it was to establish in Ireland the system of the seven prohibited degrees, as then followed by the greatest part of the Western church, but which it was not very long after found necessary to modify; (16) and the only abuse alluded to in the decree, consisted in the intermarriages between near relations. (17) As to the second decree, the intention and meaning of which are as plain as possible, *viz.* that children should henceforth be baptized not in private houses or even oratories, nor in chapels of ease, as seems to have been not unusual in Ireland, nor, in short, any where except in the parochial churches, or in such as were reputed baptismal churches, from their being furnished with baptismal fonts. (18) A most infamous fable has been fabricated, as if to explain the cause of said decree. It states, that before the holding of this synod it was customary in divers parts of Ireland, that, as soon as a child would come into the world, his father or any other person used to dip him three times in water, or if his father were rich, three times in milk; and that afterwards they used to throw that water or milk into the sewers or other unclean places. Were this stated as a custom, which had nothing to do with Christian baptism, and which was followed immediately on the birth of a child, there would, whether true or not, be no harm in it, but represented, as it has been, as the cause of the second Cashel decree, and consequently as the sort of baptism used in various parts of

Ireland, the account given of it is one of the most atrocious lies ever invented. (19) In the whole course of my inquiries I have not met with any the smallest allusion to errors or mistakes, even of the slightest kind, relative to the *matter*, as the theologians call it, of the sacrament of baptism; while, on the contrary, I have uniformly found water mentioned as the only liquid, in which it could be administered. (20) Perhaps the notion of baptizing in milk was taken from the Irish having probably retained the ancient practice of giving milk to the newly baptized, (21) which, as those ignorant calumniators did not understand the meaning of, they changed into actual baptism in milk. In that fable there is another vile insinuation, as if the Irish were careless about getting their children baptized by clergymen; whereas there never was a nation more observant and cautious than they were in this respect. (22)

(14) Leland remarks (*B. 1. ch. 3.*); “Such was the plan of reformation, which required the interposition of the Pope, which obliged him to transfer the sovereignty of Ireland to a foreign prince, and demanded the presence of the English monarch and a royal army to enforce! As if the same futile ordinances had not been repeatedly enacted in every synod held almost annually by the Irish clergy from that of Paparo to this of king Henry.”

(15) Neither Lanfranc nor Anselm of Canterbury, who in their letters to Irish kings complain of the practice of the Irish marrying within the degrees prohibited by the then Canon law, and of that of exchanging wives; nor St. Bernard, even when (*Vit. S. Mal. cap. 6.*) railing against the abuses of the diocese of Connor, and where he touches on those relative to the matrimonial contract; nor Giraldus Cambrensis, although (*Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. c. 19.*) he charges the Irish with not observing the more usual matrimonial contract, that is, the one called *de praesenti*, and with their not attending to the far extended prohibited degrees, as marked by the canonists of those days, ever accuse the Irish of the crime of polygamy, nor do they even hint at it. The first English writer,

who, as far as I can discover, advanced this vile falshood, is John Brompton, abbot of Iornal, or rather Iorval, a Cistercian monastery in the diocese formerly of York and afterwards of Chester. He wrote his chronicle, which may be seen among Twysden's x *Scriptores*, in the 14th century, during the reign of Edward III. In giving an account (*ib. col. 1071*) of the synod of Cashel, he does not follow the order of the decree nor the words, as detailed by Giraldus, but partly follows Hoveden. At the decree on marriage he introduces the calumny we are now treating of, and of which Hoveden makes no mention. His words are; "plerique enim illorum (Hibernorum) quot uxores volebant tot habebant, et etiam cognatas suas et *germanas* habere solebant uxores." Here he seems to go so far as to say, that the Irish used to marry even their sisters. Yet perhaps the blockhead meant in his bad Latin by *germanas* not sisters, but cousin germans.

(16) See *Chap. xxiv. §. 12.* and *xxvi. §. 6.* and *ib. Not. 51.*

(17) It was found difficult to put a stop to such intermarriages in Ireland on account of the system of clanships, and of the Irish laws relative to the right, by which landed property was held, and to the rules of succession thereto. On this subject see Ware, *Antiq. cap. 8.* and Harris, *ib. ch. 11.*

(18) Without recurring to the Apostolical age, it is well known that for, at least, the three or four first centuries of the Christian church baptism used to be performed in any place, where water was to be found, whether in the sea, or in a lake, pond, river, fountain, &c. Tertullian has made this observation, (*De Bapt. cap. 4.*) and we find it also in other writers of about his times. Afterwards baptisteries were erected near the churches, and it became a rule in the Roman empire that baptism should be ordinarily not administered except in them. Yet in St. Jerom's time priests and deacons did not scruple to confer baptism in villages, castles, or other places remote from the bishop's or principal church. (See *Dial. cum Lucifer. cap. 4.*) St. Patrick used to baptize his Irish converts in rivers, lakes, or fountains; and it is said in the Life of St. Finian of Clonard, (*cap. 2.*) that he was baptized in the water of two united rivers. Other instances might be adduced, if necessary. But the laws of the Roman empire did not extend to Ireland. The emperor Justinian enforced the rule relative to baptisteries, and some Greek councils, although not

early ones, exerted themselves to prevent the administration of baptism elsewhere, except in cases of necessity or by a special licence of the bishop. (See Bingham, *Origines*, &c. B. xi. ch. 6. sect. 12. seqq.) Baptisteries were built also in the western parts of Europe, and are kept up to this day in many great cities of the continent. But the more general practice became, after the old discipline of baptizing only on certain solemn days of the year had ceased, that of placing baptismal fonts in all parochial and in some other churches, in which alone children should be ordinarily baptized. Even in Ireland the usual rule was, after Christianity became well established, that baptism should be performed in the churches. Thus in the case of St. Finian above mentioned, it is related, (*ib.*) that after his birth some women were carrying him to the church of Roscur to be there baptized by the bishop Forchern, when they were met by a St. Abban, who stopped them and baptized him, as already stated. And in the metrical Life of St. Senan of Inniscathy we read, (*cap.* 3.) that his parents took him to the church to be baptized: “*Parentes autem pueri,—ditati prole nobili,—ut religiosi admodum,—exortum recens parvulum—tulerunt ad ecclesiam,—ut per divinam gratiam—baptismi tinctus flumine,*” &c. Lynch observes (*Cambr. evers.* p. 202.) from the Life of St. Grillan, or Grellan, the patron of the O’Kellies, that the seniors of that family used to be baptized in a church called from this saint, who, by the bye, flourished at a place called Cradibh in Connaught, in the latter part of the 6th century, and had been a disciple of Finian of Clonard. (*AA. SS.* p. 337, 339, 396.) The very decree of the synod of Cashel indicates, that there were churches in Ireland supplied with baptismal fonts; but it seems that some negligence, how much diffused I cannot tell, prevailed with regard to bringing children thither for baptism, and that some parents used to get the ceremony performed in country chapels, or private oratories, or perhaps in their own houses, as is usual with us at this day. From the words of the decree it evidently appears, that this was the only defect or abuse to which the synod intended to apply a remedy. But Hoveden, to show his learning, made up a decree on baptism (see above §. 2. and *Not.* 11.) quite different from the genuine one, in which he introduces clean water, triple immersion, the name of the Father, &c. priests, &c. points, upon which there was no

question whatsoever proposed to or treated of by the synod, whereas there was not the least discrepancy of opinion or practice concerning them. The worthy Brompton in a sort of abridgment of Hoveden's farrago makes the synod resolve, "*pueros in ecclesia baptizari in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, et hoc a sacerdotibus fieri.*" This is far from being the real decree. As to catechizing the infants before the door of the church, this alludes to the practice, ordered in the Ritual, of proposing, previous to the baptism, certain questions at the church-door, which are answered, not indeed by the infant, but by the godfather.

(19) Brompton, besides some other English writers not worth naming, has given us, as the reason of the decree, that base stuff. He writes (*loc. cit.*); "*Mos enim erat prius per diversa loca Hiberniae quod, statim cum puer nasceretur, pater ipsius vel quilibet alius eum mergeret ter in aqua. Et si divitis filius esset, ter in lacte mergeretur. Postea vero aquam illam vel lac in cloacis suis vel aliis locis immundis projicere solebant.*" Had such a practice existed in Ireland, would it, not to appeal to all our Irish writers and documents, or to St. Bernard, or to Lanfranc and Anselm, have been unheard of by Hoveden and Giraldus, neither of whom makes the least allusion to it? I was greatly surprised to find Fleury (*L. 72. §. 38.*) repeating this nonsense. But he copied his account of the synod of Cashel from Brompton, and consequently has given us also his lie concerning the charge of polygamy. Fleury did not, in all appearance, see Giraldus' account of the synod, and was very little acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. But I was still more surprized to observe, that Dr. Milner, who lives much nearer to us, and who ought to know more of our ecclesiastical history than Fleury, has, not very long ago, brought forward the same falshoods of Brompton against the Irish nation, when he states, (*Additional note to p. 50 of his Letters on Ireland*) that it was not until the English invasion that the Irish prelates were enabled to *abrogate the prevailing polygamy, incestuous marriages, the practice of baptizing the children of the rich with milk, &c.* Strange that he could imagine, that polygamy ever prevailed among the Irish Christians, or that their children were baptized in milk! As to their *incestuous marriages*, they were not such, except inasmuch as the system of the prohibited degrees, made up by the canon-

ists, had not been generally received in Ireland. I think Dr. Milner would do well to retract some way or other these unfounded assertions.

(20) Baptism is spoken of several times in the Irish canons; but in none of them is it ordered, that it should be performed in water alone, whereas there was no idea of any other liquid being sufficient for it. Adamnan relates, (*Vit. S. Col. L. 2. c. 10.*) that, when Columbkil was journeying through the country of the Picts, an infant was brought to him by its parents to be baptized, and that, as there was no water in the neighbourhood, the saint prayed for a while upon a rock and blessed a part of it, whence water immediately flowed out in abundance, with which he baptized the infant. So absolutely necessary was water considered for the administration of this sacrament.

(21) St. Jerom observes, (*in Esai. 55. 1.*) that milk and wine used to be given in the western churches to persons newly baptized; “*Lac significat innocentiam parvulorum. Qui mos a typus in Occidentis ecclesiis hodie usque servatur, ut renatis in Christo vinum lacque tribuatut.*” In some churches milk and honey used to be given to them. (See *Conc. Carth. 3. can. 24.*) It is not improbable, that like some other old practices, one or other of these ceremonies was kept up in Ireland.

(22) We have already seen (*Not. 18.*) the instances of St. Finian and St. Senan being sent to the church for baptism. St. Fursey was three days after his birth baptized by St. Brendan of Clonfert (*Vit. S. Furs. L. 1. c. 8.*): St. Fintan of Cluain-edneach on the eighth day by a holy man, and undoubtedly a clergyman, who lived in a place called *Cluain-mhic-treoin* (*Vit. S. Fint. c. 1.*): St. Laurence O'Toole by the bishop of Kildare (*Vit. S. L. c. 2.*) &c. &c. In the 24th and 27th of the canons, called of the synod of St. Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus, it is ordered, that no strange or newly introduced clergyman do baptize, or offer, *i. e.* to celebrate the holy mysteries, without the permission of the bishop. Hence it is clear, that the right of baptizing was supposed ordinarily to belong to the clergy.

§. v. It has been said that, after the synod was concluded, the king Henry sent to the Pope certain letters of all the archbishops and bishops of Ireland

recognizing Henry's power over Ireland. (23) This much may be admitted, that some time later (24) he sent to Rome a copy of those wonderful decrees, and very probably, as may be concluded from the brief of Alexander III., (of which hereafter) a certain account of Irish practices, such as might induce the Pope to favour his views. After all, said decrees produced no effect in Ireland, and were disregarded by the Irish clergy and people, who looked only to their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the synod of Cashel had never been held. (25) Henry left Dublin early in February of the same year 1172, and went to Wexford. Being there he received, about the middle of Lent, some very pressing news from Normandy, relative to the affair of Thomas Becket, which required his departure for that country as soon as conveniently possible. Accordingly he sailed from Wexford on the following Easter Monday, (26) which fell on the 17th of April, and arrived on the same day at Port-Finnan in South Wales. In this year a provincial synod was held at Tuam by the archbishop Cadla O'Dubhai; but nothing is recorded of its proceedings, except that on this occasion three churches were consecrated. (27) It must have been after the synod of Cashel, and probably was assembled at the time of the primate Gelasius' visitation of Connaught. (28) In said year died the holy bishop of Cork, Gilla Aeda O'Mugin, (29) who had assisted at the council of Kells. He was succeeded by one Gregory. To the same year are assigned the deaths of O'Meicstia or O'Meicselbe, bishop of Emly; (30) Brigdin O'Cathlan, bishop of Ferns, who is named after some other bishops of that see, whose precise times are not known, and who appears to have resigned several years before his death; (31) and Tigernach O'Maeleoin of Clonmacnois, (32) who was rather an abbot than a bishop. Melruan O'Ruadan, bishop of Achonry, one of the prelates of the synod of Kells, had died in 1170; and another equally

eminent prelate, Peter O'Mordai, bishop of Clonfert, who had been the first abbot of Boyle, was drowned in the Shannon on the 27th of December, A. 1171. Peter O'Mordai was succeeded by Moeliosa Mac-Award, who held the see only a short time, as he died in 1173. (33) About these times, and apparently before the arrival of Henry II. in Ireland, Donald O'Brian, king of North Munster, erected the great cathedral of Cashel adjoining Cormac's Chapel, which thenceforth was used as a vestry or chapter-house. He endowed this church, and granted lands to the see. (34) To the year 1173 is assigned the death of Kinad O'Ronan, bishop of Glendaloch, who had been one of the witnesses to the foundation charter of the priory of All Saints in Dublin. (35) Muredach O'Cohtaich, who had been bishop of Kinel-eogain, or Ardsrath, at the time of the council of Kells, (36) and afterwards bishop of Derry, is said to have died in the same year, or in the following, on the 10th of February. He became bishop of this see through the resignation, some years earlier, of Flathbert O'Brolcan the first ordinary bishop of Derry. (37) Muredach had been an Augustin Canon, and was highly esteemed for his learning, humility, and charity to the poor. He has been called bishop also of Raphoe; but this is a mistake, whereas the then bishop of Raphoe was Gilbert O'Caran. (38)

(23) Hoveden has this story (*loc. cit.*); but Giraldus says nothing about such letters, or their having been sent to Rome. Hoveden absurdly supposed, that these letters were written at Waterford. See above *Not.* 3.

(24) Owing to the tempestuous weather that prevailed during the winter of 1171 coming 1172, and part of the following spring, Henry could have no communication with Rome, nor had he any for some months even with England or his other dominions.

(25) This is plain from Giraldus, who speaking (*Topogr. Hib. Dist.* 3. c. 19.) of the Irish practices followed in his days, several years after the synod of Cashel, says, that tithes were not paid,

and that marriages were not contracted, that is, according to the usage of England, &c. It is true, that elsewhere he mentions a great alteration for the better, owing to the measures of Henry. (See above *Not.* 13.) But this must be taken either as a flourish in favour of Henry, or may be understood of the state and system of the diocese of Dublin as it was under John Comin, an Englishman, during whose incumbency Giraldus was in Ireland.

(26) Giraldus says, (*Hib. exp. L. 1. c. 37.*) *Paschali luce secunda*, that is, of the year 1172. Leland, who erroneously places (*B. 1. c. 3.*) Henry's departure in 1173, had no right to refer in the margin to Giraldus, who does not there mention *A.* 1173; while, on the contrary, it is evident from his whole context, that the Easter Monday was in 1172, the year marked also by Hoveden, and several old writers, as also by Ware (*Annals*) Lyttleton, &c. &c. The fact is, that Henry must have left Ireland in 1172, whereas nothing can be more certain than that he arrived in Normandy in May of that year; that it was in said year that he was absolved there by the Pope's legates from the censures incurred in consequence of the murder of Thomas Becket; and that he was present at the synod of Avranches, which met in that year on the 27th of September. (See Fleury, *L. 72. §. 39. seqq.*)

(27) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1172, and Harris, *Archbishops of Tuam* at *Catholicus O'Dubhai.*

(28) See above §. 2.

(29) Ware and Harris, *Bishops* at *Cork.* For this worthy prelate see Chap. xxvii. §. 8.

(30) *Ib.* at *Emly.*

(31) Harris, *ib.* at *Ferns.*

(32) Ware and Harris, *ib.* at *Clonmacnois.* I find no proof of his having been a bishop, except his being called *comorban* of *St. Kieran.* But he might have been only an abbot; for *St. Kieran* had not been a bishop. And it is much more probable, that this was the case, because *Moriertach O'Moeluidhir*, the bishop of *Clonmacnois*, who assisted at the synod of *Kells*, lived until 1188; and there is no necessity for supposing with Ware, that he resigned his see long before his death.

(33) Ware and Harris, *ib.* at *Achonry* and *Clonfert.*

(34) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 29. at *Cashel*, and Harris, *Archbishops of Cashel.*

(35) See Harris, *Bishops at Glendaloch*. Compare with *Chap. xxviii. §. 10.*

(36) *Not. 100. to Chap. xxvii.*

(37) For Flathbert see *Chap. xxviii. §. 5.*

(38) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Derry*. Hoveden calls Muredach *Mauritius Charensis epis.* instead of *Darensis.*

§. vi. The great and truly excellent and holy primate Gelasius, having returned to Armagh from his last visitations in Connaught and Ulster, remained there preparing for eternity, until God was pleased to call him to himself on the 27th of March A. D. 1174, in the 87th year of his age after an active and exemplary incumbency of 28 years. (39) He was succeeded by Conchovar or Conor, *alias* Cornelius, Mac-Conchailleadh, abbot of the Augustin Canons monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul of Armagh, who went to Rome on some ecclesiastical business, and died there in 1175. (40) Patrick O'Bainan, who had been bishop of Connor, and one of the prelates of the council of Kells, a man highly praised for his sanctity, died in 1174 in the island of Hy, whither he had retired apparently some years before his death; for one Nehemias is mentioned as the actual bishop of Conor at the time of king Henry's arrival in Ireland, that is, in the latter part of 1171. (41) To the same year 1174 some assign the death of Ethru O'Miadachain, bishop of Clonard, which others place in 1173. (42) In some lists of the members of the council of Kells this prelate is reckoned among them. (43) In said year 1174 died also Moeliosa O'Connachtain, bishop of East Connaught, that is, I believe, of the united dioceses of Elphin and Roscommon, who had assisted at the now mentioned council. (44) This was also the year of the death of a very holy man, St. Gilda-Machaibeo or Mochaibeo, whose name has been latinized into *Machabeus*. (45) He was born in 1102, and became in all appearance a disciple of the blessed Imar, the master and director of

St. Malachy. It is certain that, after having been for some time a Canon Regular of St. Augustin in the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul of Armagh, he was appointed abbot of it, probably soon after the death of Imar, which occurred at Rome in 1134. (46) There is reason to think, that he did not hold that situation until his death. (47) He died on the 31st of March, and the Irish hagiologists represent him as a man of superior piety, learning, and wisdom. (48) An illustrious professor of the school of Armagh, and its chief director, Florence Gorman, who had studied for twenty-one years in France and England, and afterwards taught in his own country for twenty years longer, died about the same time in the same year. (49)

(39) *AA. SS. Vit. S. Gel. cap. 30.* and *Tr. Th. p. 310.* Giraldus says, (*Hib. exp. L. 1. c. 34.*) that Gelasius lived entirely on the milk of a cow, which used to be driven before him wherever he went. For *entirely* read *chiefly*.

(40) *Tr. Th. p. ib.* Ware says, (*Archbishops of Armagh*) that he died in 1175 or 1176. I suppose he had no reason for adding *or 1176*, except his thinking, that the old mode of anticipating the Christian era, followed in some Irish annals, was still continued. But it had ceased to prevail long before these times.

(41) See *Tr. Th. p. 501.* and Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Connor*.

(42) Ware compared with Harris, *ib.* at *Meath*.

(43) See *Not. 100.* to *Chap. xxvii.*

(44) Ware and Harris, *ib.* at *Elphin*. Compare with *Not. 106.* to *Chap. xxvii.*

(45) His name is in the Irish calendars, and Colgan treats of him at 31 March.

(46) See *Chap. xxvi. §. 15.*

(47) We have just seen, that Ware calls Conchovar, who succeeded Gelasius in the see of Armagh *A. D. 1174*, abbot of St. Peter and St. Paul at the time of his being appointed to it. How then could Machabeus, who survived Gelasius by four days, have been then abbot, if Conchovar was the real one? The matter

may be easily settled by supposing, that, if Ware be right, Machabeus had some time previous resigned the abbacy.

(48) Marian Gorman, his contemporary, styles him, as quoted by Colgan, a tower of piety and meekness, an ark of wisdom and science, &c. Others speak of him in a similar manner.

(49) *Tr. Th. p.* 310.

§. VII. In 1175 Henry II. sent Nicholas, prior of Wallingford, afterwards abbot of Malmesbury, and William Fitz-Adelm to Ireland with the bull of Adrian IV. and the confirmatory brief, which Alexander III. had sent some time before to Henry. (50) On their arrival a meeting of bishops was held at Waterford, in which those precious documents were publicly read. (51) This was the first time that they were so in Ireland; and, although Henry undoubtedly had Adrian's bull in his hands, when he was in Ireland, he thought it unadvisable to announce it publicly. He knew, that not only the whole drift of it, but likewise certain unfounded aspersions contained in it would have caused great irritation among both the clergy and laity. But now, owing to the precarious state of his power in Ireland, he found himself obliged to recur to the Papal authority, thinking that he might by this means secure the obedience of the clergy, whom he imagined he had already brought over in great part to his side by some of the decrees of his synod of Cashel, and through whom he expected to counteract the opposition of the Irish princes and people to his authority. After his departure there was much fighting in Ireland between the natives and the foreigners. A grant, which he had made of Meath to Hugh de Lacy, (52) being contrary to the interests of Tiernan O'Ruarc, under whose government a considerable part of that great territory had been placed, gave rise to a dispute, which was near terminating in open hostilities. To prevent this mischief some friends of both parties brought about a conference between O'Ruarc and Lacy. They met some time in 1172,

on a hill not far from Dublin, each accompanied by a small and equal number of their adherents. But before the conference was concluded O'Ruarc was killed by Griffin, a nephew of Maurice Fitzgerald, who was present and who excited him to this act. The apology set up by writers of their faction for this dreadful deed is, that O'Ruarc had previously aimed a blow against Lacy. Whether this be true or not, this is not the place to inquire. The head of O'Ruarc was then cut off, and placed over a gate in Dublin, and his body hung, with the feet upwards, on a gallows. In this year Lacy ravaged Annaly, and killed Donald O'Ferral its king or chieftain. Early in the following year Strongbow invaded Ophaly, whose chieftain was O'Dempsey, and burned and plundered some towns; but on this occasion he lost his son-in-law Robert de Quincey, constable of Leinster, who was attacked in a defile by O'Dempsey, and slain with many of his knights and the loss of the banner of Leinster. (53)

(50) This brief may be seen in Usher's *Sylloge*, No. 47, taken from the genuine and correct text of Giraldus (*Hib. exp. L. 2. c. 6.*) Lynch (*Cambr. evers. p. 197.*) argues from its not being in the Roman Bullarium, that it is a forgery; but this and some other exceptions of his are of as little avail as his arguments against the authenticity of Adrian's bull. It confirms the grant made by Adrian under the former condition of the payment of the Peterpence; and Alexander wishes, that, on eradicating the dirty practices of Ireland, the nation may through Henry's exertions become polished, and its church be brought to a better form. He seems to have known nothing of the state of the Irish church, except what he heard from the lying accounts of the enemies of Ireland; and as to ecclesiastical or other dirt I believe he might in those times have found enough of it, and I fear more, nearer home, without looking for it in this country. I dare say he would have been hard set to meet with, in any equal portion of the Church of that period, so many excellent bishops as Gelasius, Laurence

O'Toole, Christian of Lismore, Catholicus of Tuam, &c. There is nothing in the brief concerning any letters or other papers sent by Irish archbishops and bishops to the Pope; (see above §. 5.) and the only authority alleged for Henry's right to Ireland is the Bull of Adrian.

(51) Giraldus (*loc. cit.*) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1175. Lyttelton, &c. &c. I do not understand, why Leland (*B.* 1. *ch.* 4.) places this meeting of the clergy at Waterford, the arrival of Nicholas of Wallingford, whom he calls simply *Wallingford*, and the reading of Adrian's bull, &c. so late as *A.* 1177. I am sure he is wrong; but I shall not tire the reader with a disputation on this subject.

(52) The charter of this grant is in Ware's *Antiquities*, *cap.* 27.

(53) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1172. Lyttelton, *B.* 4, &c.

§. VIII. In 1173 confederacies were formed in Ireland for the purpose of driving out the Anglo-Normans, who dissatisfied with Hervey de Monte Marisco, whom Strongbow had placed over the army, after the death of De Quincey, called out for Reymond le Grose as their commander. Strongbow having complied with their wish, Reymond set about plundering the Desies, took Lismore which he pillaged, and sent a great part of his united spoil by water towards Waterford. The vessels, in which it was contained, were met at the mouth of the river Blackwater by a Danish fleet from Cork, and a combat ensued, in which the Danes were worsted. Meanwhile Reymond defeated a body of the Irish, who had been sent to Lismore by Dermod Mac-Carthy, king of Desmond, and then marched to Waterford, driving along a great number of cattle. Not long after in a fit of disgust he returned to Wales. (54) The command of the army now devolved on Hervey de Monte Marisco, who in the following year, 1174, wishing to signalize himself, obtained permission from Strongbow to invade the territories of Donald O'Brian, king of North Munster. This was granted to him, and Strongbow himself went to Cashel,

where he expected reinforcements from Dublin. The corps under Hervey was attacked all of a sudden, early on a morning, near Thurles (55) by Donald O'Brian, and 400 of them, or, according to another account, (56) 700, together with four of their chief leaders, were put to the sword, while the remainder fled to Waterford, whither Strongbow also hastened his return, and shut himself up in the city as if it were besieged. For the whole country was, on the news of O'Brian's success, filled with Irish armies, which withdrew their allegiance from Henry. Roderic O'Conor soon after entered Meath with a great force, and ravaged the whole country, which Hugh de Lacy had parcelled out among his friends and soldiers. Hugh Tirrel, who acted for Lacy, then in England, finding that he would not be able to defend the castle of Trim, demolished the fortifications, burned it, as he did also that of Duleek, and escaped with his soldiers to Dublin. While the affairs of the foreigners were in this perilous state, Reymond was persuaded to return to Ireland, and arrived with his cousin german Milo, or Meyler, and 30 other knights, all of his own kindred, besides 100 cavalry and 300 infantry, in the harbour of Waterford at a very critical moment. At that time a general insurrection of the Danes of Waterford was breaking out; but Reymond was able to rescue Strongbow from their fury, and conducted him to Wexford. Afterwards they put to death all the Anglo-Normans they met with in the streets or elsewhere, until at length terms were agreed upon between them and the garrison. Reymond then marched towards Meath against Roderic O'Conor, who hearing of his approach returned to Connaught. (57) In the succeeding year 1175 Reymond, assisted by Donald prince of Ossory, undertook the siege of Limerick, in order to enrich his army with the plunder of that city, and probably in revenge for the victory gained by Donald O'Brian near Thurles.

But it would lead me too far to enter into a detail of this siege and its consequences.

(54) Ware, *ib.* at A. 1173. Lyttelton, *ib.* &c. &c.

(55) Lyttelton was wrong in placing this battle in Ossory.

(56) Annals of Innisfallen.

(57) Ware, *ib.* at A. 1174. Lyttelton, &c. &c.

§. IX. While matters were going in this manner, Henry perceived that it was not an easy task to subdue the Irish nation, and, considering the delicate state of his affairs both in Great Britain and France, first strove to render their clergy subservient to him by means of the Papal decrees, which he got read at Waterford, as we have seen above. He knew, however, that something more was wanting to bring over the laity, and accordingly was anxious to compromise his disputes with the Irish princes, particularly Roderic O'Conor. Things were managed in such a manner, that Roderic sent over, to negotiate in his name with Henry, three ambassadors, Catholicus archbishop of Tuam, Concors abbot of St. Brendan's of Clonfert, and Laurence his chancellor. They waited on the king at Windsor about Michaelmas of this year 1175, and within the octave of that festival a great council was held there, (58) in which the following articles were agreed upon. Roderic was to be still a king, but as holding under Henry, and was to retain his hereditary territories as firmly and peaceably as he had possessed them before Henry's arrival in Ireland. He was likewise to have under his superintendence and jurisdiction the other kings, princes, &c. of the rest of Ireland, with the exception of some parts, and was bound to make them pay, through his hands, their tribute to the king of England. These kings &c. were not to be disturbed as to the possession of their principalities, as long as they remained faithful to Henry and obedient to Roderic. But in case they failed in either

point, or refused to pay the tribute, Roderic was authorized to judge of their proceedings, and, if requisite, to deprive them of their power and possessions; and, should his own power not be sufficient for that purpose, he was to be assisted by the English king's constable and his other servants and soldiers. The tribute to be paid by Roderic and the Irish at large was very trifling, consisting only of a hide for every tenth head of cattle killed in Ireland. This agreement and the extent of Roderic's power were not, however, to comprehend all Ireland; for the king reserved to himself or to his barons Dublin and its appurtenances, all Meath and Leinster, besides Waterford and the country thence to Dungarvan included. There were some minor articles, which, as I am not writing a civil history of Ireland, it would be out of my line to give a detail of. (59) One of the witnesses to this treaty was St. Laurence O'Toole, who had come over to England concerning certain affairs of his church, some time before the arrival of Roderic's ambassadors. In the same council or assembly Henry exercised the first act of his authority as to the appointment of Irish bishops by naming to the see of Waterford, which happened to be then vacant, (probably by the death of Tostius, who had assisted at the synod of Kells) one Augustin an Irishman, who is styled *master*, and whom, as St. Laurence was about returning to Ireland, he sent in his company to be consecrated by Donald, archbishop of Cashel. (60) On this occasion the king acted very judiciously; 1. by not placing a foreigner over the church of Waterford; and 2. by not getting Augustin consecrated in England, but directing him, as the canons required, to the metropolitan, whose suffragan he was to become.

(58) Hoveden says (at *A.* 1175.) that the agreement between the kings Henry and Roderic was made *in octavis S. Michaelis*, which may be understood of the Octave of Michaelmas, that is,

the 6th of October, or of some day within the Octave. The blundering translator of Ware's Annals at said year has englighted Hoveden's words by 8th of October, probably not understanding the meaning of the word *Octave*, and for *Catholicus*, &c. he has the *Catholic bishop of Tuam*. Harris (at *Archbishops of Tuam, Catholicus*) instead of *Concors* writes *Canthred*.

(59) The whole treaty is in Hoveden's Annals at *A. 1175*. See also Lyttelton, *B. 4*.

(60) Hoveden writes; (*ib.*) "*In eodem vero concilio dedit rex Angliæ magistro Augustino Hybernensi episcopatum Waterfordiæ, qui tunc vacabat in Hybernia. Et misit eum in Hyberniam cum Laurentio Diviliniæ archiepiscopo, ad consecrandum a Donato Cassiliensi archiepiscopo.*"

§. x. It was in the same year 1175, and some time before the now mentioned assembly was held, that St. Laurence was near being killed at Canterbury. Having gone thither to wait upon the king, who was there at that time, he was received with great respect by the monks, and after a night spent in imploring the suffrages of the martyr St. Thomas Becket, prepared at their request to celebrate mass on the following morning. As he was proceeding to the altar, dressed in his pontificals, a certain madman, who had heard that he was a holy man, took it into his head that it would be a good act to give him the crown of martyrdom and make him another St. Thomas. Accordingly he seized upon a large club, and rushing through the crowd, struck him with all his might a violent blow on the head, which made him fall near the altar. The monks and the people much aggrieved thought, that he was mortally wounded. But after a little time lifting up his head, the saint called for some water, over which he said the Lord's prayer, and having blessed it with the sign of the Cross, desired the wound to be washed with it. This done, the flowing of the blood ceased, the wound was healed, and he celebrated mass. On the king's ordering that the mad-

man should be hanged, St. Laurence interceded for him, and with difficulty obtained his pardon. (61)

In this year died at a very advanced age Moeliosa (whom some call *Malachy*) Mac-Inclericuir, the immediate successor of the great St. Malachy in the see of Down, and who was one of the prelates of the council of Kells. He was succeeded by Gilladomnai (called *Gelasius*) Mac-Cormac, who died in the course of said year, and after whom was appointed another Malachy. (62) In the same, or in the following year Gillacomida (called also *Gilbert*) O'Caran was removed from the see of Raphoe to that of Armagh, in the room of Conchovar Mac-Conchailleadh, who died at Rome. (63) He was bishop of Raphoe at the time of the foundation of the Cistercian monastery of Newry, to the charter of which he was one of the witnesses, under the title of bishop of Tir-conail, in which territory Raphoe is situated. He was bishop there also when Henry II. arrived in Ireland. (64) Flathbert O'Brolcan, who some years before had resigned the see of Derry, (65) and afterwards retained only the government of the monastery of Derry, having refused that of Hy, died in said year 1175, and was buried in that monastery, leaving a great reputation for wisdom and liberality. He was succeeded in the monastery by Gelasius O'Branain. (66)

(61) *Vit. S. Laurent. cap. 19.* The author states, that this transaction was attested by a person, who was present.

(62) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Down.*

(63) Above §. 6.

(64) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Armagh and Raphoe.* Gilbert of Raphoe is mentioned in Hoveden's list of Irish sees. For his signature to the charter of Newry see *Not. 34. to Chap. xxviii.*

(65) Above §. 5.

(66) *Tr. Th.* p. 505. and Ware, *Annals at A.* 1175, and *Bishops at Derry.*

§. XI. About these times Strongbow founded a priory for knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, called at a much later period Knights of Malta, at Kilmainham near Dublin, which foundation was confirmed by Henry II. (67) That place had been anciently called *Kill-magnend* from St. Magnend, who was abbot there in the early part of the seventh century, and who is said to have been a son of Aidus, prince of Orgiell, who died in 606 (607). St. Magnend's name is in the Irish calendars at 18 December. (68) Strongbow died about the beginning of June A. D. 1176, and his body was kept unburied until Reymond, whom his wife Basilea, sister of Strongbow, had sent for in all haste, arrived in Dublin. It was then, under the direction of St. Laurence O'Toole, solemnly interred in the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity, *alias* Christ-church. Strongbow left, by his wife Eva, daughter of Dermod Mac-Murrough, a daughter, named Isabel, who was afterwards married to William Mareschal, earl of Pembroke. (69) The king, on hearing of Strongbow's death, sent over to Ireland, as his deputy or lieutenant, William Fitz-Adelm, and together with him John de Courcey, Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Milo de Cogan, who were to act under him. In the beginning of September of the same year Maurice Fitzgerald died at Wexford leaving three sons, William, Gerald, and Alexander. From Maurice are descended all the noble and illustrious families of the Fitzgeralds in Ireland. Soon after the death of Strongbow, and before the arrival of Fitz-Adelm, Melaghlin Mac-Loghlin, an Ulster prince, attacked and demolished the castle of Slane, on which occasion Richard Fleming, the owner or governor of it, was, together with many others, put to the sword, none

of the princes of Ulster at this time recognizing the sovereignty of the king of England. (70)

To this year 1176, and to the first of January, some accounts assign the death of Malachy O'Brin, or O'Byrne, bishop of Kildare. (71) It is related, that St. Laurence once ordered him to undertake the cure of a lady, who was mad and possessed with an evil spirit, but that he declined the task, saying that he was not of sufficient merit to be able to expel devils. (72) He was succeeded by Nehemias, who held the see for about 18 years. (73) In 1177 Charles O'Buacalla, abbot of Mellifont, became bishop of Emly, and died in less than a month after. (74) Who was his immediate predecessor is not known; for he could not have been O'Meiestia, who died in 1172. (75) Imar O'Ruadan, bishop of Killybegs, or of Hua-Fiachra, died also in 1177. (76)

(67) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Dublin*.

(68) *AA. SS.* p. 584 and 713. Archdall says, (at *Kilmainham*) that Magnend was abbot of Kill-magnend in 606; but Colgan merely states, that this was the year of his father's death.

(69) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1176.

(70) See Ware, *ib.* and Lyttleton, *B.* 5.

(71) See Ware and Harris, *Bishops* at *Kildare*. Colgan, (*Tr. Th.* p. 630.) erroneously calling him *O'Brian*, places his death in 1175, and so do, as Harris observes, the *Annals* of *Leinster*.

(72) *Vita S. Laur. cap.* 28. Harris pretends, (*loc. cit.*) that O'Brin was right in making this excuse, if what *historians*, as he pompously calls them, say of him be true. But these *historians* of Harris are only Giraldu, (*Hib. exp. L. 1. cap.* 25.) who is well known to have told or repeated a great number of falsehoods. The story is, that, when Fitz-Stephen was in the year 1171 besieged in Carig near Wexford by Donald, an illegitimate son of Dermod Mac-Morrogh, and the Danes of Wexford, O'Brin, and O'Hethe, bishop of Ferns, perjured themselves to make Fitz-Stephen believe, that Dublin was taken by the Irish, and all the foreigners destroyed, in consequence of which Fitz-Stephen and

his party surrendered. This is evidently a fable patched up to apologize for Fitz-Stephen's having given up himself and his garrison, together with the fortress. Ware, treating of this affair, (*Annal.* at *A.* 1171) shews, that he did not believe Giraldus, whose tract he had before his eyes; for he merely states, without mentioning any bishop, that the besiegers had spread a report, that Dublin was taken, and Strongbow and his army there cut to pieces. In fact, there were very strong grounds for such a report; whereas, had Roderic O'Conor and the Irish acted with more caution and ability, the foreigners then in Dublin might have been all exterminated. (See *Chap.* xxviii. §. 15.) Add, that Ware, giving an account (*Bishops*) of those two prelates, has not a word of that story; and it was reserved for Harris to foist the slanderous tale into that honest writer's works.

(73) Ware, *Bishops at Kildare.* (74) *Ib.* at *Emly.*

(75) Above, §. 5. (76) Ware, *Bishops at Killala.*

§. XII. In the same year 1177 Malachy, the new bishop of Down, was taken prisoner by John de Courcey, but at the request of Vivian, Cardinal Priest of the title of St. Stephen in Monte Coelio, was soon after restored to his liberty and see. De Courcey, wishing to give some employment to the Anglo-Norman troops, and to provide for their wants, had, in spite of the deputy Fitz-Adelm's orders, set out early in this year (77) from Dublin with a select body of them, joined by some Irish, and by a quick march of three or four days arrived unexpectedly at Downpatrick, the capital of Ulidia, or Ullagh, and at that time an open unfortified place. Mac-Dunlevy, its king, being unprepared for this attack, withdrew from the town. Cardinal Vivian, the Pope's legate for Scotland and the neighbouring islands, and also for Ireland, happened to be then at Downpatrick, having arrived there a short time before from the Isle of Mann, and where he was treated with great respect. He endeavoured to mediate a peace between Mac-Dunlevy and De Courcey, and proposed that the latter with his troops

should quit the country on condition of the former paying tribute to king Henry. De Courcey being quite averse to this agreement, the Cardinal, vexed at his unjust conduct, went to Mac-Dunlevy and exhorted him to take arms in defence of his territories. This prince soon collected an army, it is said, of 10,000 men, and marched to attack the invaders. De Courcey and his men went out to meet them, and after a hard fought battle gained a victory. The Cardinal took refuge in a Church, but was protected by De Courcey, who also granted him the freedom of the bishop Malachy, who in the pursuit of the Ulidians had fallen into the enemy's hands. After this Vivian went to Dublin, and held there a synod of bishops and abbots, in which setting forth Henry's right to the sovereignty of Ireland in virtue of the Pope's authority, he inculcated the necessity of obedience to him under pain of excommunication. He allowed the foreigners liberty to take whatever victuals they might want, in their expeditions, out of the churches, into which, as sanctuaries, the Irish used to remove them; merely ordering, that a reasonable price should be paid for them to the rectors of such churches. (78) Thus he atoned for his former attention to Mac-Dunlevy. While Vivian was in Dublin, William Fitz-Adelm founded, by order of Henry II. the celebrated abbey of St. Thomas the martyr (Becket) for Canons Regular of the order of St. Victor, near Dublin, on the site now called Thomas-court, for the good of the souls of Geoffrey, count of Anjou father of the king, of the empress his mother, and his ancestors, of the king himself and of his sons. Fitz-Adelm made over to it, on the king's part, in the presence of the Cardinal and of St. Laurence O'Toole, a piece of land called *Donower* or *Donore*. This abbey became in course of time most splendidly endowed. (79) The synod being ended, Vivian

passed over to Chester, and soon after returned to Scotland. (80)

(77) Colgan was hugely mistaken (*Tr. Th.* p. 108.) in assigning John de Courcy's first arrival in Ireland to *A. D.* 1185. He misunderstood a passage of Usher, who says, (*Pr.* p. 889.) that Count John came to Ireland in that year. But Usher meant not John de Courcy, but John, earl of Morton, and son of Henry II. who was afterwards king John, as appears also from his *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 1185.

(78) See Giraldus, *Hib. exp. L. 2. c.* 17. Ware, *Annals at A.* 1177. Lyttleton, *B.* 5.

(79) See Ware, *ib.* and *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Dublin.* The charter for this foundation may be seen, from an *inspeximus*, in the *Monast. Angl. Vol. 2. p.* 1039. It is also in Leland's *History, B. 1. ch.* 5. Archdall (at *Dublin, Abbey of St. Thomas*) has egregiously bungled this business. According to him the abbey had been founded by Fitz-Adelm as early as *A.* 1172, and he tells us, that somebody was prior there between 1172 and 1175; and why? Because that somebody was a witness to a charter granted by John de Courcy to the priory of St. Patrick in Down. The poor man seems not to have known, that Fitz-Adelm was not Henry's deputy in Ireland, and consequently could not have founded the Abbey of St. Thomas before 1176. And as to what he says about St. Patrick's of Down, it was not until 1177 that De Courcy had any thing to do with Down, nor until 1183 that he gave the name of St. Patrick to a church in that town. Then he assigns the grant of Donore to 1178, as if said grant were not at the time of the foundation of the abbey, or as if St. Vivian had not left Ireland in 1177 soon after the conclusion of the synod of Dublin.

(80) Ware, *Annals at A.* 1177. It is strange, that Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigns to *A.* 1186 Vivian's synod of Dublin and his return to Scotland, on occasion of which it has been said, that he left Ireland less loaded with Irish gold than he wished. For this was said relatively to his departure in 1177. (See Fleury, *L.* 72. §. 59.)

§. XIII. At this time a great dissension prevailed

between Roderic O'Connor and his eldest son Murtach or Morrogh, who fled to Dublin and excited Fitz-Adelm to make war on his father, offering to conduct into the heart of Connaught the army to be employed on this occasion. Although it does not appear, that Roderic had in any wise violated the treaty solemnly entered into with king Henry, or had given any provocation to the English government, Fitz-Adelm basely availed himself of that unnatural son's treason, hoping to add Connaught to Henry's possessions in Ireland. Accordingly he dispatched in said year 1177 Milo de Cogan, with a considerable army of knights, cavalry, and archers, who crossed the Shannon, and advanced without meeting any opposition, as far as Tuam, which, it seems, they set fire to. (81) Throughout the whole country they found no provisions, as they were either concealed in places where they could not be discovered, or had been carried away or destroyed, the inhabitants having retired with their families and cattle to inaccessible woods or to the mountains. Cogan and his army were thus reduced almost to starvation, and forced to set out again for Dublin, without having gained any advantage; but on their return, and after eight days marching in Connaught, they were attacked in a wood near the Shannon by Roderic and the Connacians, and suffered considerable loss. (82) Murtach was taken in the action, and the Connacians, not one of whom had joined him on his entrance into their country, sentenced him, with the consent of his father, to have his eyes put out, which was accordingly done. (83) Some time in May of this year Henry held a parliament at Oxford, in which he declared his son John king of Ireland, having obtained permission to do so from Pope Alexander III. This is not the place to inquire into the extent of power or territories in Ireland, which Henry meant to confer upon John; but this much I may remark, that John was

not styled *king* of Ireland, his title being *lord* of Ireland and *earl* of Morton. (84) Afterwards, and in the same year, he made a grant to Robert Fitz-Stephen and Milo de Cogan of the kingdom of Cork, that is, of Desmond, to hold under himself and his son John, and their heirs, except the city of Cork and the adjoining cantred, which Henry retained in his own hands, but of which Fitz-Stephen and Cogan were to have the custody for him. (85) This grant was of no great service to them; for in spite of it they got possession of only a small part of that kingdom, and two years afterwards were glad to put up with, between them both, seven cantreds near the city, while 24 cantreds remained out of their and Henry's power. (86) A similar sort of grant, rather nominal than real, was some time after made of the kingdom of North-Munster by Henry to Philip de Breuse, who, notwithstanding the king's writ, and the assistance of Fitz-Stephen and Cogan, never acquired an inch of it, and got so frightened that he and his Welchmen thought it their best plan to return home. (87) And it will be seen, that the brave Donald O'Brian, who lived for several years after these times, retained his kingdom until the day of his death.

(81) A conflagration of Tuam in 1177 is mentioned in the Irish annals. (See *Tr. Th.* p. 634.)

(82) Giraldus pretends, that of Cogan's party only three men were killed; but, as Ware observes, the Irish annals give a different account of the matter.

(83) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1177. Lyttleton *B.* 5. Leland, *B.* 1. *ch.* 4.

(84) See Ware, *ib.* and *Antiq. cap.* 27. Hoveden and Brompton have the name *king*; but this was not John's real title.

(85) Henry's charter for this grant is in Ware's *Antiquities*, *cap.* 27. See also the *Annals* at *A.* 1177.

(86) See Giraldus, (*Hib. exp. L.* 2. *c.* 18.) and from him Ware, (*loc. cit.*) who is copied by Smith, *History of Cork*, *B.* 1. *ch.* 1.

Lyttleton was quite wrong (*B. 5.*) in supposing that Fitz-Stephen and Cogan divided between them the whole kingdom of Desmond, with merely the exceptions mentioned in Henry's charter.

(87) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 27.* and *Annals at A. 1179.* Lyttleton, *loc. cit.* and Ferrar, *History of Limerick, part 2. ch. 2.*

§. xiv. In the following year, 1178 John de Courcey met with a great check. He had been plundering the now county of Louth, and was driving thence a vast number of cattle, when he was met in the country of Ergall or Oriel by Murtach O'Kervail or Carrol, prince of that country, and Mac-Dunlevy of Ullagh, who attacked him with such success, that, having lost many of his soldiers, he was obliged to fly, attended by only eleven men, for two days and two nights without food or rest, until he reached his castle near Downpatrick. He was also unfortunate in an incursion, which he made into Dalaradia. (88) To this year is assigned the foundation of the Cistercian monastery of Rosalas or Monaster-evan, called of St. Mary, *alias De Rosea valle*, by Dermot O'Dempsey, prince of Ophaly, who richly endowed it. (89) In this year died on the 8th of May Donald O'Fogarty, bishop of Ossory, who had assisted at the council of Kells, not as bishop but as vicar general of that diocese. (90) It is supposed that in his time the see of Ossory was at Aghaboe, the famous monastery of St. Cannich or Kenny. (91) Yet this is doubtful; but it is certain, that it was there in the time of his immediate successor Felix O'Dullany, who held that see from 1178 to 1202; nor was it, as far as I can judge, until after O'Dullany's death that it was removed from Aghaboe to Kilkenny. (92) - In the same year 1178 died Rugnad O'Ruadan, bishop of Kilmacduach; (93) and the abbey and town of Ardfinnan were plundered and burned by some English adventurers. (94) About this time, or before it, Christian, bishop of Lismore, must have resigned his see; for we find, that in the

year 1179 it was held by one Felix. Christian retired to the Cistercian monastery of Kyrie eleison at Odorney in the county of Kerry, where he spent the remainder of his days. (95) On his resigning the bishopric it may be naturally supposed, that he gave up also the apostolic legateship. Felix was one of the Irish prelates, who assisted in 1179 at the third general council of Lateran, for the meeting of which summonses had been issued by Alexander III. in the preceding year. They are said to have been six in all; viz. St. Laurence of Dublin, Catholicus of Tuam, Constantine O'Brian of Killaloe, Felix of Lismore, Augustin of Waterford, and Briccius of Limerick. On their way through England to Rome they were obliged to take an oath, that they would not act in any manner prejudicial to the king or his kingdom. (96) The Pope treated St. Laurence with much kindness, and gave him a bull, in which, taking under his protection the church of Dublin, he confirmed its rights, its jurisdiction over the suffragan sees of Glendaloch, Kildare, Ferns, Leighlin, and Ossory, which he also took under the protection of St. Peter and the Roman church, and its extensive possessions in churches, villages, lands, &c. (97) In this council, or soon after it, and when he was near returning from Rome, the Pope appointed him legate throughout all Ireland. (98) To this year, 1179 some accounts assign the foundation of the Cistercian abbey of Ashro, or Easrua, *alias* De Samario, near Ballyshannon, by Roderic O'Cananan, prince of Tir-connel. (99) Great conflagrations of Armagh, Cashel, Clonfert, Lothra or Lorrh in the county of Tipperary, and Tuam, are mentioned as having occurred in said year; (100) but whether owing to accident or design, I am not able to tell.

(88) Ware, *Annals* at A. 1178. See also Lyttleton, B. 5.

(89) Ware, *ib.* and *Antiq. cap.* 26. at Kildare. He says, that others place this foundation in 1189. But it could not have been

so late, whereas one of the witnesses to the deed for it was Donat, bishop of Leighlin, who died in 1185. This deed is in the *Monast. Anglic. Vol. 2. p. 1031.* Monasterevan is supposed to have derived its name from a monastery, that had been there under the name of St. Evin. Ware seems to confound it with St. Evin's monastery of Ross-mac-treoin. But Ros-mac-treoin was the place now called *Old Ross* in the county of Wexford, and in the southern part of Leinster, which could not be said of Monasterevan. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 3.* and *ib. Not. 46.*) It may be justly suspected, that the name *Monasterevan* meant merely the *monastery near the river (abhan in Irish)*, as it was contiguous to the Barrow. For I do not find, that there was any monastery under the name of St. Evin in that part of Leinster, nor that St. Abban, from whom it has been conjectured that Monasterevan got its name, erected one there.

(90) Ware (*Bishops at Ossory*) thought, that he sat above 20 years. Harris foists in *upwards of 26 years*, on the supposition of his having been bishop of Ossory at the time of the council. But the most correct account makes him at that time only vicar general. (See *Not. 100. to Chap. xxvii.*)

(91) Ware (*ib.*) speaks of the see of Saigir as having been removed to Aghaboe perhaps in 1052, because a church was built there in that year. This, however is a poor argument, and the matter is still uncertain.

(92) Ware says, (*ib.*) that the removal to Kilkenny was made by O'Dullany; and in the *Census Camerales* of Cencius, which was written before O'Dullany's death, the see is called *Cainic*. But from a passage quoted by Usher from a catalogue of the bishops of Ossory (*Pr. p. 957.*) it appears, that the see was still at Aghaboe, when O'Dullany died. The words are; "A. D. MCCII. obiit Reverendus pater Felix O'Dulane episcopus Ossoriensis, cujus ecclesia cathedralis tunc erat apud Aghboo in superiori Ossoria." Through an error of the press, or probably an oversight of Usher, MCCII. appears there, and also in the *Ind. Chron.* instead of MCCII. The name of *Cainic* (Kilkenny) might have been introduced into the text of Cencius at a later period. Ledwich has (*Ant. &c. p. 510. 2d. ed.*) some bungling about two dioceses of Aghaboe and Kilkenny from a *Provinciale*, which, he says, was compiled after 1102, because O'Dullany died in that

year, for which, he quotes Usher. Now he might have easily perceived, that 1102 is a palpable mistake, and that Usher had observed, (*ib.*) that the *Provinciale*, no matter when compiled, was wrong, and that the sees of Aghaboe and Kilkenny ought not to be distinguished. Ledwich complains, that Aghaboe was sunk in Kilkenny through the encroachment of Papal power in 1152, that is, by Cardinal Paparo. But surely the see was not at Kilkenny until long after 1152, nor at the earliest, even according to Ware, until after 1178. What an antiquary of Ireland and of Aghaboe!

(93) Ware, *Bishops at Kilmacduach*.

(94) Archdall at *Ardfinnan*.

(95) Ware, *Bishops at Lismore*, and *Antiq. cap. 26 at Kerry*. He makes mention of a bishop, named O'Cerbail, (Carrol) who died at Lismore in 1167; but he could not have been bishop of that see, whereas Christian was still its bishop at the time of the synod of Cashel in 1172. (See above §. 2.)

(96) Ware, *Annals at A. 1179*. It has been said, (Fleury, *L. 73. §. 24.*) that an Irish bishop, who attended at the council, had no other income than the milk of three cows. If this be true, he must not have been one of those now mentioned; for it cannot be supposed, that any of their sees was reduced to such poverty. In fact Hoveden makes mention (at *A. 1179*) of five or six Irish bishops, who, besides St. Laurence and Catholicus, went to the council, although other accounts reckon in the whole only the six above named.

(97) This bull is dated the 20th of April *A. D. 1179*, and may be seen in Usher's *Sylloge, No. 48*. It is surprising to observe, how richly endowed the see of Dublin was at that time, Lusk, Swords, Finglas, Clondalkin, Tallaght, and many other places are mentioned as belonging to it, and also the parish churches of St. Thomas, St. Nicholas, St. Warburg, St. Patrick in the island, supposed to be the old church of St. Patrick in the south suburbs of Dublin (see Mr. Mason's *History of the Cathedral of St. Patrick, p. 2.*) the island of the sons of Nessan, that is, Ireland's Eye, (see *Not. 61 to Chap. xi.*) &c. &c.

(98) *Vita S. Laurent. cap. 23.*

(99) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26. at Donegall*. He observes, that others place this foundation in 1184. Roderic O'Canavan lived

until 1188, as stated by Ware (*ib.*) and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 449.*) Yet in the *Ind. Chron.* to this work, owing to one of those errata so common in Colgan's printed text, his death is marked at *A. 1178.* The English translator of Ware's Annals has (at *A. 1179*) changed his name into Roderic O'Cavanah.

(100) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron.* Colgan (*ib.* and *p. 310.*) assigns that of Armagh to *A. 1178*; but O'Flaherty (*MS. note at p. 310.*) marks *A. 1179.*

§. xv. Meanwhile Fitz-Adelm had been recalled from Ireland in 1178, and Hugh de Lacy appointed deputy, to whom Robert De la Poer was joined in the commission. It seems, that he was soon after entrusted with the custody of Wexford. Of him it has been said, that he did nothing memorable or great during his government of Ireland, except his having removed the celebrated staff of Jesus from Armagh to Dublin. (101) But this mighty achievement ought not, I think, to be attributed to Fitz-Adelm, or to the time of his administration, during which neither he nor any of his countrymen had got possession of Armagh; nor was it probably until 1184, when Philip de Worcester entered Armagh with a great army, and extorted there much money and other things from the clergy. (102) There is a bull of Alexander III. dated the 13th of May, *A. D. 1179*, by which he "confirms the city of Glendaloch, in which the cathedral is, with the churches and other the possessions and appurtenances of it to Malchus, bishop of Glendaloch, and to his successors, saving the rights of the abbot of Glendaloch. (103) St. Laurence O'Toole, being returned to Ireland, (104) applied himself with fervour not only to the care of his own diocese and province, but likewise to the duties of his apostolic legation. He exerted himself to eradicate whatever abuses had crept in, owing to the perturbed state of the country, particularly with regard to the conduct of the clergy. He was very strict against such of them as were

guilty of incontinence; and it is said that he sent 140 of them, who were convicted of that crime, to Rome to look for absolution there, although he did not want power to absolve them himself. (105) This was a scandal of a new kind in Ireland, and was chiefly caused by the bad conduct and example of the adventuring and fighting sort of clergymen, that had for some years back flocked over to this country from England and Wales. (106) The holy prelate still continued his unbounded charities, and during a famine, which lasted for three years, gave daily alms to 500 poor persons, besides supplying about 300 more throughout his diocese with clothes, provisions, and other necessaries. During these hard times about 200 children were left at the door of his residence, all of whom he got care taken of and well provided for. (107) Several miracles are attributed to him during that period, one of which was in the case of Gallwed, a priest of St. Martin's church in Dublin, who, having after a heavy fit of sickness lain for three days and nights as if dead, was, on St. Laurence's addressing him and praying over him, roused as it were out of a trance, and rose in good health. (108)

(101) Giraldus, *Hib. exp. L. 2. c. 18.* and Annals of Mary's Abbey at *A. 1178.* Concerning this staff see *Chap. iv. §. 12.*

(102) Ware makes Fitz-Adelm the remover of the staff to Dublin, but does not place this transaction in the time that he was deputy or governor of Ireland; assigning it in his Annals to *A. 1180.* How could Fitz-Adelm have taken it out of Armagh in that year, whereas neither he nor any of the foreign adventurers entered Armagh at that time, nor for some years later? Ware mentions, (*ib. ad A. 1184.*) from Giraldus, the conduct of Philip de Worcester; and on this occasion the staff might have been carried away. He adds (at *A. 1180*) that it was placed in the cathedral of the Blessed Trinity, where it was preserved with great care till the suppression of monasteries. And he tells us (*ib. at A. 1538*) that it was burned and destroyed in the year 1538.

(103) Harris (*Bishops at Glendaloch*) from the book, called *Crede mihi*.

(104) It is strange, that Giraldus (*Hib. exp. L. 2. c. 23.*) speaks of St. Laurence as if he had never returned to Ireland after the council of Lateran, observing that he was suspected by the king Henry on account of some privileges, contrary to the royal dignity, which he had obtained in that council. It is equally strange, that Leland (*B. 1. ch. 5.*) follows Giraldus, and adds, that after the council Henry forbade him to return to Ireland. But this prohibition is placed by the author of his *Life* after his return from Rome to Ireland, and after his having gone on a subsequent occasion to England. What were the privileges derogatory to the king's dignity, obtained by St. Laurence, I cannot discover, unless Giraldus meant the bull, of which above, granted to him by Alexander III. Perhaps Henry, who was not ashamed to apply for bulls, when his interests required them, and was glad to get them, did not wish, that bulls should be issued in favour of others. That St. Laurence did actually return after the council to Ireland is, besides being positively stated in his *Life*, evident, as will be soon seen, from Hoveden and other old writers.

(105) *Vit. S. Laurent. cap. 23.*

(106) That this was the true cause of the scandal will be seen lower down, from what passed in the synod of Dublin held a few years later under archbishop Cumin. We have a sample of the hopeful kind of ecclesiastics, who came over to Ireland with Strongbow and others, in one Nicholas a monk, who fought in their armies, and who, when Strongbow and his party on their way in 1171 to relieve Fitz-Stephen, whom they thought still besieged in Carig, were on the point of being totally defeated by O'Ryan, prince of Idrone, killed O'Ryan with an arrow, and thus changed the fate of the day. (Leland, *B. 1. ch. 2* and Lyttelton, *B. 4.*) Such were the missionaries, who, according to the wish of Adrian IV., were to establish pure religion and sound ecclesiastical discipline in Ireland.

(107) *Vit. S. Laurent. cap. 24.* The author was mistaken in placing those three years of famine during the time of the saint's legateship. They must have begun before it; for he did not live three years after he was appointed legate.

(108) *Ib. cap. 30.*

§. xvi. Some time in the year 1180 St. Laurence went to England for the purpose of settling a certain dispute between Roderic O'Connor and Henry II. (109) He took with him a son of Roderic, who was to be left hostage with Henry. (110) But Henry, acting in a tyrannical manner, would not listen to him, and, having given orders that he should not be allowed to return to Ireland, passed over to Normandy. The saint retired to the monastery of Abingdon, where he remained three weeks. But hoping to induce Henry to accommodate matters he set out for France, and having landed at Wishant was proceeding towards Normandy, when he was seized with a fever. Being arrived near the frontiers of that province he descried the monastery of Augum, now Eu, belonging to Canons Regular of St. Victor, and situated at the very entrance of Normandy. Thither he went, and having prayed in the church was received in the hospice. Foreseeing that his end was near at hand, he made his confession to the abbot Osbert and received from him the holy Viaticum. While he was confined to bed David, a respectable clergyman and tutor of the young prince, intended as a hostage, called upon Henry, and at length prevailed upon him to agree to some terms. On his return to Augum on the fourth day, the saint expressed his joy at the issue of the business. On the third day following he requested of the abbot and brethren to be received into their body and fraternity, which was granted to him with great pleasure. He then asked for and received the sacrament of Extreme unction. Being admonished to make a will, he answered; "God knows, that I have not at present as much as one penny under the sun." A little before his death he lamented the sad state of his country, saying in the Irish language; "*Ah! foolish and senseless people, what are you now to do? Who will cure your misfortunes? Who will heal you?*" Soon after he was called to a

better world at the very end of Friday, the 14th November, *A. D.* 1180, and after the funeral obsequies were terminated was honourably interred in the middle of the church of Augum in the presence of many persons, among others Cardinal Alexius the Pope's legate for Scotland, who happened to arrive then at Augum. (111) The saint's body remained there for about four years and a half, until, on occasion of rebuilding the church, it was taken up and placed in a shrine before the altar of the martyr Leodegarius. (112) He was canonized by Honorius III. in the year 1226. (113) After the canonization his reliques were with great solemnity placed over the high altar, and preserved in a silver shrine. Some of them were sent to Christ-church, Dublin, and some to various places in France. (114) Immediately on being informed of St. Laurence's death, Henry II. dispatched Jeffery De la Hay, his chaplain, and a certain clerk of the legate Alexius, to Dublin for the purpose of seizing on the revenues of the see and collecting them into the Exchequer. (115)

(109) In the saint's Life (*cap.* 31.) the Irish king, in whose behalf he went to England, is called *Deronogus*. This must be a mistake, as appears from the Life itself, in which that king is called the most powerful king of Ireland. Now there was no such powerful sovereign, named *Deronogus*, at that time in this country. Hoveden and the abbot Benedict call the Irish king *Roderic*.

(110) So Hoveden, Benedict, and others. But in the Life (*ib.*) the young man, intended as a hostage, is represented as a nephew of St. Laurence.

(111) *Vit. S. Laurent. capp.* 31-32. *seqq.* Hoveden is far from being correct, when treating of St. Laurence's arrival in Normandy and the time of his death. He says, (at *A.* 1181) that he came to that country after the feast of the purification of said year, that is, early in February of 1181. He speaks of him as if he had seen the king Henry there, and so does Butler in St. Laurence's Life at 14 November. But the fact is, that the saint

died before he could see him in Normandy. I suppose Hoveden was unwilling to acknowledge with what harshness his master treated so holy and respected a prelate. Henry was certainly not fond of him, as he knew how much St. Laurence was attached to the independence of Ireland. Then Hoveden tells us, that the saint died not long after, that is, as his text insinuates, in rather an early part of 1181. This is palpably wrong; for nothing is more certain than that his death occurred on a 14th of November. It is extraordinary, that Harris (*Bishops at St. Laurence O'Toole*) alleges Hoveden as a voucher for the saint's death in 1180, whereas he expressly places it in 1181. It is, however, true, that 1180 was the real year of it, as Usher has very well proved, (*Sylloge, Not. ad No. 48.*) who, besides referring to Irish Annals, observes, that this is confirmed by the circumstance of the 14th of November having fallen in that year on a Friday. And Hoveden himself supplies us with an unanswerable proof by stating, that John Cumin was elected archbishop of Dublin on the 6th of September. *A. 1181.* Now, as St. Laurence died on a 14th of November, this day, having been prior to Cumin's election, must have been in 1180. Ware was therefore right (*Annals at A. 1180, and Archbishops of Dublin*) in marking the saint's death at this year. Hoveden's mistake in assigning it to 1181 has been followed by several writers, among others Baronius, Fleury, &c. Fleury, to guard against the argument taken from its having occurred on a Friday, affixes it to a Saturday. (See *Hist. Eccl. L. 73. §. 25.*) But the plain meaning of the author of the Life is, that the saint's death fell within the Friday. He says (*cap. 33*); "Itaque cum sextae feriae terminus advenisset, in confinio Sabbati subsequentis spiritum sancti viri requies aeterna suscepit."

(112) See said Life, (*cap. 35.*) and Harris (*Archbishops, &c. at St. Laurence*) from the office of the feast of the saint's translation celebrated at Augum, or Eu, on the 10th of May.

(113) The bull of canonization is in the *Bullarium Romanum*, and has been republished by Messingham (*App. ad. Vit. S. Laurent.*) and Wilkins (*Conc. &c. Tom. 1. p. 619.*). It is dated 3 *idus* (the 11th) *Decembris*, 10th year of the pontificate of Honorius III.

(114) See Harris, *ib.*

(115) Ware, *Annals at A. 1180, and Harris, loc. cit.*

CHAP. XXX.

Death of Gilbert O'Caran archbishop of Armagh—Some churches and abbeys plundered, and several others founded—Insurrection of the people of Munster against the English—Dispute between Roderic O'Conor and his son—Arrival of John Cumin, first English archbishop of Dublin—Bull of Pope Lucius III. which in some measure exempts the See of Dublin from the jurisdiction of Armagh—Philip of Worcester succeeds Hugh de Lacy in the government of Ireland, and extorts much money and other valuables from the clergy at Armagh—Arrival of John Earl of Morton and Lord of Ireland—waited on by some Irish Lords, who are insulted by him—they resent his treatment, and in several conflicts almost the entire army of John is destroyed—Deaths and successions of several bishops and abbots—Provincial Synod of Dublin under archbishop Cumin, at which Albin O'Mulloy preached against the incontinency and vicious habits of the English clergy who had come into Ireland—The delinquents are, in consequence, suspended from their functions by the archbishop—Gerald Barry preaches on the next day against the Irish clergy, but is forced to acknowledge their virtues—Canons agreed to at this Synod—Translation of the remains of St. Patrick, St. Columb and St. Brigid—Hugh de Lacy killed—Fables of Giraldus Cambrensis refuted—Payment of tithes introduced into Ireland—Further account and refutation of the fables of Gerald Barry.

SECT. 1.

IN the same year 1180 died also Gilbert O'Caran, archbishop of Armagh, who is said to have made,

some time before his death, a grant of the town of Ballybaghal, in the now county of Dublin, to the Cisterian monastery of St. Mary, Dublin. (1) He was succeeded by Tomultach, *alias* Thomas, O'Conor, who having held the see for some time resigned, as will be seen lower down, but afterwards resumed it. In this year the abbey of Innisfallen, where the gold and silver and the richest articles of that whole country were deposited as in an inviolable sanctuary, was villanously plundered by Maolduin, son of Daniel O'Donoghoe, as likewise the church of Ardferf, and many persons were killed, even in the cemetery, by the Clancarties; but several of the perpetrators of these crimes were soon after punished by an untimely end. (2) The foundation of some religious houses is assigned to this year, such as that of Jeripont, or Jerpoint, in the now county of Kilkenny, for Cisterian monks by Donald, prince of Ossory. (3) It is said, that there was an older monastery of that order at Killenny, somewhere in that country, founded by Dermod O'Ryan, and called *De Valle Dei*, but which was afterwards united to Douske, now Graige-ne-managh. (4) The Cisterian abbey of Chore, or *de choro S. Benedicti*, in the place now called Middleton (county of Cork) is also marked at A. 1180, and is stated to have been supplied from Nenay or Magio in the county of Limerick. (5) Prior to this year there was another Cisterian house, called *De castro Dei*, at Fermoy, which is stated to have been founded in 1170, and to have been originally supplied from the monastery of Surium. (6) The monastery of Maur, or *De fonte vivo*, also belonging to that order, and in the same now county of Cork, is said to have founded by Dermod Mac-Cormac-Mac-Carthy, king of Desmond, and son of Cormac, the friend of St. Malachy, in 1172, and to have received its first members from the abbey of Baltinglas. (7) According to some accounts the monastery, likewise Cistercian,

of Inis or Iniscourcey, a peninsula adjoining the lough of Strangford, and opposite to Downpatrick, was founded in 1180 by John de Courcey, and supplied with monks from Furness in Lancashire. (8) He erected this monastery in atonement for his having destroyed the Benedictine house of Erynagh, called also *Carrig*, from the rock on which it stood, in the now barony of Lecale, which had been founded in 1127 by an Ulster prince, named Magnell Mackenleff, and whose first abbot was a St. Evodius. With the lands, that belonged to this monastery, De Courcey endowed the new one of Inis. (9) To about the same year 1180 I find affixed another foundation by the same De Courcey, viz. that of the Black priory of St. Andrew de Stokes, a Benedictine establishment in the Ardes, likewise in the now county of Down. (10)

(1) Ware, *Archbishops of Armagh*. Whether or not that grant was made by Gilbert is not worth inquiring into. Ware says, that Ballybaghal got its name *abaculo S. Patricii*, meaning, I suppose, the staff usually called *of Jesus*. But what had that staff, which is said to have been placed in Trinity Church Dublin, to do with a country place in the district of that city? Besides, said staff was not in Dublin during the times of Gilbert. (See *Not. 102. to Chap. xxix.*)

(2) Annals of Innisfallen, and Ware, *Annals* at *A. 1180*.

(3) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26. at Kilkenny*. It seems that, according to some accounts, the monks of this establishment had been removed from some other place in Ossory. Archdall (at *Ierpont*) calls the founder Donogh O'Donoghoe. Where he found him so called he does not tell us; but surely the princes of Ossory were not O'Donoghoes but Mac-Gilla-Patricks.

(4) See Ware, *ib.* and Harris, *Monasteries*.

(5) Ware, *ib.* at *Cork*. He does not say, by whom it was founded; but Archdall (at *Middleton*) shamefully quotes him, as if he had said, that the Fitzgeralds were the founders. He has no such thing, nor could he; for he was too well versed in Irish history not to know, that the Fitzgeralds were not at that time so

settled in that country as to set about founding monasteries. The flimsy Alemand ascribes it to the Barries, and, strange to remark, has been followed by Harris, (*Monast.*) as if Harris could not have easily found, that there were no Barries established at that time in the South of Ireland. The first of that name, who was possessed of lands there granted to him by his uncle Robert Fitz-Stephen, was Philip Barry, who, as far as I can discover, did not come to Ireland, or at least reside in this country, until 1183. (See Ware, *Annals* at A. 1183, and *Antiq. cap.* 27.)

(6) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Cork*. The same shallow Alemand ascribes this foundation to the Roches, not knowing that the Roches were not settled in the now county of Cork until many years after 1170. But he had heard, that they became lords of Fermoy, and accordingly, without distinguishing the times, gave them the honour of this foundation. He was very little acquainted with Irish history, particularly the ancient part of it. For instance, in the Introduction to his work (*p.* 19.) he confounds St. Moctheus of Louth with St. Moedoc of Ferns.

(7) Ware, *ib.* Archdall thought it probable, that the monastery of Maur was at a place called Carigiliky in the West Carbery.

(8) Ware, *ib.* at *Down*, and Archdall at *Iniscourcey*. Ware observes, that others place this foundation in 1188. Archdall says that one E. of this monastery, that is, the abbot, was a witness to De Courcey's grant made to the church of St. Patrick in Down, meaning the grant of 1183. Were this true, Inis must have been founded some years before 1188. But that E. was witness not to the original grant of 1183, but to a later one in favour of said church. (See *Mon. Angl. v. 2. p.* 1021.)

(9) See Harris, *History of the county of Down*, *ch.* 3. *p.* 24. and Archdall at *Erynagh* and *Iniscourcey*.

(10) Ware treating (*ib.*) of this priory does not mark the year of its original foundation by De Courcey; but Harris (*Monast.*) assigns it to about A. 1180. Archdall (at *Black abbey*) is wrong in saying, that De Courcey made this house a cell to the abbey of Lonley in Normandy; for, as Ware states, (*loc. cit.*) this was done by De Lacy about the year 1218. De Courcey's charter for said priory is in the *Monast. Angl. V. 2. p.* 1019; but there is not a word in it about the abbey of Lonley. There is, however,

in the same page another charter or deed, by which the abbot and monks of Lonley make over to Richard, archbishop of Armagh, and to his successors, the said priory of St. Andrew in the Ardes, and all their possessions in Ulster. This must have taken place long after the times we are now treating of; for there was no archbishop of Armagh named *Richard*, until Richard Fitz-Ralph, who lived in the 14th century. Ware (*loc. cit.*) makes mention of this annexation at rather a late period to the see of Armagh.

§. II. Thomas O'Connor, archbishop of Armagh, made in 1181 a visitation throughout Tyrone, with which he was well satisfied. (11) In this year died Marian O'Dunain, abbot of the Augustin Canons monastery of Cnoc na Sengan in or near Louth. He was most probably the same as the celebrated hagiologist Marian Gorman, who was certainly abbot at Louth in the year 1172, and who has left a much esteemed martyrology, written in Irish verse, comprizing not only Irish saints, but likewise those of other countries. (12) On the 6th of September of this year John Cumin, an Englishman, and a learned and eloquent person, was elected at Evesham in Worcestershire, on the recommendation of Henry II. whom he had served in a clerical capacity, archbishop of Dublin, by some of the clergy of that city assembled there for that purpose. He was not then a priest, but in the following year was ordained one at Velletri and afterwards there consecrated archbishop by Pope Lucius III. (13) He did not come to Ireland until 1184. Edan O'Killedy, who had been placed on the see of Clogher by the great St. Malachy, died after a very long incumbency in 1182, and was succeeded by Moeliosa O'Carrol, who afterwards became archbishop of Armagh. (14) In the same year died also Donald O'Hullucan, archbishop of Cashel, who was succeeded by Maurice, (15) whose real name was undoubtedly *Murchertach*. It was during his incumbency, but in the early part of it, that the celebrated and beautiful Cistercian abbey

of Holy Cross in the county of Tipperary was erected and endowed by Donald O'Brian, king of North Munster, whereas Maurice, while archbishop of Cashel, was one of the witnesses to its foundation charter. (16) In the year 1182 the abbey of Dunbrody, county of Wexford, likewise of the Cistercian order, was founded and endowed with lands and property granted by Hervey de Monte Morisco. (17) About the same year Hugh de Lacy, now lord of Meath, erected two monasteries in that territory for Augustin Canons, one at Duleek, which he made a cell to the priory of Lhanthony near Gloucester, and the other at Colp, anciently Invercolpa, near the mouth of the Boyne, which he made a cell to Lhanthony in Monmouthshire. (18) Thus these adventurers and plunderers endeavoured to atone for their robberies in Ireland, committed not only on the laity but likewise on the native clergy of the country.

(11) *Tr. Th.* p. 310.

(12) Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 5. and 737. He extracted a great part of this work from the martyrology of Tallagh, usually called that of Aengus; but it is not, as Ware says, (*Writers at Murry or Marian*) a supplement to that martyrology. (See Harris, *Addition ib.*) Colgan thought, that it was composed about 1167, and Ware states, that it was published in 1171. But it must have been published later, whereas we find in it the name of St. Gilda-Machaibeo, who died in 1174. (See *Chap. xxix. §. 6.* and *ib. Not.* 48.)

(13) Ware and Harris, *Archbishops of Dublin.* Dempster pretends, that he was a Scotchman. The name *Cumin* is certainly rather Scotch or Irish than English. Hoveden (at *A.* 1181) calls him simply a clerk of Henry's. But Giraldus (*Hib. exp. L. 2. c. 23.*) expressly calls him an Englishman.

(14) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Clogher.* Some have said, that Edan died in 1180.

(15) The same, *ib.* at *Cashel.* Giraldus, whom they quote, calls him a learned and wise man.

(16) This charter is in the *Monast. Angl. Vol. 2. p. 1035.* It

was granted in the present of Gregory, abbot of Holy Cross. Christian bishop of Lismore and Legate Apostolic, (*i. e.* who had been such) M. archbishop of Cashel, and B. (Briectius) bishop of Limerick, are named as witnesses to it. By M. must be understood Maurice; for there was not during the reign of Donald O'Brian, nor for many years before, any archbishop of Cashel, whose name began with that letter. Nor can it be referred to his successor Matthew, who was not archbishop until 1192, and accordingly could not sign along with Christian, who died in 1186. Therefore Ware was wrong (*Antiq. cap. 26. at Tipperary*) in assigning this foundation to about 1169 or 1181. Harris (*Monast.*) marks it at 1182: but it was probably somewhat later, yet prior to the death of Christian.

(17) Ware, *loc. cit.* at *Wexford*. He says, that Hervey in about the year 1175 gave various lands to God, and St. Mary, St. Benedict, and the monks of Bildewas in Shropshire various lands for the purpose of establishing a Cistercian abbey, but that the one of Dunbrody was not founded before 1182, upon which the abbot and monks of Bildewas granted to St. Mary's abbey of Dublin whatever right and claim they had to the new establishment of Dunbrody. (See also Archdall at *Dunbrody*.) Hervey's deed is in the *Monast. Angl. Vol. 2. p. 1027*; but Dunbrody, although mentioned in it is not marked as the place, where the abbey ought to be erected. One of the witnesses to it was Felix, bishop of Ossory, that is, O'Dullany. Therefore it was later than Ware says; for Felix was not bishop of Ossory until 1178.

(18) Ware, *ib.* at Meath, where he makes the cell of Duleek the same as the ancient monastery of St. Kienan; but in *Annals* (at *A. 1182*) he speaks of it as a new foundation. In the English translation there is an erratum 1120 instead of 1182.

§. 3. In this then fashionable mode of purchasing off sins and obtaining forgiveness from heaven John de Courcey distinguished himself beyond many others. We have met above with some instances of monkish soldierly piety in this respect, and now we find some more of them in the year 1183. He turned the secular canons out of the cathedral of Down, and in their stead introduced Benedictine

monks from St. Werburgh's in Chester. At the same time he got the dedication title of the church changed from that of the Holy Trinity into that of St. Patrick. Afterwards he made at different times various grants to this establishment; and Malachy, bishop of Down, also endowed it with lands in a very ample manner, reserving to himself the title of guardian and abbot, as, he says, "is the practice in the church of Winchester or Coventry, and also reserving for the honour of his see, and to its use, the moiety of the oblations on the five following festivals; Christmas day, the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, St. Patrick's day, Easter, and Whitsuntide."

(19) To the same year 1183 is assigned the foundation, by De Courcey, of the Benedictine priory of the island of Neddrum, somewhere, it seems, off the coast of the county of Down, which he made a cell to the abbey of St. Bega of Coupland in Cumberland. (20) The foundation of the priory of St. John the Baptist, *alias* the English priory, in Down, by De Courcey for the Cruciferi, a branch of Augustin Canons, is also marked at said year. (21) According to some accounts one Reginald, who was a witness to one of De Courcey's charters in favour of St. Patrick's of Down, would have been bishop of Connor at this time, in which case it may be inferred that Nehemias, who was bishop there at the time of king Henry's arrival in Ireland, was already dead. (22) In the course of this year there was a great insurrection in Munster, and almost all its kings and princes revolted against Henry II. On this occasion Philip Barry went over to Ireland with a numerous body of troops, both to assist his uncle Fitz-Stephen and to secure to himself some lands, which Fitz-Stephen had granted to him in Olethan, the tract lying between Cork and Youghal. He was accompanied by his brother Gerald, so well known by the name of Giraldus Cambrensis, who now for the first time arrived in the country, which he af-

terwards so basely abused. (23) About this time a dispute and civil war having broken out between Roderic O'Connor and his eldest son Conor, surnamed *Maenmoigi*, Roderic agreed to put an end to the quarrel by giving up the kingdom to Conor, and retiring to a monastery; but in two years after he resumed the sovereignty and administration of it.

(19) The various charters of grants relative to the Benedictine house of Down are in the *Monast. Angl. Vol. 2. p. 1020, seqq.* See also Ware, (*Annals at A. 1183, Antiq. cap. 26. at Down, and Bishops at Down, Malachy III.*) Harris, (*Additions ib.*) and Archdall (at *Downpatrick*). Harris refutes the flimsy Alemand, who says that the house of Down was to depend on the abbey of St. Werburg in Chester, whereas the very contrary is marked and stipulated in one of De Courcey's charters. And can it be supposed, that the Benedictines of Down, who had become in fact the chapter of the cathedral, in the same manner as monks were anciently throughout almost all the cathedrals not only of Ireland but likewise of England, where this practice was longer kept up, could or would be subjected to any other house of their order? In the deed of the bishop Malachy for this establishment there is a signature as of a witness, *L. archbishop of Dublin*. *L.* must be a mistake; for St. Laurence O'Toole was dead before this deed was made, and after him there was no archbishop of Dublin during Malachy's time nor long after, whose name began with *L.* I am sure the original letter was *I.* meaning John Cumin.

(20) So Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26. at Down, and Annals at A. 1183.* But in a little preface to De Courcey's grant of Neddrum (*Monast. Ang. Vol. 2. p. 1023.*) it is said, that he made it over in 1179 to the monastery of St. Bega, &c. This, however does not appear in the text of the grant, and may be a mistake. Archdall at (*Neddrum*) conjectures, that it was the largest of the Copland islands, that is, the one called the *Big isle* off the Ardes. This conjecture seems very probable; whereas there is good reason to think, that the name *Copland* was given to those islands in consequence of there being in one of them an establishment belong-

ing to St. Bega of Coupland. In the head to the above mentioned deed, Coupland is said to be in Yorkshire, *in Com. Eborac.*

(21) Ware in the *Antiq. cap. 26* at *Down* does not mention the year of this foundation, but in the *Annals* he has it at *A. 1183*. Harris and Archdall merely say, that it was in the 12th century. This priory was called the English one, because there was another house of Canons Regular of St. Augustin in Down since the time of St. Malachy, and which was distinguished by the name of the Irish priory.

Notwithstanding these monastic foundations, Giraldus Cambrensis represents many of those leaders as plunderers of Church property. After mentioning, (*Prooemium to the second edition of Hibernia expugnata*) that Robert Fitz-Stephen, Hervey De Monte Marisco, Raymond, John de Courcey, and Meyler, had not merited to obtain legitimate offspring, he adds; " This is not to be " wondered at. For the miserable clergy is reduced to beggary " in the island. The cathedral churches mourn, having been " robbed by the aforesaid persons, and others along with them, " or who came over after them, of their lands and ample estates; " which had been formerly granted to them faithfully and devoutly. " And thus the *exalting of the Church* has been changed into the " *despoiling or plundering of the Church.*" And, accounting for some losses sustained by the English, he says, (*Hib. exp. L. 2. cap 35.*) that " the greatest disadvantage of all was, that, while we " conferred nothing new on the Church of Christ in our new prin- " cipality, we not only did not think it worthy of any important " bounty or of due honour, but even, having immediately taken " away its lands and possessions, have exerted ourselves either to " mutilate or abrogate its former dignities and ancient privileges." Thus it was, that the English adventurers fulfilled the expectations of the Popes Adrian IV. and Alexander III.

(22) Ware (*Bishops at Conor*) thought, that the charter signed by R. or Reginald, bishop of Connor, was drawn up about *A. 1183*; but this is not certain. I must here point out a mistranslation of Ware's text, *ib.* He calls John de Courcey conqueror of Ulidia or Ullah, which comprized at most the now county of Down and some parts of Antrim. The translator has rendered it *Ulster*. But De Courcey never possessed more than a compa-

ratively small proportion of the province now called Ulster. Harris has guarded against the blunder of that translator.

(23) See Ware, *Annals* at A. 1183.

§. iv. Henry II. intending to transfer the dominion of Ireland to his son John, sent over to Ireland in 1184, to prepare the way for his reception, John Cumin or Comin the new archbishop of Dublin. He had been, as stated above, consecrated archbishop by Pope Lucius III. at Velletri in the year 1182, and on Palm-Sunday the 21st of March. (24) His arrival in Dublin was in the month of September, and he brought with him a bull granted to him by that Pope on the 13th of April A. D. 1182, by which the Pope, "following the authority of the sacred canons, decrees, that no archbishop or bishop do presume to hold meetings in the diocese of Dublin, or to treat of the ecclesiastical causes and affairs of said diocese, without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin, if he (the archbishop of Dublin,) be actually in his bishopric or see, unless such other prelate be enjoined to do so by the Roman Pontiff or his legate." (25) This bull was undoubtedly intended as a protection to the see of Dublin against the exercise of certain powers on the part of the archbishops of Armagh, or perhaps against the antiquated claims of Canterbury. But it does not, as some abettors of the independence of Dublin have imagined, set aside the primatial rights of Armagh, as laid down and arranged by the council of Kells and according to the Canon law of those times. For, although, while the archbishop of Armagh was not only the primate but likewise the only archbishop of Ireland, he exercised powers much greater than were afterwards allowed to primates, visited all the dioceses of Ireland whenever he thought fit, and interfered in their internal concerns, yet by the Canon law of the times we are now treating of, such ample jurisdiction was not allowed to primates any where. The bull of

Lucius III., while it exempts the diocese of Dublin from the extensive jurisdiction formerly enjoyed by the see of Armagh, does not, however, render it absolutely independent of that see, as far as its rights were recognized by the general Canon law of that period, particularly the privilege of receiving appeals from the other archdioceses of Ireland and the power of deciding on them in the spiritual court of Armagh, but not elsewhere. There is not a word in the bull to invalidate such primatial rights as these; and it is even supposed, that, except in the cases especially mentioned in the bull, every thing else was to remain as usual. Those therefore, who contend for the total independence of Dublin on Armagh, must recur to other documents different from this bull and later than it, of which they may find several on both sides of the question issued in after-times, of which I do not mean to treat. (26)

(24) Hoveden at *A.* 1182. This alone is sufficient, if any thing else were wanting, to prove that the year of St. Laurence O'Toole's death was 1180. For he died on a 14th of November; Cumin was elected his successor on the 6th of September following, but was not ordained priest until the 13th, nor consecrated bishop until the 21st March of the next succeeding year. That this was 1182, as Hoveden marks it, is evident from the circumstance of Palm-Sunday falling on the 21st of March, whereas, according to the chronological tables, Easter Sunday fell in 1182 on the 28th of March. (Compare with *Not.* 111. to *Chap.* xxix.) Giraldus, speaking (*Hib. exp. L. 2. c. 23.*) of Cumin's ordination to the priesthood says, that he was ordained *presbyter cardinalis* by Lucius III. Should this be understood as if he were made a cardinal priest of the particular church of Rome, it is false; for, as Ware has shown, (*Archbishops of Dublin at John Cumin*) he never was a cardinal in that sense. Perhaps Giraldus' reason for giving that title to Cumin was, that he was probably ordained priest on the title of some parochial church in Dublin; and it is well known, that in former times several priests not only of Rome but likewise of other cities, such as Paris, Ravenna, &c. used to be styled cardinals.

(25) See Ware, (*Archbishops, &c.* at *John Cumin*, and *Annals* at A. 1181.) Harris, (*Archbishops ib.* and at *Armagh, Walter de Jorse*) and the *Jus Primat. Armac.* §. 63. *seqq.* The original words are as follow; “ Sacrorum quoque canonum auctoritatem sequentes statuimus, ut nullus archiepiscopus vel episcopus absque assensu Dubliniensis archiepiscopi, *si in episcopatu fuerit, in dioecesi Dubliniensi* conventus celebrare, causas et ecclesiastica negotia ejusdem dioecesis, nisi per Romanum Pontificem vel legatum ejus fuerit eidem injunctum, tractare praesumat.” It was a shame for Peter Talbot, the R. C. archbishop of Dublin, to quote this passage in a mutilated form, as may be seen in *Jus, &c. ib.* The translator of Ware and Harris have spoiled the whole meaning of it. They make the Pope say, “ that no archbishop or bishop shall without the assent of the archbishop of Dublin presume to hold any convention, &c. *if it be in a bishoprick within the diocese of Dublin*, or, as Harris has altered it, *a bishoprick within his province*. Certainly *a bishopric within the diocese of Dublin* is a ridiculous expression, and shows what a bungler that translator was; but Harris’ amendment is equally bad; for who would translate *dioecesi* by the word *province*? They united, without inserting a comma, the words, *si in episcopatu fuerit*, with *in dioecesi Dubliniensi*, and, instead of *he*, wrote *it*, and thus fell into their blundering translations. From their nonsense it would follow, that a suffragan bishop of the province of Dublin could not hold a meeting of his clergy, *ex. c.* a diocesan synod or even a conference, without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin, nor without it manage the common affairs of his own see. Now the object of the bull was not to degrade the suffragan bishops below their level, but to protect the see of Dublin against higher claims; and the true meaning of it is, that, while there is a person in the bishopric, that is, an actually existing archbishop of of Dublin in the diocese, no other prelate do venture to hold meetings, or to treat of its affairs, *in the diocese of Dullin*, except in case the Pope or his legate should give an order to that effect. It may seem, that the second part of the prohibition, *viz.* that relative to not treating of the affairs of the diocese of Dublin, might be understood of their not being treated of not only in said diocese but likewise no where else. But the context indicates, that the only place meant, *within*

which such affairs should not be treated of by prelates different from the archbishop of Dublin, is the diocese of Dublin itself.

(26) Harris gives (*Archbishops of Armagh, at Walter de Jorse*) a good summary of this tedious controversy, which he took in great part from Mac-Mahon's *Jus Primat. Armac.* a learned and respectable work. He deduces the origin of it from the bull of Lucius III.; but I think he was mistaken, as he certainly was with regard to the meaning of said bull. Nor do I find, that any archbishop of Armagh, contemporary with John Cumin, complained of this bull, although Peter Talbot, who is refuted by Harris, (*ib.* at *Moeliosa O'Carrol*) pretended that this Moeliosa had a contest with him on this subject. And in fact I do not perceive in this bull any thing derogatory to the real primacy of Armagh. I should rather derive the commencement of this dispute from some later bull, such as one of Honorius III. granted to Henry de Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, and "prohibiting any archbishop or other prelate of Ireland (except the suffragans of Dublin and the Pope's legate) from having the cross carried before them, holding assemblies, (except those of the religious orders) or treating of ecclesiastical causes (unless they be delegated by the Holy see) in the province of Dublin without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin." This bull goes much farther than that of Lucius III.; for in the first place the exemption is not confined to the diocese of Dublin, but extends to the whole province; and secondly, which is very material, the right of having the cross carried before him, which used to be exercised by the primate in every part of Ireland, is prohibited as to the province of Dublin. This was a real infringement of a privilege of the see of Armagh; yet there is nothing said in opposition to its right of receiving appeals from the province of Dublin, although not to be tried *in said province* without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin. There was, however, enough in this bull to cause dissatisfaction at Armagh. What is said in it concerning the not allowing any prelate of another province to treat of ecclesiastical causes *in that of Dublin*, while it does not prevent the treating of *at Armagh* causes belonging to the province of Dublin, confirms what I have observed in the preceding note as to the place, in which, according to Lucius' bull, no prelate, different from the archbishop of Dublin, is permitted to treat of the ecclesiastical affairs of the diocese of

Dublin. Were the words of that bull to be understood otherwise than as I have explained them, they would imply a privilege vastly greater than that granted by the bull of Honorius. Now it is evident, that Honorius intended to confer greater exemptions than Lucius had, and yet he goes no farther than to prevent any prelate of a different province (alluding to the archbishop of Armagh) from juridically treating of ecclesiastical causes *in the province of Dublin*. Hence it is clear, that the intention of Lucius was, that no prelate, different from the archbishop of Dublin, should treat of the affairs of the diocese of Dublin *in the diocese of Dublin*, without his meaning that said prelate might not treat of them elsewhere. Mac-Mahon is rather unfortunate (*Jus, &c.* §. 75.) in his comments on the bull of Honorius, which he strives to make appear as spurious. He sneers at its being allowed to the suffragan bishops of the province of Dublin to have the cross carried before them without the consent of the archbishop. But the bull does not permit them to do so in the diocese of Dublin, but only in the province, that is, in their own dioceses and no where else. As the bull refers to the whole province, it was necessary to insert that clause, whereas otherwise a Leinster suffragan bishop, *ex. c.* a bishop of Kildare, would be prohibited from having the cross carried before him in his own diocese without the consent of the archbishop of Dublin.

§. 5. In this year 1184 Thomas O'Connor resigned the see of Armagh, and in his place was appointed Moeliosa O'Carrol, bishop of Clogher, who was succeeded there by Christian or Gilla-Criost O'Macturan, abbot of Clones. Moeliosa after his election set out for Rome, but died on his way thither. Amlave O'Murid was then chosen archbishop of Armagh, and died not long after in 1185. (27) Upon his death Thomas O'Connor resumed the see, which he held for 16 years after. (28) In said year 1184 Hugh de Lacy was recalled from the government of Ireland, and Philip of Worcester was sent over in his stead, who signalized his administration by an unjust and wicked attack on Armagh, where he extorted much money and other valuables from

the clergy. (29) He and some of his followers were soon after punished for this iniquitous proceeding. (30) It was probably in atonement for this crime that Philip founded the Benedictine priory of Sts. Philip, James, and Cumin, at Kilcumin in the now barony of Kilnelongurty, county of Tipperary, which he supplied with monks from Glastonbury, to which he made it a cell, and one of whom, named James, he placed over it. (31) To about the same year I find assigned the establishment of the Cistercian house of Inislaunaght near the Suir in said county, which seems to have consisted merely in a removal from the monastery of Surium to that place, (32) and in a new endowment by Donald O'Brian, king of North Munster. Another Cistercian monastery was founded in 1183 by Cuoghor O'More in Leix in the now Queen's county. (33) In the year 1185 John, earl of Morton, and lord of Ireland, arrived with a large fleet and a very considerable army at Waterford on the first of April. He was accompanied by the famous Gerald Barry as his tutor and secretary. (34) On his landing he was received by the archbishop of Dublin and other English lords, who swore fealty to him. Several Irish chieftains of the neighbouring parts waited on him at Waterford, congratulated him on his happy arrival, and acknowledged him as their lord. But John and his young nobles received them with derision, and some of these impudent foreigners pulled them by their beards, which, contrary to the Norman and English fashion of those days, they wore long and thick. The Irish lords were highly enraged at this treatment, and, determined on revenge, retired together with their clans to the territories of Donald O'Brian, to whom as likewise to Dermod Mac-Carthy, king of Desmond, and to Roderic O'Conor they poured forth their complaints, and represented to them what they might have to expect themselves, if they suffered these insolent invaders to get possession of

the country. These princes felt the importance and urgency of the business, and uniting together attacked the new-comers with such vigour, that in the course of a few months John lost in several conflicts almost his whole army, and after having erected two or three castles in Munster, was obliged to return to England in December of said year. On this occasion John de Courcey was appointed Justiciary of Ireland, who by his consummate ability, and with the help of the veteran soldiers, saved the English interest from imminent destruction. (35)

(27) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Armagh and Clogher*. Harris adds, that Amlave O'Murid died at Duncruthen (see *Not.* 18. to *Chap.* vi.) in the now county of Londonderry, and that his remains were thence conveyed to Derry, and buried there, &c. This is, I am sure, a mistake, which Harris fell into by applying to Amlave O'Murid what Ware and himself have (at *Derry*) in the very same words concerning Amlave O' Coffy, a bishop of Derry, who also died in 1185. Ware says, that he found nothing more recorded of Amlave O'Murid than the year of his death. What would have brought him to die at Duncruthen; or, if he did die there, would not his remains have been conveyed to Armagh?

(28) The same *ib.* at *Armagh*.

(29) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1184. Compare with *Chap.* xxix. §. 15. and *ib.* *Not.* 102.

(30) Giraldus (*Topogr. Hib. Dist.* 2. c. 50.) condemns their conduct as sacrilegious, and states that Philip of Worcester, when carrying away the spoil, was struck with a sudden fit, *subita passione*, from which he hardly escaped. He adds, that two horses of Hugh Tyrrel, who was one of that plundering party, were burnt in Down, which so frightened him, that he sent back his share of the booty, and that the greatest part of that town was destroyed by fire.

(31) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1184, and *Antiq. cap.* 26. at Tipperary. There is a short account of this priory in the *Monast. Angl. Vol.* 2, p. 1023.

(32) See *Not.* 64. to *Chap.* xxvii.

(33) Ware (*Antiq. loc. cit.*) adds to Donald O'Brian, as a benefactor to Inislaunaght, Malachy O'Foelain prince of the Desies. He does not mention the year, in which they endowed or refounded it; and yet Archdall (at *Inislounagh*) refers to him, as if he said in 1187. Harris (*Monaster. Cistercian abbies*) assigns this endowment to about A. 1184. For the monastery of Leix see Ware (*ib. at Queen's county*) and Archdall at *Abbey-Leix*, the name by which it has been known.

(34) Ware (*Annals* at 1185) calls Gerald tutor to prince John, and at *Writers (Lib. 1. cap. 2.)* following Giraldus himself (*De rebus a se gestis, Part. 2. c. 10.*) says, that Henry II. sent him over to Ireland with John as his secretary. Hence it follows, that Gerald, who had been in Ireland in 1183, (above §. 3.) had in the mean while returned to Wales.

(35) Ware, *Annals* at A. 1185 and Lyttelton, B. 5. See also Giraldus, *Hib. exp. L. 2. c. 35.*

§. 6. In said year, 1185, some Irish bishops died, among whom, besides Amlave O'Murid of Armagh, already mentioned, we find Amlave O'Cobthaigh, or O'Coffy, bishop of Derry, who died at Duncruthen in that diocese. His remains were thence conveyed to Derry, and buried there in the abbey of St. Columba near those of Muredach O'Cobthaigh, his immediate predecessor. (36) He was succeeded by Fogartach O'Cherballen or O'Carallan. Joseph O'Hethe, bishop of Ferns, or, as some have called him, of Wexford, died in the same year after having held the see about thirty years. (37) The prince John, who was then in Ireland, offered this see to Gerald Barry, and proposed to get united to it in his favour the bishopric of Leighlin, which was then vacant by the death of its bishop Donagh or Donat, who died in that year. Gerald declined the offer; and after some time Albin O'Mulloy, abbot of the Cistercian house of Baltinglass, was raised to the see of Ferns. (38) About the middle of Lent of the following year, that is, 1186, Archbishop Cumin held a provincial synod in Dublin in the church of

the Holy Trinity, *alias* Christ-church, which began to sit on the Sunday *Laetare Jerusalem*, or the fourth Sunday of Lent. (39) On the first day the archbishop preached himself on the Sacraments. On the second Albin O'Mulloy, who was still only abbot of Baltinglass, made a long discourse on the subject of the continency of clergymen, in which he inveighed severely against the English and Welsh clergy, that had come over to Ireland, as the authors of whatever abuses then existed in this respect, and who by their vicious example had corrupted the purity and correctness of the Irish ecclesiastics, who were singularly observant of chastity before the contagion was spread among them by those strangers. Upon which several foreign clergymen, settled in the county of Wexford, and who were present at the synod, began to accuse each other, before the whole assembly, of their having concubines and wives, appealing on the spot to witnesses for their assertions and mutual recriminations; upon which they became a laughing-stock and objects of insult to the Irish clergy then present. The archbishop, who had encouraged the delinquents to disclose and prove each others faults, immediately passed sentence on those, who were convicted of being guilty, and suspended them from their ecclesiastical functions and the enjoyment of their benefices. (40) On the third day Gerald Barry, who attended at the synod, was ordered by the archbishop to speak, and pronounced a long farrago of a sermon, in which he entered into a variety of subjects relative to the conduct at large of the Irish clergy, particularly the bishops, mixed with much abuse of the whole nation. (41) Of several of his charges, which are partly founded on his ignorance of ecclesiastical antiquities and partly distorted by malignity, an occasion will soon occur of treating; but I may here observe, that in his general account of the Irish clergy he speaks very favourably of them. "The clergy,"

he says, “ of this country are very commendable
 “ for religion, and among the divers virtues, which
 “ distinguish them, excel and are preeminent in the
 “ prerogative of chastity. Likewise they attend vi-
 “ gilantly to their Psalms and hours, to reading and
 “ prayer; and remaining within the precincts of
 “ the churches do not absent themselves from the
 “ divine offices, to the celebration of which they
 “ have been appointed. They also pay great atten-
 “ tion to abstinence and sparingness of food, so that
 “ the greatest part of them fast almost every day un-
 “ til dusk and until they have completed all the ca-
 “ nonical offices of the day.” (42) But, as a set off
 against this statement, forced from him by the truth,
 he adds, that in general they take at night more
 wine or other sorts of drink than is becoming. Yet
 he does not accuse them of drinking to inebriation.
 (43) The most they could be charged with was,
 that according to the Irish custom they might have
 sat together drinking something after dinner, while
 some other nations, who indulge much more in eat-
 ing and in quantity and variety of meats than the
 Irish generally do, drink at the same time that they
 are eating. (44) He confesses, however, that some
 of them are exceedingly good men and without blemish.
 (45) What he stated concerning the clergy’s
 drinking gave great offence; and Felix, bishop of
 Ossory, who supped on the evening of that day with
 the archbishop, being asked by him, what he thought
 of Giraldus’ discourse, answered; “ He said bad
 things, and I was very near flying in his face, or, at
 least, making him a harsh reply; for he called us
topers.” (46)

(36) Ware, *Bishops at Derry*. (Compare with *Not. 27.*) He
 says, that in the Annals of Connaught Amlave is called bishop of
 Kinel-Eogain. Hence it seems, that the see of Ardsrath *alias*
 Rathlure, or at least part of it, was at this time united with that
 of Derry.

(37) Ware *ib.* at *Ferns*, and Harris *ib.* Joseph O'Hethe must have been placed on the see of Ferns during the life-time of his predecessor Brigdin O'Cathlan, who lived until 1172 (see *Chap. xxix.* §. 5.) and who, it appears, resigned about *A.* 1155. Concerning a calumnious story, in which Joseph was included, see *Not. 72.* to *Chap. xxix.*

(38) Ware and Harris, *ib.* and at *Leighlin*. See also Giraldus, *De rebus a se gestis, Part. 2. cap. 13.*

(39) Giraldus, *ib.* I am much surprized to find, that Ware has assigned this synod to the year 1185 not only in his Annals, but likewise at *Bishops* (*Ferns, Albin O'Mulloy*). For it is evident from Giraldus, that it must have been held in 1186. He places it after the return of prince John to England, which was, as we have seen, in December, *A.* 1185 Ware himself in the Annals follows the order of Giraldus, mentioning John's departure from Ireland before the synod was assembled. Giraldus was present at this synod; but how could this have been, if it were held in 1185? He tells us himself that he came to Ireland with John, (above *Not. 34.*) and in Easter time; and Ware accordingly says, (*Annals* at *A.* 1185) that John landed at Waterford on the 5th day of Easter said year. Therefore Giraldus could not have attended a synod held in Dublin during the Lent of 1185. Harris, although (at *Albin O'Mulloy*) he has with Ware *A.* 1185, yet (at *Archbishops of Dublin, John Cumin*) speaks of the synod as held about 1186. He should have said *in* 1186, as is clear from Giraldus, and as it is marked by Fleury, *L. 74. §. 8.*

(40) Giraldus, *ib.* See also Fleury, *loc. cit.* Giraldus calls the guilty clergymen *Clerici nostrates*. They were a sample of the missionaries, who, as Adrian IV. and Alexander III. had flattered themselves, were under the auspices of Henry II. to instruct and reform the people of Ireland!

(41) He has given the substance of his discourse, *ib. cap. 14.* It is nearly the same, word for word, with what he has in *Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. capp. 27, 28, 29, 30.*

(42) His words are (as *loc. cit.*); *Est autem terrae istius Clerus satis religione commendabilis; et inter varias, quibus pollet, virtutes castitatis praerogativa praeeminet et praececellit. Item Psalmis et horis, lectioni et orationi vigilanter inserviunt, et intra ecclesiae septa se continentes a divinis, quibus deputati sunt, officiis non re-*

cedunt. Abstinētię quoque et parsimonię ciborum non mediocriter indulgent, ita ut pars maxima cotidie fere, donec cuncta diei compleverint horarum officia, usque ad crepusculum jejurent."

(43) Fleury (*L.* 74. §. 8.) quoting from Giraldus (*De rebus, &c. Part. 2. c. 14.*) gives an incorrect statement of what he said. He makes him speak of the *drunkenness* of the Irish clergy, although Giraldus went no farther than to charge them with drinking more than was proper, *quam deceret*. And then he omitted Giraldus' preceding encomium on them, touching on it merely in general terms. I may also remark, that he had no right to say, that Giraldus proved by *unanswerable arguments* the negligence of the Irish prelates. Those arguments were not, as will be seen, unanswerable, although Giraldus boasts that they were. Fleury copied Giraldus' boast, but so as that a reader would think, that the words are from Fleury himself. This historian was but too apt to copy without discrimination from prejudiced or ill-informed writers passages relative to matters of Irish ecclesiastical history, with which indeed he was poorly acquainted. Harris also (*Bishops of Ferns, at Albin O'Mulloy*) speaks of drunkenness; but Giraldus has not that word.

(44) What has been now observed shows the malignity of Giraldus in distorting a custom innocent in itself into a vice. Not being able to show, that the clergy drank to excess, he strove to misrepresent the practice of the country, as if it were more unbecoming to drink something *after* dinner than to drink as much as people do in some other countries *during* their long dinners. He acknowledges, however, that whatever the Irish clergy did drink did not lead to any breach of chastity, and says; "*Hoc pro miraculo duci potest, quod ubi vina dominantur, Venus non regnat.*" Surely this is a sufficient proof, that they were moderate with regard to drinking.

(45) "*Sunt tamen nonnulli inter hos optimi et sine fermento sincerissimi.*"

(46) Giraldus *De rebus, &c. Part. 2. c. 15.* *Potores* was the word used by Felix, which Harris (*loc. cit.*) has inaccurately translated *drunkards*. The conceited and boasting Giraldus speaks with delight of his discourse, and of his having raised the spirits of his countrymen, who had been attacked by Albin O'Mulloy. In

his wish for revenge he misrepresented matters as much as he could.

§. VII. The canons agreed to in this synod are still extant, and are as follow. (47) The 1st prohibits priests from celebrating mass on a wooden table (or altar,) according to the usage of Ireland, and enjoins, that in all monasteries and baptismal churches altars should be made of stone; and, if a stone of sufficient size to cover the whole surface of the altar cannot be had, that in such case a square entire and polished stone be fixed in the middle of the altar, where Christ's body is consecrated, of a compass broad enough to contain five crosses and also to bear the foot of the largest chalice. But in chapels, chauntries, or oratories, if they are necessarily obliged to use wooden altars, let the mass be celebrated upon plates of stone of the before-mentioned size firmly fixed in the wood. (48)

The 2d provides, that the coverings of the holy mysteries may spread over the whole upper part of the altar, and that a cloth may cover the front of the same and reach to the ground (or floor). These coverings to be always whole and clean.

3d. That in monasteries and rich churches chalices be provided of gold and silver; but in poorer churches, where such cannot be afforded, that then pewter chalices may serve the purpose, which must be always kept whole and clean. (49)

4th. That the Host, which represents the Lamb without spot, the *Alpha* and *Omega*, be made so white and pure, that the partakers thereof may thereby understand the purifying and feeding of their souls rather than their bodies. (50)

5th. That the wine in the Sacrament be so tempered with water, that it be not deprived either of the natural taste or colour. (51)

6th. That all vestments and coverings belonging to the church be clean, fine, and white. (52)

7th. That a lavatory of stone or wood be set up, and so contrived with a hollow, that whatever is poured into it may pass through and lodge in the earth; through which also the last washings of the priest's hands after the holy communion may pass.

8th. Provides, that an immoveable font be fixed in the middle of every baptismal church, or in such other part of it as the paschal procession may conveniently pass round. That it be made of stone, or of wood lined with lead for cleanness, wide and large above, bored through to the bottom, and so contrived that, after the ceremony of baptism be ended, a secret pipe be so contrived therein as to convey the holy water down to mother earth. (53)

9th. That the coverings of the altar, and other vestments dedicated to God, when injured by age, be burnt within the inclosure of the church, and the ashes of them transmitted through the aforesaid pipe of the font, to be buried in the bowels of the earth.

10th. Prohibits any vessel used in baptism to be applied ever after to any of the common uses of men. (54)

11th. Prohibits under the pain of an anathema any person to bury in a church yard, unless he can show by an authentic writing, or undeniable evidence, that it was consecrated by a bishop, not only as a sanctuary or place of refuge, but also for a place of sepulture; (55) and that no laymen shall presume to bury their dead in such a consecrated place without the presence of a priest.

12th. Prohibits the celebration of divine service in chapels built by laymen to the detriment of the mother churches. (56)

13th. Since the clergy of Ireland, among other virtues, have been always remarkably eminent for their chastity, and that it would be ignominious if they should be corrupted, through his (the archbishop's) negligence, by the foul contagion of strangers, and the example of a few incontinent

men; he therefore forbids, under the penalty of losing both office and benefice, that no priest, deacon, or sub-deacon should keep any woman in their houses, either under the pretence of necessary service, or any other colour whatsoever, unless a mother, own sister, or such a person whose age should remove all suspicion of any unlawful commerce. (57)

14th. Contains an interdict against simony under the before-mentioned penalty of losing both office and benefice.

15th. Appoints that, if any clerk should receive an ecclesiastical benefice from a lay hand, unless after a third monition he renounce that possession which he obtained by intrusion, he should be anathematized and for ever deprived of the said benefice.

16th. Prohibits a bishop from ordaining the inhabitant of another diocese without the commendatory letters of his proper bishop, or of the archdeacon. (58) Nor that any one be promoted to holy orders without a certain title of a benefice assigned to him. (59)

17th. Prohibits the conferring on one person two holy orders in one day.

18th. Provides, that all fornicators shall be compelled to celebrate a lawful marriage, and also that no person born in fornication should be promoted to holy orders, nor should be esteemed heir either to father or mother, unless they be afterwards joined in lawful matrimony. (60)

19th. Provides, that tythes be paid to the mother churches (61) out of provisions, hay, the young of animals, flax, wool, gardens, orchards, and out of all things, that grow and renew yearly, under pain of an anathema after the third monition; and that those, who continue obstinate in refusing to pay, shall be obliged to pay the more punctually for the future. (62)

20th. Provides, that all archers, and all others, who carry arms not for the defence of the people,

but for plunder and sordid lucre, shall on every Lord's day be excommunicated by bell, book, and candle, and at last be refused Christian burial.

These canons were not long after confirmed by Pope Urban III. (63)

(47) Harris says, (*Archbishops of Dublin, John Cumin or Comyn*) that they are among the archives preserved in Christchurch, Dublin, yet so miserably defaced by time, that many words of them are not now legible, but that the substance of them may be collected. As I have not been able to see the original, I lay before the reader his abstract of them, adding however some observations.

(48) This last mode is the one followed at this day in the Catholic chapels of Ireland. It is allowed, that before the times of Constantine the great the Christian altars or holy tables were generally made of wood; and it is clear from St. Augustin, (*Ep. 50. ad Bonifac.*) Optatus, (*Lib. 6. p. 94.*) and St. Athanasius, (*Ep. ad solitar. vitam. agentes*) that this practice continued later in Africa and Egypt. It has been said, that Pope Sylvester I. ordered, that altars should henceforth be only of stone; but of this there is no sufficient proof; or, if he issued any such order, it was not generally obeyed. The very altar of St. John Lateran's was in his time of wood. The first decree relative to this point seems to be that of the council of Epone in France held *A. D.* 517, which in its 26th canon declared; "Altaria, nisi lapidea, chrismatis unctione non sacrentur." (See more in Bingham's *Origines B. VIII. ch. 6. sect. 15.*) It is therefore not to be wondered at, that the Irish made their altars of wood from the beginning, and that they continued to do so in consequence of their steady attachment to the practices received from St. Patrick.

(49) We have seen, (*Chap. xvi. §. 1.*) that the great St. Columbanus made use of chalices of brass. Chalices of glass were used in various countries, and I have mentioned (*Not. 47. to Chap. 1.*) a remarkable instance of them at a very early period in Ireland.

(50) Regulations similar to this were observed in other churches. In the monastery of Clugni, as related by Ulric *on its practices,*

(see Fleury, *L.* 63. §. 60.) the most strict attention was paid to the pureness and whiteness of the bread for the use of the altar, and the preparing of it was considered as a religious ceremony, in which priests, deacons, and novices were engaged amidst the singing of psalms.

(51) This rule was directed against a custom, which some priests had adopted, particularly in Spain, of putting more water into the chalice than was proper.

(52) What is here said of whiteness cannot be understood of all the vestments and coverings, some of which were not white, but merely of such of them as according to general usage ought to be white.

(53) This canon was made in conformity with the second of the synod of Cashel. (See *Chap.* xxix. §. 3.

(54) This regulation does not imply, that said vessel should be destroyed, but simply that thenceforth it should be used only for sacred purposes.

(55) The reasons, or at least one of them, for passing this decree was probably to check the impertinence, for I cannot call it by a better name, of certain monks, who pretended, that extraordinary and indeed monstrous privileges were attached to burials in their cemeteries, or within their precincts, and that persons there interred received wonderful advantage from that circumstance. Instances of such pretended and absurd prerogatives may be seen in the Life of St. Moedoc of Ferns (*cap.* 36.), and in the first one of St. Kieran of Saigir (*cap.* 38.) on which Colgan has a long and injudicious note, in which he strives to explain these vile fables. On the whole this canon was levelled against such persons, whether monks or others, who endeavoured to draw funerals to their premises, by making them prove, that such places had been duly consecrated as burying grounds.

(56) What Harris calls *mother-churches* must be in the original *Ecclesiae matrices*, by which were understood, at that time, not only cathedrals, but likewise parish or baptismal churches.

(57) This canon was ordered in consequence of what appeared on the charges brought by Albin O'Mulloy against the foreign clergy.

(58) This general rule of the Church was observed in Ireland from very ancient times, according to the 30th canon of the synod

of Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus; “ *Episcopus quislibet, qui de sua in alteram progreditur parochiam (dioecesim) nec ordinare praesumat, nisi permissionem acceperit ab eo, qui in suo principatu est.*”

(59) It was very proper in these times to enforce this regulation; for, as Fleury observes, (*Instit. au Droit Eccles. Part 1. ch. 7.*) the abuse of conferring orders absolutely, that is, without a fixed title, became very general in the 12th century. This abuse had been guarded against in the above-mentioned Irish synod, the third canon of which is, “ *Clericus vagus non sit in plebe.*”

(60) The latter part of this canon is more of a civil than an ecclesiastical nature, and was, I suppose, authorized by the king or his ministers in Ireland. In the old Irish synods I have not met with any assumption of power by the clergy with regard to political or civil matters; or if in some of their assemblies such matters were decided on, the reason was that Irish kings or princes were present at them. A remarkable instance of the respective exercise of authority on the part of Church and State occurred in the council of Mellifont. Donogh O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath, was condemned in it; but the clergy went no farther than to excommunicate him, whereas the decree, by which he was deprived of his principality, emanated from Murrough O'Loghlin, king of Ireland, and the other princes there present. (See *Chap. xxviii. §. 4.*)

(61) See above *Not. 56.*

(62) This canon was certainly a plentiful sweeping commentary, in favour of the clergy, on the third of the synod of Cashel, *Chap. xxix. §. 3.*

(63) Harris. *Archbishops of Dublin at John Comyn.*

§. VIII. This year, 1186, is remarkable in Irish history for the translation of the remains of saints Patrick, Columba, and Brigid. They had, it is said, been discovered in Down in the preceding year. (64) That St. Patrick had been buried at Down seems to be the most probable opinion, although some of his reliques were certainly preserved at Armagh. (65) St. Columba's body was originally in Hy; (66) but the shrine containing it was brought to Ireland in 878, or, as others say, 876, and, according to

every probability, deposited in Down. (67) Not very long before this time the remains of St. Brigid, which had been from the beginning at Kildare, were removed also to Down. (68) The following account is given of this discovery and translation. (69) It being generally believed that the bodies of the three saints were in Down, Malachy its bishop used to pray frequently to God, that he would vouchsafe to point out to him the particular place or places, in which they were concealed. While on a certain night fervently praying to this effect in the church (cathedral) of Down, he saw a light, like a sun-beam, traversing the church, which stopped at the spot, where the bodies were. Immediately procuring the necessary implements he dug in that spot and found the bones of the three bodies, which he then put into distinct boxes or coffins and placed again underground. Having communicated what had occurred to John de Courcey, then lord of Down, they determined on sending messengers to Pope Urban III. for the purpose of procuring the removal or translation of these reliques to a more respectable part of the church. The pope agreeing with their request sent as his legate on this occasion Vivian, Cardinal priest of St Stephen in *monte Caelio*, who had been at Down nine years before, and who was well acquainted with John de Courcey and the bishop Malachy. (70) On his arrival the reliques were removed with the usual solemnities to a more distinguished part of the church on the 9th of June, the festival of St. Columba. They were deposited in one moment, according to the well known distich ;

*Nunc tres in Duno tumulto tumulantur in uno,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.* (71)

Besides the Cardinal there were present at this translation fifteen bishops, together with abbots, provosts, deans, archdeacons, priors, &c. It was resolved,

that the anniversary of it should be celebrated in Ireland as a festival, and that the feast of St. Columba should be transferred to the day after the Octave of said festival, that is, to the 17th of June. (72)

(64) Giraldus says, (*Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. cap. 18.*) that they were found in the year, in which earl John, that is, prince John earl of Morton, first came to Ireland, which was, as we have seen, *A. 1185.* To show his learning, he states that the three saints were contemporary, although it is certain, that St. Patrick was dead many years before the birth of Columba.

(65) See *Chap. VII. §. 13.* and *ib. Not. 147, 148.*

(66) *Chap. XII. §. 15.* and *ib. Not. 232.*

(67) See *Chap. XXI. §. 14.* and *ib. Not. 140, 141.*

(68) See *Chap. IX. §. 6.*—*Not. 18.* to *Chap. VIII.* and *Not. 141.* to *Chap. XXI.*

(69) It is contained in the Office of the Translation of saints Patrick, Columba, and Brigid, printed in Paris *A. 1620*, which has been republished by Colgan at the beginning of the *Tr. Th.* Part of it may be seen in Messingham's *Florilegium*, p. 208, *seqq.* and in Usher's *Prim. p. 889. seqq.*

(70) See *Chap. XXIX. §. 12.* In the above-mentioned Office this Cardinal is called *John* instead of *Vivian*; but, as Usher has well observed, this is a mistake; for there was at that time no John of the title of St. Stephen, &c., whereas from the lists of Cardinals, it is known, that *Vivian* was the then Cardinal of said title.

(71) It is thus that this distich appears in the response to the 8th lesson of the before-mentioned Office. In the usual editions of Giraldus (*Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. c. 18.*) it begins with, *In burgo Duno.* Other readings have, *Hi tres in Duno, &c.*

(72) In the Office there is a mistake, undoubtedly of a copyist, in assigning 4 *Idus Junii*, *i. e.* the 10th of June, instead of 5 *Idus*, for the feast of the Translation. The Office itself states, that the Translation took place on the 5 *Idus Junii*, or the 9th of June. It is therefore clear, that this was the day, on which the Translation was to be annually commemorated. Besides, why transfer the festival of St. Columba from its usual day, the 9th of June, if this were not the day, to which that of the Translation

was affixed? yet this regulation has not been observed; for St. Columba's festival is still kept on the 9th of June.

§. ix. In the same year, 1186, Hugh de Lacy, who had made himself lord of Meath, was killed on the 25th of July by a labouring man, whom some call O'Meey, who happened to be alone with him while he was inspecting some works of his new castle of Darmagh or Durrough (in the now King's county), and who, while De Lacy was in a stooping posture, with one stroke of an axe severed his head from his body. (73) His death freed the king, Henry II., from the uneasiness occasioned to him by the ambitious views of De Lacy, who seemed to aspire to the sovereignty of all Ireland. Sometime in this year, but after the synod of Dublin, Albin O'Mulloy, abbot of Baltinglas, who had distinguished himself in that synod, was raised to the see of Ferns, which he held for a great number of years. (74) It is probable, that his promotion to it was owing to his zeal against the incontinent clergy, and to his being considered, particularly by archbishop Cumin, as a proper person to be placed over a diocese, in which the foreign clergymen abounded. To this year is assigned the death of three Irish prelates, the most celebrated of whom was Christian O'Conarchy, who had been bishop of Lismore and apostolic legate, and who had retired some years before to the Cistercian monastery of Kyrie eleison. (75) His name is marked in various calendars at the 18th of March, (76) whence it may be inferred, that this was the day of his death. Another was Gregory, bishop of Cork, of whom it is related, that he granted to the abbey of Thomas-court near Dublin, the church of St. Nessan in Cork. His immediate successor seems to have been one Reginald. The third was Malcallan, bishop of Clonfert. (77) In the same year Conor Maenmoigi rose up anew against his father, Roderic O'Conor, and drove him out of Connaught.

In Ulster also the infatuated Irish princes were quarrelling among themselves, and Donald son of Hugh O'Loughlin, king or prince of Tyrone, was compelled to resign his principality, and in his place was substituted Roderic O'Laherty. But, on his being killed in the following year, while ravaging Tirconnel, Donald resumed the sovereignty of Tyrone. (78)

(73) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1186. Lyttleton *B.* 5. &c. Leland observes (*History, &c. B.* 1. *ch.* 5.) from some Irish annals, that the fort or castle, which De Lacy was erecting at Durrough, was on the site of the ancient and highly respected monastery, which Columb-kill had founded in that place. He adds, that the irritation felt by the Irishman at this profanation of that venerable spot, was the cause, that excited him to commit that act.

(74) Ware, *Bishops* at *Ferns.* (75) See *Chap.* xxix. §. 14.

(76) Colgan, *AA. SS.* at *Acts of St. Christian,* 18 *Mart.*

(77) See Ware and Harris, *Bishops* at *Lismore, Cork,* and *Clonfert.*

(78) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1186.

§. x. Gerald Barry left Ireland and returned to Wales between Easter and Whitsuntide of said year 1186. (79) He took with him the materials, which he had collected for the tracts, that he intended to write concerning Ireland. (80) His opportunities for giving a faithful account of the country, were he even willing to do so, were not sufficient for such a task. It is clear, that he mixed very little with the native Irish, and that he had seen but a small part of Ireland. The time of his abode here was short; for, independently of what little time he might have spent in this country after his first arrival in 1183, (81) he was only about one year in it, reckoning from his second appearance among us on the 1st of April, 1185. (82) But what his lack of knowledge was not equal to, his malignity, vanity, and conceitedness supplied. He picked up every idle story,

that he met with among the foreign adventurers, basely distorted the nature and circumstances of customs innocent in themselves, and has related heaps of fables, many of which he was forced to acknowledge that he did not believe himself. (83) It is not my business to examine the many false charges which he has against the Irish nation in general. This has been done by others, (84) and, confining myself within the limits of ecclesiastical subjects, I shall touch only on such assertions of his as are relative thereto, or closely connected with them. In the first place I may mention his monstrous falshood concerning there being some parts of Ireland, in which many persons were not as yet baptiz'd, and which the Christian religion had never reach'd. (85) He does not venture to point out any one of those places, but gives us a ridiculous fable, which he says he got from some sailors, of how, when tossed by storms amidst the ocean to the North or N. W. of Connaught, they fell in with an island, and a sort of savages in a boat, whom they discovered to be from some part of Connaught, and who not only knew nothing about Christ, but were ignorant even of the division of years, months, and weeks, and had never before seen a large ship. It would be a waste of time to undertake a serious refutation of this nonsense; and it is clear that, if any sailors related it to Giraldus, they did so merely to amuse themselves at his expense, on finding that he was apt to swallow all sorts of stories and lies. The latest account we have of any persons not Christians being in or near Connaught is that of the islanders of Immagh, who were converted by St. Fechin in the seventh century. (86) And who will imagine that, while so many Irish missionaries were for ages preaching the Gospel in foreign countries, even as far off as Iceland, they would have left behind them any of their own countrymen still in ignorance of the Christian religion? Or that St. Malachy, Gelasius of Armagh,

and the apostolic legates, who made so many visitations throughout Ireland, would have overlooked such ignorance, did it exist in any part of the country? In fact, there is not a single hint relative to it in any Irish document whatsoever.

(79) Giraldus, *De rebus a se gestis*, L. 2. cap. 16. Ware, who was mistaken as to the year of the synod of Dublin, (see above *Not.* 39.) fell into a similar mistake in placing (*Annals*) Giraldus' return to Wales in 1185. It was, as Giraldus himself informs us, during the Paschal time next after the holding of the synod, that he left Ireland.

(80) These tracts or works are two. The first is entitled *Topographia Hiberniæ sive De Mirabilibus Hiberniæ*, and is divided into three books, which he called *Distinctions*. The second work bears the title of *Expugnatio Hiberniæ*, or *Hibernia expugnata*, and also of *Historia Vaticinalis*. Wharton observes, (Preface to the second part or volume of his *Anglia Sacra*, p. 20. *seqq.*) that Giraldus published two editions of this work, the first dedicated to prince Richard, afterwards king of England, and the second dedicated to king John. The former is still in manuscript in the library of Lambeth, and is divided into three books, the third of which is entitled *De Vaticiniis*, beginning with these words; "*Quoniam in prioribus libris Merlini vaticinia tam Caledonii (Caledonii) quam Ambrosii locis competentibus, &c.*" A subsequent part of this book, and which is in the form of a preface, may be seen in Usher's *Ep. Hib. Sylloge*, No. 50. Usher thought, (*Not. ib.*) that Giraldus had not finished said third book; but he had not seen the *MS.* of Lambeth. It is on account of the prophecies of Merlin, &c. contained in that book, that the whole work was called *Historia Vaticinalis*. The second edition is divided into two books, and is that, which was published, together with the *Topographia*, &c. in the *Anglica, Hibernica, &c.* at Frankfort, A. D. 1602. It is in some parts more enlarged than the first, and in others curtailed. In it the passages from Merlin's prophecies are all omitted, except one. Leland remarks, (*B. 1. ch. 5*) that Giraldus had no right to entitle this work *Expugnatio Hiberniæ*, whereas Ireland was far from being subdued in his time. Indeed this is acknowledged by Giraldus himself in the second book, *cap.*

33. where he says, that the Irish became by dint of practical warfare better able to resist the invaders. He adds; “*Igitur in bellici certaminis exercitio (divina forte vindicta) populo diutius utroque statuto, adeo neuter ex toto, vel meruisse gratiam, vel demeruisse videtur, ut nec ille ad plenum victor in Palladis hactenus arcem victoriosus ascenderit, nec iste victus omnino plenae servitutis Jugo colla submiserit.*”

(81) See above §. 3. and *Not.* 34.

(82) See §. 5.

(83) The work, in which his calumnies and lies against the people of Ireland chiefly abound, is the *Topographia Hiberniae*. This was found fault with by persons of his time for the many ridiculous fables it contains. Giraldus strove in what is called the first preface to *Hib. exp.* to answer the objections brought forward against it, and after calling it a noble work, *opus non ignobile*, and hypocritically referring to the Holy Scriptures, Fathers, &c. he says, that “he does not mean that all the things, which he has laid down, should be rashly believed, because he does not believe them himself so as to have no doubt about them.” Then he adds “that he neither affirms nor denies such things.” But why did he assert what he knew could not be proved? In like manner this malicious boaster speaks in a little tract called his *Retractations* (*Anglia sacra Vol. 2. p. 455.*); “*Imprimis igitur de Topographia Hibernica, labore sc. nostro primaevo fere nec ignobili, ubi multa nova aliisque regionibus prorsus incognita ideoque magis admiranda scribuntur, hoc pro certo sciendum, quorundam quinimo et quamplurimum per diligentem et certam indagacionem a magnis terrae illius et authenticis viris notitiam elicuimus. De caeteris autem publicam potius terrae famam secuti fuimus. De quibus cum Augustino sentimus, qui in libro de Civitate Dei de talibus, quae solum fama celebrat nec certaveritate fulciuntur loquens, nec ea affirmanda plurimum nec prorsus abneganda decrevit.*” Who were those great and authentic men of Ireland, from whom he says he derived a great part of his information? We may be sure, that very few of them were Irishmen; and then he tells us, that as to other things, which by the bye form the greatest part of the work, he followed common report; fine authority for the description of a country! Giraldus often prides himself on the *Topographia*. Thus (*De rebus, &c. L. 2. c. 16.*) talking of his hav-

ing read it publicly for three days at Oxford he says, that he did so wishing not to leave the light under the bushel, but to raise it upon the candlestick; *lucernam accensam non sub modio ponere sed super candelabrum ut luceret erigere cupiens*; and there this swaggerer tells us how he entertained on the first day all the poor of that city. In his work, *De jure et statu Menevensis Ecclesiae* he boasts (*Distinct. 7.*) how the *Topographia* was admired by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, Robert de Bellofago, canon of Salisbury, and master Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, and how highly they spoke of Giraldus, as if there were scarcely any other such man in the world. But, he adds, how much more worthy of praise are the works, which he has published and is publishing in his maturer years, some of which have been held in great estimation by the Pope!!! Hence the reader may judge what a vain-glorious animal Giraldus was; and such beings are usually saucy, malignant, and liars.

(84) I scarcely need mention, that the chief writer, who has refuted Giraldus with regard to his account of Ireland, was John Lynch, under the name of Gratianus Lucius, in his learned work entitled *Cambrensis eversus*. Keating in the preface to his History of Ireland has proved the falshood of many of Giraldus' assertions. See also Mac-Geoghegan, *Pref. a l'Hist. de l'Irlande*.

(85) *Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. cap. 26.*

(86) See *Chap. xvii. §. 10.*

§. XI. On some other points Giraldus is not so atrociously malignant; but he betrays his profound ignorance of the history of ecclesiastical discipline. On an occasion of abusing the whole nation, and representing them as uninformed in the very rudiments of faith, he gives as one of his arguments, "that they do not as yet pay tithes or first offerings." (87) This was, according to him and the clergy of his country and times, a violation of an article of faith! I allow, that the ancient Irish did not pay those dues, nor were they in general paid in Ireland during his time, except where the English influence predominated, notwithstanding the decrees of the councils of Kells and Cashel. (88)

Giraldus did not know, that such dues were not paid in the best times of the Church, and that it was not until very long after the days of St. Patrick that they were introduced, and indeed first of all into France, where they are now extinct. In Italy they are scarcely known; and yet the Italians cannot be said to be *uninformed in the very rudiments of faith*. Another argument, which he subjoins, is, “that they do not as yet contract marriages.” (89) He was unacquainted with the difference between the marriage, called *Sponsalia de praesenti*, and that styled *Sponsalia de futuro*. The Irish were, in general, strongly attached to the latter form, which in reality constituted, when united with certain conditions, as valid a marriage as the former. Giraldus, not understanding the nature of it, and finding that the Irish did not marry according to the mode practised in England and Wales, concluded that they did not contract matrimony. Having already treated largely of this subject, (90) I need not add more at present. He adds, “that they do not shun incest.” (91) For this charge or argument he had no foundation, except that the Irish had not universally received the system of the seven degrees of consanguinity or affinity, within which the canonists of those times prohibited marriage. (92) As some of them did not scruple to marry within said degrees, hence Giraldus accused them of committing incest. Another fault, which he finds, and, I allow, with better reason, is, that in some parts of Ireland men married the widows of their deceased brothers. (93) This abuse seems to have existed in Ireland; but, even according to Giraldus’ own words, it was far from being general; and it was contrary to the canons and ancient discipline of the Irish church. (94)

(87) *Topogr. &c Dist.* 3. c. 19.

(88) See *Chap.* xxvii. §. 15. and *Chap.* xxix. §. 3. The

Irish, however, knew, that tithes were paid in other countries, and some of their clergy seem to have wished, that they were established in Ireland. In the collection of ancient Irish canons published by Martene (*Thesaur. Nov. Anecd. Tom. 4.*) I find (*col. 12.*) some passages or rules relative to the tithe of animals and of the products of the earth, taken from a synod called *Sapientia*. But from the manner, in which they are drawn up, it appears that they contain rather a sort of canonical disquisition concerning tithes in general than regulations ordering the payment of them in Ireland. Keating says (*Preface*) that they were paid in this country before the arrival of Cardinal Paparo. But this practice was not general, nor, I believe, followed until a short time before that arrival. Yet I do not deny, that they might have been paid in some places through the exertions of Gillebert of Limerick, who mentions them in his tract *De statu Ecclesiae*, and of St. Malachy.

(89) *Topogr. ib.*

(90) *Not. 52. and 66. to Chap. xxvi.* (91) *Topogr. ib.*

(92) See *Chap. xxiv. §. 12. xxvi. §. 6. and ib. Not. 51. xxix. §. 4. and ib. Not. 17.*

(93) *Topogr. ib.*

(94) See *Not. 51. to Chap. xxvi.*

§. XII. As a proof of the Irish being rude in the principles of faith he states, that they do not frequent the church of God with due reverence. (95) But he does not tell us, in what manner they were deficient as to this point. They entertained, I believe, as much respect for churches as any of their neighbours, and he himself gives us a proof of it in relating a custom followed by them in forming confederacies and pledging each other to maintain mutual friendship. They meet, he says, (96) in some holy place and go round the church three times; after which entering the church they present themselves before the altar, on which the reliques of saints are placed, and, while mass is celebrated and holy priests praying on the occasion, become indissolubly united. This practice shows, that they had a great veneration for churches, as they made use of them

and of the church service for sanctioning their solemn obligations. To this narrative, however, he adds a most infamous lie concerning the parties drinking of each others' blood, and its often happening that, owing to a malicious trick, one or other of them loses all his blood and becomes lifeless. In the whole of our Irish history and in the accounts given by our old antiquaries, there is not the least allusion to such a horrid practice; (97) and can any one believe, that the shedding of blood would have been allowed in a church, contrary to the rule of the whole Christian world, or that the clergy and people present would have suffered any one to draw his own blood until he should lose his life? (98) Another proof of the respect paid by the Irish to churches is, that they used to consider them as sanctuaries and inviolable places. (99) One of Giraldus' general charges against the whole nation is, that they do not attend the bodies of the dead to ecclesiastical burial with the due obsequies. (100). How they were wrong in this respect (although their funerals were not exactly similar to those of England and Wales) I do not understand, unless he alluded to their not having been always very precise in having the funeral attended by a priest. That it should be so was ordered by the synod of Dublin, (101) whence there is some reason to think, that this becoming practice was sometimes neglected. It often happens in every country, especially in places where clergymen are scarce, that it is impossible to observe it at every funeral. But that funeral obsequies were regularly celebrated in Ireland, and that the bodies were, according to general rule, interred in the presence of clergymen, we have frequently seen, and might, if necessary, be proved from numberless passages of the Lives of our saints. (102) Giraldus adds, that in Ireland children are not catechized before the doors of the churches. (103) He alludes to the baptismal ceremony, concerning which

the synod of Cashel had passed a decree, (104) which seems to have been little attended to. Having already enlarged on this subject, (105) I need not add more about it in this place.

(95) *Topogr. ib.*

(96) *Ib. Dist. 3. c. 22.*

(97) See Keating, *Preface*, and Lynch, *Cambr. evers. cap. 29. p. 286, seqq.*

(98) This lie of Giraldus is on a par with an abominable one, which he has (*ib. cap. 25.*) about the mode of inaugurating the kings of Kenél-Cunil, that is, Tirconnel, and which, from the express testimony of the Irish antiquaries, who have described the inauguration of the kings of that country, has been proved to be diabolically false by Keating (*ib.*), Lynch, (*ib. cap. 30. p. 316.*) and Harris, *Antiquities, ch. 10.* The great St. Columba, who was of the royal house of Tirconnel, may be naturally supposed, when inaugurating Aidan king of the British Scots, to have followed, at least in some measure, the mode practised in his own country. Now we have seen, (*Chap. xi. §. 15.*) that, in performing that ceremony by order of the Almighty, he used a mode quite different from the beastly one, which the vile lying Giraldus strove to impose on the world.

(99) See *Chap. xxix. §. 12.*

(100) This charge is in his second book (*De rebus a se gestis, L. 2. cap. 14.*), where he has again some of those already discussed.

(101) 11th. canon, above §. 7.

(102) Ex. c. the Lives of saints Patrick, Columba, Ita, Senan, &c. &c.

(103) *De rebus, &c. L. 2. c. 14.*

(104) See *Chap. xxix. §. 3.* (105) *Ib. §. 4. and Not. 18.*

§. XIII. Giraldus exerted all his malignant cunning to decry the Irish bishops, being apparently jealous of the reputation of the great and holy prelates, who had in those times illustrated the Irish church. Besides his endeavours to detract from the good character, which he was forced to give of the

clergy at large. (106) he accuses the bishops of negligence and sloth in not correcting the vices of the people, and not content with alluding to those of his own time, he charges with this fault all the Irish prelates since the days of St. Patrick. (107) The impertinence of this scribbler is really intolerable. Did he not know, that in the very century, in which he wrote, some of the most active and zealous bishops of the whole Christian Church were to be found in Ireland, such as Celsus of Armagh, Gillebert of Limerick, Malchus of Lismore, St. Malachy, Muredach O'Dubthaig of Tuam, Gelasius of Armagh, Christian of Lismore, St. Laurence O'Toole, &c. who not only preached and instructed the people, but likewise held several synods, which were constantly well attended, and made many useful regulations relative to ecclesiastical discipline and Christian morality? As a proof of his base charge, he alleges that none of them had fought for religion and the Church so as to suffer martyrdom. It is true, that we do not find mentioned any of our bishops, who were put to death by Irishmen; but this merely proves what is very honourable to the national character, and shows that, notwithstanding whatever opposition the early preachers of the Gospel met with in Ireland, their adversaries were not of a sanguinary disposition, and entertained a great degree of respect for the Christian clergy. And it is remarkable that, although christianity was not propagated in Ireland by the blood of martyrs, there is no instance of any other nation, that universally received it in as short a space of time as the Irish did. Yet we had plenty of martyrs in Ireland, and some of them bishops, during the fury of the Danes; (108) and as to Irish prelates, who were crowned with martyrdom in foreign countries, I need only refer the reader to what we have seen concerning St. Livinus in Brabant, St. Kilian of Wurtzburg, St. Rumold of Mechlin, and St. John of Mecklenburgh. Geraldus relates, that

in a conversation with Maurice, archbishop of Cashel, whom he calls a learned and discreet man, in the presence of another Giraldus, a clerk of the Roman church, who had come to Ireland with some message, (109) he pressed him with this argument against the Irish bishops, to which Maurice replied; “ It is true that, although our nation may seem barbarous, uncultivated, and rude, yet they were always wont to pay great honour and reverence to ecclesiastical men, and not to stretch their hands on any occasion against the saints of God. But now a nation is come into this kingdom, which knows how and is accustomed to make martyrs. Henceforth Ireland shall, like other countries, have martyrs.” (110)

(106) See above §. 6.

(107) *Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. cap. 28.* and *De rebus, &c. L. 2. c. 14.*

(108) See Lynch, *Camb. evers. cap. 31.*

(109) Ware, or his translator, was mistaken (*Annals*, at 1185) in calling this Giraldus a *legat from the Pope*. He was merely a messenger on some particular business.

(110) *Topographia, &c. Dist. 3. c. 32.*

§. XIV. Much of this pretended indolence of the Irish bishops is attributed by Giraldus to their being usually chosen out of monasteries; and he says that, while they strictly fulfil their monastic duties, they neglect their pastoral obligations. (111) Passing by a sort of affected jingling rhetoric, with which he enlarges on this subject, I shall, although I do not pretend that monks are the fittest persons to be appointed bishops, merely observe, that some of our greatest bishops of those days had belonged to that class. Malchus of Lismore, Gelasius of Armagh, St. Laurence O’Toole, Christian of Lismore, had been monks, and St. Malacy, although originally not one, yet practised the monastic life. It seems

that Giraldus had a secret object in view, *viz.* to prevent monks from being raised to bishoprics. (112) He mentions, but without any reprehension, the great veneration, in which were held the portable bells, and the staffs of saints, curved at the top, and covered with gold, silver, or brass, observing that a similar veneration was paid to them in Scotland and Wales. (113) These staffs were originally, as we have often seen, the crosiers of holy bishops or abbots. Among other singular and strange things he relates several standing miracles of Irish saints, the accounts of which he picked up from the stories of vulgar and ignorant people. (114) He mentions one with extraordinary admiration, the book containing a concordance of the four Gospels, according to the correction of St. Jerome, which was preserved at Kildare, and states that it was made up miraculously through the intervention of an angel and the prayers of St. Brigid. The almost innumerable figures and miniatures, he says, with which it is all through ornamented, are so exquisitely beautiful and elegant, and the colours so fresh, that it is easy to perceive, that it was the work rather of an angel than of a man. (115) But we need not look for a miracle to account for the composition of that beautiful book; and it merely proves, that the arts of calligraphy and miniature had been carried to great perfection in Ireland. (116)

(111) *Ib. cap. 29, 30. and De rebus, &c. L. 2. c. 14.*

(112) It appears, that Giraldus had an aversion to monks. One of his tracts was entitled *De Cisterciensium nequitiiis*. We find him afterwards contending against a monk, the prior of Lhanthony, for the see of St. David's, in which contest he was foiled. (See Harris, *Writers at Gerald Barry.*)

(113) *Topogr. Dist. 3. c. 33.*

(114) *Ib. Dist. 2. capp. 28-29. seqq.* Ledwich, to show his learning, has brought forward (*Antiq. &c. p. 37.*) some of these stories relative to St. Kevin, and talks of the *impious and foolish*

tales of ignorant and superstitious ecclesiastics. Who told him, that all these tales were invented by ecclesiastics? And what a mighty theologian and lover of truth is this so-called antiquary!

(115) Giraldus, *ib. capp.* 38, 39.

(116) That painting was anciently cultivated in Ireland is clear from Cogitosus, who (*Vita S. Brig. cap.* 35.) speaks of the pictures, with which St. Brigid's great church at Kildare was decorated. Several persons are marked in our history as elegant transcribers and ornamenters of books, *ex. c.* St. Dagaëus, of whom above (*Chap.* x. §. 14.), and the monk Ultan, who was famous in this respect. (See Dr. O'Connor, *Rer. Hib. Ser. Ep. Nunc.* p. 179.)

§. xv. Giraldus talks about some wonderful islands in Ireland, and mentions strange things, not worth inquiring into, concerning what is vulgarly called Patrick's Purgatory. (117) He tells us, that in North Munster there is a lake, containing two islands, one larger and the other smaller. The larger one, he says, has a church of *ancient veneration*; the lesser a chapel, which is devoutly served by a few unmarried men, who are called *Colidei*, which in his manner, he wisely explains by *coelicolae*, or worshippers of heaven. He then goes on with some nonsensical stories, as how no female of any species could ever enter the larger island without dying immediately, and how in the smaller one nobody ever dies, ever did die, or could die, for which reason it is called the *island of the living*. But its residents are subject to grievous diseases, and, when tormented with them to such a degree that all hopes of being freed from them are gone, they get themselves removed in a boat to the larger island, which as soon as they touch they immediately give up the ghost. (118) This wonderful island is no other than that called by some *Inchinemeo*, or rather *Inish-na-mbeo* corresponding to *Island of the living*, by others *Inis-locha-cre* (119) (the island of the lake or bog about three miles from Roscrea) and since known by

the name of Monaincha. According to Giraldus the Colidei, who lived there, were not, properly speaking, monks; for he merely calls them *coelibes* or unmarried men. (120) In his time the island was a place of pilgrimage; but afterwards the residents removed to Corbally, a place not far from it without the lake, where they became Canons Regular of St. Augustin, and had a priory under the name of St. Hilary or St. Mary. (121) As to the name, *Island of the living*, it meant nothing more than that it was a place where men might live in the service of God, in the same manner as monasteries were called *De Valle salutis*; *De Beatitudine*, &c.; and the fable of no one dying there was unheard of by our old historians and annalists. We have an instance of how people could and did die there in the case of a very respectable man, Moelpatrick O'Druggan, who died in that island *A. D.* 1138. (122) How Giraldus picked up that stuff is of no consequence; he was probably imposed upon by some droll fellow, who explained the name in a new way peculiar to himself. The other story concerning females not daring to enter the larger island was in all appearance founded on there having been there of old some religious community, which made it a rule, not uncommon in some parts of Ireland, not to admit women within their precincts.

(117) *Topogr. &c. Dist.* 2. c. 5. Although it was not very long since this purgatory came into vogue, (see *Chap.* VII. §. 14.) yet Giraldus found it out. But, as Lynch has shown, (*Cambr. evers.* p. 10.) his account of it does not agree with that of Henry of Salterey, of whom see *Not.* 150. to *Chap.* VII.

(118) Giraldus, *ib.* cap. 4. What I have translated, *The larger one has a church of ancient veneration*, is in the original, "*Major ecclesiam habet antiquae religionis.*" Here we meet with an egregious sample of Ledwich's profound ignorance even of Latin. He translates (p. 69.) the words now quoted; "In the greater is

a church of *the ancient religion*," meaning to insinuate, that there had been before Giraldus' times another and a different Christian religion in Ireland, *viz.* that of his dear Culdees, concerning whom he has a heap of intolerable trash, of which more by and by. Who, that knew any thing of Latin, could, except this blockhead, have rendered those words in that manner? Surely, when the word, *religio*, is used in speaking of places, it means *veneration, respect, sacred feeling*. Thus Ovid has (x *Metam.* 693) *Religione sacer prisca (recessus)*; and Virgil (VIII. *Aen.* 344.) *Jam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestes—Sacra loci*. Giraldus was fond of using this phrase, when describing places of ancient religious celebrity. *Ex. c.* he says (*ib. cap.* 30.); "In australi Momonia, circa partes Corcagiae, est insula quaedam, ecclesiam continens sancti Michaelis *antiquae nimis et authenticae religionis*, that is greatly and justly respected from very old times. If Giraldus meant, as Ledwich would interpret it, by *religionis* faith or Christian doctrine, how would not this passage disconcert our antiquary, whereas Giraldus calls it *authentic*, which he certainly would not have done, had it been different from the faith and christianity, which he professed himself? Elsewhere (as *ib. cap.* 5.) he has *probatae religionis ecclesiam*, which Ledwich (*p.* 70.) translates *a church of the orthodox faith*, wishing to show, that it belonged to what he calls the *ancient religion* and to Culdees, although Giraldus does not (*ib.*) make the least allusion to such persons. He is there speaking of Lough Derg, and its island in which is Patrick's purgatory, one part of which, he says, is very pleasant and attended by angels, while the other is full of devils. Here Ledwich complains, that Giraldus breathes a vindictive spirit against the *ancient religion*. It is difficult to convey to the reader the meaning of the muddy effusions of this stupid Doctor; but he seems to charge Giraldus with transforming the poor Culdees into the devils of Lough Derg. Now Giraldus was at that time no more thinking of Culdees or of *old religion* than he was of Ledwich himself. Instead of the word *coelibes*, which Giraldus has speaking of the Colidei of the smaller island, Ledwich inserted (*p.* 69.) *monks*; for he did not like that the Culdees, whom he represents as married men, should be expressly said not to have been married.

(119) This is the name given to it by Colgan. *Tr. Th.* p. 281. and 304.

(120) I do not understand, why Archdall (at *Monaincha*) says, that the Culdees of this place, whom he inaccurately calls *monks*, had an abbey under the invocation of St. Columba. For this he gives us no authority, and I strongly suspect that he had none, except the preconceived unfounded supposition, that the persons, called *Culdees*, were Columbian monks.

(121) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26 at *Tipperary*. Here again we meet with the mighty Ledwich, who (*p.* 74) talking about Augustinians (he did not understand the difference between them and the Canons Regular) and the removal to Corbally, conjectures that the present abbey of Monaincha, *i. e.* what remains of it, was erected about the beginning of the 13th century. Be it so; but it is amusing to observe, how he proves his thesis. “The *Augustinians* (he should have said, *Augustin Canons*) did not appear in this kingdom until 1193; for at that time earl Strongbow brought four from Bodmyn, in Cornwall, to his abbey of Kells in the county of Kilkeny.” This is antiquarian lore with a vengeance. In the first place there were Augustin Canons, *alias* Canons Regular of St. Augustin, long before 1193; for, as has been seen, we had some of them since the times of St. Malachy and the holy Imar of Armagh; O’Carrol, prince of Ergall, and Edan O’Killedy, bishop of Clogher, founded an abbey for them at Louth in 1148; Hugh de Lacy formed establishments for them in Meath about 1182; John de Courcey erected a priory for them at Down in 1183; and, not to tire the reader with repetitions, the very abbey of St. Thomas near Dublin, which was founded in 1177, belonged to them, that is, to the particular branch called the Congregation of St. Victor. Next, the Doctor tells us, that Strongbow brought four members of this order from Cornwall to Ireland in said year 1193. How could that be, whereas Strongbow was dead since 1176. He refers to Archdall, who (at *Kells*) mentioning the foundation of that priory by Geoffry Fitz-Robert in 1193, says something in a confused manner about Strongbow. But he does not state, that it was Strongbow that brought over those four persons. Supposing, however, that he had, was it not our great antiquary’s duty to correct him? The poor man was not able; what an antiquary! Or what must be thought of a man, who

had the assurance to patch up and publish a big book on the Antiquities of Ireland, while he was so little acquainted with the history of the country as not to know even the year of Strongbow's death; and what of the asinine readers, who have praised that farrago of ignorance and petulance! ! !

(122) *Vit. S. Gelasii, cap. 9. Tr. Th. p. 281 and. 304. and above Chap. XXVII. §. 2.*

CHAP. XXXI.

The Colidei or Culdees, inquiry concerning them—Deaths of several bishops, priors, professors, &c.—Priory of St. John Baptist, Dublin, founded—John De Courcey defeated by the Irish—Donald O'Loghlin killed in battle—Death of Henry II.—Irish Bishops who attended his funeral—Cathedral of St. Patrick, Dublin, erected on the site of an old parochial church—Foundation of different abbeys—Deaths of more bishops—Synod at Dublin under Matthew O'Heney, the Pope's legate—Glendalough united to Dublin—Several religious houses founded—The See of Meath removed from Clonard to Newtown near Trim—Religious houses founded by Donald O'Brien—Death of Donald—Cruelties practised on his family by the English—Contest for the See of Ross—Hamo de Valois, Justiciary of Ireland, invades ecclesiastical property—Seizes on several lands belonging to the See of Dublin, and on the temporalities of Leighlin, &c.—Death of King Roderic—Contention of the Connaught princes for the kingdom—Foundation of several religious houses.

SECT. I.

THE mention made by Giraldus of the *Colidei* affords us an opportunity of examining, what was the description of persons understood by that name. If ever subjects plain and easy in themselves have been distorted, misrepresented, and corrupted through ignorance and religious prejudice, this question merits a distinguished place among them. The obscurity, in which it has been involved, is owing to some Scotch writers, who took it into their heads to announce, that before the coming of Palladius the Scots were taught and governed by priests and monks alone without bishops. (1) By *Scots* they meant the inhabitants of North Britain, as if the real Scots were settled there at that time, or as if there were then a Scottish kingdom in that country, a silly supposition, which we have over and over seen to be false. (2) Had those writers merely said, that in Ireland, the then only country of the Scots, there were some priests without any bishop until Palladius was sent to them, their assertion would imply nothing wrong or fabulous. (3) Other later Scotch authors have added, that those priests or monks were called *Culdei*, and that they were in Scotland as far back as the reigns of the emperors Decius, Aurelian, and Diocletian, that is, in the third century. (4) Several antiepiscopal writers, particularly Scotch, seized upon this fable, endeavouring to prove from it, that the primitive government of the Christian church was presbyterian; for, say they, those *Culdei* used to elect their superiors or superintendents, either under the title of *bishop* or not, without requiring a consecration by any bishop strictly so called. (5) But, it having been proved that there was not any church governed in this manner at that early period in Scotland, nor any such persons there

in those times as Culdei or Culdees, (6) a new system was formed, according to which the Culdees were the disciples and followers of Columbkil, and who preserved for centuries the purer doctrines and discipline of Christianity, presbyterianism, &c. until at length they were put down by the church of Rome. (7) One of the chief grounds alleged for this hypothesis consists in a false preconception, that Columbkil did not consider bishops necessary for ordaining priests, (8) and thence it was concluded that the monks of Hy, and accordingly the Culdees, held the same opinion. This stuff was founded on the singular circumstance of Columbkil and his successors at Hy having, although merely priests, exercised a sort of jurisdiction over the bishops of the Northern Picts, and perhaps of the British Scots. (9) But it has been proved over and over, that the exercise of this privilege did not imply any such idea as that of the equality of bishops and priests, and that Columbkil and his followers strictly maintained the superiority, by divine right, of the former over the latter. (10) Now it happens unluckily for this fanciful theory of the Culdees being derived from Columbkil, that in none of the Lives of that saint, nor in Bede, who very often treats of the Columbian order and monks, nor in the whole history of the monastery of Hy and of its dependencies, the name of *Culdees* or any name tantamount to it, ever once occurs. (11) This would have been impossible, had the Culdees been Columbians and members of the order or congregation of Hy.

(1) John of Fordon, who lived in the 14th century, laid down this position, adding that such was the rule of the primitive church. See more about him *Not.* 130. to *Chap.* 1.

(2) *Ex. c.* See *Not.* 29. to *Chap.* 1. and *Chap.* ix. §. 1.

(3) See *Chap.* 1. §. 15. and *ib.* *Not.* 132.

(4) Hect. Boethius, *Scot. Hist.* L. 6. Buchanan, *Rer. Scot.* rxc. 35. &c.

(5) This fictitious system has been supported by Blondel (see *Not.* 130 to *Chap.* 1.) and Selden, (*Preface* to Twysden's *x Scriptorum*) who, on occasion of a passage relative to the Keledei (whom he calls *Culdei*) in an account given of Turgot of Durham, when made bishop of St. Andrews, and which will be seen lower down, heaps together in his usual overwhelming and obscure manner a multitude of quotations, which, for the far greatest part, are quite irrelevant to the question, and all of which prove nothing at all as to the special fact or rights of the Culdei, unless we are to receive as good authorities such writers as Hector Boethius. It was a shame for Selden to stoop to some silly conjectures in treating those points; for instance, after striving to insinuate that Adamnan of Hy and Adamnan of Coludi (see *Chap.* XVIII. §. 5.) were one and the same person, he relates as probable, that Coludi was so called from its being frequented by Culdei.

(6) Lloyd (*On Church government, chap.* 7.) has treated this subject with great clearness and strength of argument, and has demonstrated the falsehood and absurdity of the whole of that wretched story. Toland (*Nazarenus, Letter 2. sect.* 3.) carps at Lloyd, but without being able to overturn the main points laid down by him. He attacks Lloyd for having called that Culdee system a *monkish dream*; for, as he argues, there were persons in Scotland called *Culdees*, or rather *Keldees*. But this, so far from being denied by Lloyd, is admitted by him; and he even quotes passages, whence it appears that there were such persons there since about the ninth century. What Lloyd styled a *monkish dream* is the fable of there having been from very old times in Scotland a presbyterian church governed by the so-called Culdees. Now Toland, although in his cavilling way he quotes Fordon, &c. does not attempt to prove, that there was such a church; for he had learning enough to know, that so senseless a paradox could not be maintained.

(7) A number of Scotch writers have laid down as a truism, that the Culdees were originally Columbian monks, Smith supposes it as a fact, (*Life of St. Columba, p.* 118.) where he has some raving about "a large body of pastors and people in the isles and mountains of Scotland, who, like the Waldenses of the Alps, maintained the worship of God in its simplicity, and the Gospel in its purity for many generations, when it was greatly

corrupted in other places." He says, however, that this is a fact not generally known. And indeed how could it, or how did he know it himself? What a shame to make such assertions without any authority whatsoever of the many documents, relative to the ecclesiastical state of these countries, that were drawn up during those generations, and in not one of which is there the least allusion to those holy Waldenses of Scotland, unless the true worship of God and purity of the Gospel be supposed to consist in celebrating Easter at a particular time, and using a peculiar sort of tonsure! But on these points, the mighty arguments of the discoverers of the Scotch Waldenses, I have said more than enough in their own place. The system of the Culdees being derived from Columbkil is followed also by Jamieson in his *Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees*, a big book replete with errors of various sorts. This writer has picked up a good deal from Ledwich, whom he now and then honours with referring to; whereas our antiquary also makes Columbkil the founder of the Culdees, but with this difference that, instead of allowing that they were presbyterians, he maintains, (*Antiq. p. 60*) that they were episcopalians.

(8) Jamieson strives (*Historical, &c. p. 48. seqq.*) to prove this notoriously false assumption, and (*p. 36. seqq.*) would fain make us believe, that the monks of Hy were presbyterians. Speaking of Colman of Lindisfarne or York, who called himself a *bishop* (*ap. Beda, Eccl. Hist. L. 3. c. 25.*) Jamieson pretends, that he received not only his appointment but even his episcopal power from the *College of elders*. This writer seems not to understand the very terms of Church discipline and Canon law.

(9) See *Chap. XII. § 15.* and *ib. Not. 234.* Jamieson here and there has the old mistake of the North of Ireland being also subject to Hy.

(10) See *ib. and Not. 235.*

(11) In the five Lives of St. Columba, published by Colgan (*Tr. Th.*), there is no mention whatsoever of Culdees, not even in that by O'Donnel, who raked together every thing that he could collect relative to the saint's proceedings, and who wrote at a time when there were Culdees, as they are vulgarly called, in Ireland. Bede, notwithstanding all that he has about Columba and his disciples, and concerning the Irish missions in the North

of England and elsewhere, the leaders of which were Columbians, as likewise about the practices of the Scots both of Ireland and Britain, and of the Northern Picts, is quite silent as to any persons called *Culdees* or by any similar name; and it must appear evident to an attentive dispassionate reader of Bede's works, that there was not such an order of men existing in his times. Colgan has employed 23 large folio pages (from 487 to 510) of his *Tr. Th.* in giving from writers of various ages, an account of St. Columba's disciples, and of the Columbian monasteries, churches, and their superiors, the chronicles of Hy and its abbots, distinguished men, &c. down to the 13th century, and similar ones of the Columbian houses of Derry, Durrough, Kells, Raphoe, Swords, Raghlin island, Fathan, and Drumclieff. Yet in this minute account, including so many centuries, and in which hundreds of names are mentioned, there is not a word about Culdees, nor is any one among those hundreds of persons designated by any name or title like it. Hence it is as clear as day light, that they did not by any means belong to the Columbian institution; and accordingly, besides many others, Nicholson was mistaken (*Pref. to Irish Histor. Library p. 30. Octav. ed. 13. fol. ed.*) in saying, that the Culdees were of the Irish rule carried into Scotland by St. Columb. It is probable, that they were in Ireland earlier than in Scotland, to which country, however, they were not carried by St. Columb. But what are we to think of Ledwich, who, having pretended to draw up (*Antiq. Essay 3. 1st. ed.*) a history of the Irish Culdees, not content with following this opinion, has the audacity frequently to refer to Bede as expressly speaking of Culdees? Thus he says, (*p. 62.*) that "Bede, though closely attached to the See of Rome, yet with candour and truth confesses the merits of the Culdees"; refers (*p. 64. seqq.*) to Bede for Aidan and his Irish missionaries in Northumberland, as likewise for his successors Finan and Colman, besides others, having been Culdees; tells us, that Bede's third book is chiefly in praise of the Culdees; speaks, as if from Bede, of Adamnan of Hy having been a Culdee, adding that he apostatized, and then groans over the downfall of the illustrious seminaries of the Culdees of Hy and Lindisfarne. Is it possible to bear with such a train of imposture? Bede never mentions Culdees, nor did he know of any such persons in the world. As

to Ledwich's balderdash about the apostacy of Adamnan and the downfall of Hy, &c. we have seen elsewhere. The paschal and tonsural disputes were always running in this stupid man's head, and they formed the bulk of his theological erudition. But neither did Adamnan apostatize, nor did the school of Hy or even of Lindisfarne cease to flourish. To his nonsense about the pretended Culdees of Hy he joins (*p.* 67.) that the Culdees were married, for which he refers to Toland. But Toland was speaking of certain Scotch Culdees, who, he says, were commonly laymen, whereas Ledwich wished to insinuate, that the monks of Hy were married. Another of his attempts to impose on the public is his adducing (*p.* 55.) the authority of Lloyd and Usher as if they had written highly in favour of the Culdees. Now Lloyd, who has much about them, says not a word in praise of them, observing that he could find no mention of Culdees or Kildees until about *A. D.* 900. He laughs at the Scotch stories concerning them, and expressly distinguishes them from the Columbian and other old Irish monks, of whom indeed he speaks rather favourably. Usher mentions Culdees or Colidei several times, but neither praises nor dispraises them; and it never entered into his head to confound them with the Columbians. But in spite of these writers and of Bede, &c. Ledwich transfers to his fictitious Culdees whatever they had said in praise of Columbkil and his monks. He then has recourse to Sir Robert Sibbald and Sir James Dalrymple, and so well he might; for, as Chalmers observes (*Caledonia, Vol. 1. p.* 439.), "system has concurred with ignorance in supposing, that the Culdees actually possessed rights and exercised powers, which were inconsistent with the established laws of the universal church in that age;" and, as he adds, "Sir James Dalrymple's collections are filled with the prejudices of his age and country." Ledwich complains that Mosheim and others have not recorded the merits of the Culdees as champions of Evangelical truth; but what were the merits of the real Culdees? Was it that in late times some of the Scotch ones were married, one of Ledwich's great proofs and tokens of sanctity? After all, even with regard to those, whom he falsely calls Culdees, Ledwich could not with all his lies and quibbles discover any particular system of doctrine held by them, different from that of the whole

Church of those times ; and all his bustle and smoke terminate in the mighty points of the Paschal computation and the tonsure.

§. II. The real name of the members of the community or communities, of which we are now treating, was not *Culdees*, *Culdei*, nor *Colidei*, but, as far as I can discover, *Ceile-De*, or probably rather *Ceile-Dae*. (12) But then a question occurs concerning the primitive meaning of this compound title. Several writers think, that it signifies *servants of God* ; (13) and in fact the terms agree very well with this explanation, and we find that some holy men, who however did not belong to this community, were, on account of their sanctity, called *Ceile* or *Kele-De* (servant of God), such as, for instance, the celebrated Aengus Keledeus. (14) Yet, although individuals might very properly have been styled *servants of God*, or *Ceile-De* in that acceptance, it is difficult to think, that an entire order of men, consisting of various communities, could have assumed such a proud denomination, or have been greeted with it. Accordingly it appears to me, that the original name was *Ceile-Dae*, that is, a man living in community ; for *Ceile* in Irish signifies *together*, and *Dae* a *man*. (15) As the persons belonging to this order were not, strictly speaking, monks, (16) nor at the same time members of the parochial clergy, this new appellation was made out for the purpose of distinguishing them, even by an Irish or Gaelic name, from other ecclesiastical bodies. Looking to the origin of this institution, they were in reality no others than the description of clergymen called *Secular Canons* who were originally attached to the cathedrals of dioceses. Although bound by rules peculiar to themselves, they belonged to the secular clergy, and partly on this account, and partly to distinguish them from the *Canons Regular* who sprang up at a much later period, they have been and are still designated by the title of *Secular*

Canons. A great body of rules was drawn up for these Canons by the council of Aix-la-Chapelle in the year 816, not very long after their institution began to be introduced into various churches. Thenceforth they formed the Chapters of dioceses, and gradually obtained many privileges and exemptions. They lived together in cloisters or chapter-houses, and had dormitories, refectories, &c. in the same manner as the monastic institutions. I need not give an account of their particular superiors and officers, as their whole system is so generally known, and still exists in the greatest part of Christendom, except that in very many places they have ceased to live in communities; and I shall only add that, besides the Cathedral Chapters, there has been formed a great number of collegiate ones consisting of Canons attached to the service of minor churches, and which are kept up to this very day. (17)

(12) The name *Colidei* is used by Giraldus Cambrensis, as latinized from the Irish, whereas he thought that their original appellation signified *worshippers of God*. I find it used also by Colgan, Usher, and others. *Culdei* is evidently a corruption of *Colidei*, which had Nicholson adverted to, he would not given us (*Pref. to Ir. Histor. Libr. loc. cit.*) an awkward derivation of *Culdee* as if it signified a *black hood or coul*, or a *black monk*. For neither the real so called Culdees, nor the Columbians, whom Nicholson confounded with them, were black monks. Prior to the times of Giraldus the name was written in Latin *Keledei*.

(13) Among others O'Brien, *Irish Dictionary* at *Ceile-De*. Toland interprets it *separated or espoused to God*. O'Brien's explanation is more natural.

(14) See *Not.* 96. to *Chap.* xx. Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 478.) mentions also a St. Comgan, whose memory was revered on the 2d. of August, and who was surnamed *Kele-De*, that is, says Colgan, *Deicola*, by which he explains (*AA. SS.* p. 580.) likewise the surname *Kele-De* given to Aengus. But he did not consider either of these saints as a member of the community

usually called *Culdees*, to whom in the very little he says of them he gives the name of *Colidei*.

(15) See Lhuyd's Irish-English Dictionary at *Ceile* and *Dae*. It agrees with the *Conventuales ap. Ducange*. A new etymology was attempted by Lloyd, (*On Church government, ch. 7.*) who thought, that the name ought to be written *Kyldee*, and then concludes, that it means a *house of cells*, in the same manner as in Welsh *mynachdee* is a monastery. But could he have found, that in the Irish language *Dee* is used for a house? Besides, the name originally began with *Ceile*, a name quite different from *cill* or *cille* a cell. Next, the whole name was applied not to houses but to men, whereas *Ceile-De* or *Ceile-Dae* is constantly understood of the persons called in Latin *Keledei* and corruptly *Colidei* or *Culdei*.

(16) It is true, that Giraldus, speaking (*Itiner. Cambriae, L. 2. c. 6.*) of those of the Island of Berdesey off the Welsh coast, calls them *monachi religiosissimi*; but he says this in a loose manner, and afterwards explains himself by observing, that they were called *Caelibes* or *Colidei*. This particular community of them appears to have consisted not only of clergymen but likewise of pious unmarried laymen, as also probably that of the *Island of the living* near Roscrea. (See *Chap. xxx. §§. 15.*)

(17) I should not have given this little sketch of the particular system of the Secular Canons, were it not for the purpose of enabling the reader to compare it with that of the so called *Culdees*. He will find much more on the subject in every even elementary treatise of Canon law, *ex. c. Fleury's Institution, &c. part 1. ch. 17.*

§. III. The first mention I have met with in Irish history of the particular institution or body of ecclesiastics, called *Culdees*, (which name, as being now generally adopted, I shall use) is in the account of a pillaging of Armagh in the year 921 by Godfrid, king of the Danes of Dublin, who is said to have spared the churches and the *Colidei*. (18) The Secular Canons had been generally established since the ninth century; and that the *Culdees* of Armagh

were a branch of their institution is sufficiently clear from the description given of the Culdees, who were still there until the 17th century. They officiated as secular clergymen in the cathedral, sang in the choir, lived in community, had a superior called *prior* of the Culdees, who acted as *praecentor*, or chief chanter, and who was elected by themselves, but confirmed by the Archbishop. (19) Surely this was in substance the exact system of the Secular Canons, except that our Culdees seem not to have acquired as many privileges or as much power as the Canons of the continent gradually did. There was a prior and college, or collegiate house, of Culdees also at Clones. (20) We find likewise in the island of Devenish (county of Fermanagh) a house of the same institution, which seems to have been founded in 1130, and was considered a community of secular priests. (21) There is a sentence of John Mey, archbishop of Armagh, passed in 1445, declaring that the office of a Culdee, Prior or not, should be looked upon as not implying care of souls, and that accordingly it does not prevent his holding along with it a benefice, to which such care is annexed, provided he continue to reside in the church of Armagh; and there is a brief of Pope Nicholas V. *A. D.* 1447, much to the same purpose in favour of the Prior of the college of secular priests called *Colidei* or Culdees of Armagh. (22) Yet, although the Irish Culdees were generally considered as clergymen, yet the name seems to have been sometimes given to communities comprizing also some pious unmarried laymen, inasmuch as they lived together; and such appear to have been those mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis. (23) For as to married Culdees there is not the least vestige of any such ever having been in Ireland.

(18) See *Chap.* xxii. §. 9. I wish Colgan had given us the Irish word, which he latinized by *Colidei*.

(19) Usher, *Prim. p.* 637. where he observes, that there were Colidei or Culdees in the principal churches of Ulster, and that they continued at Armagh and elsewhere until within his own memory. Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 17. and Harris, (*Antiq. cap.* 35.) who remarks, that those of Armagh were a corporate body and possessed of a considerable landed property.

(20) *Ib. Ib. Ib.*

(21) Ware, who mentions (*ib.*) the Culdees of Devenish, speaks of them also *cap.* 26 at *Fermanagh*, and calls them *secular priests*. I have already observed, that collegiate houses of Secular canons were annexed to minor churches, and, I may here add, often in small towns or places, as may be seen particularly in Italy.

(22) See Usher, *loc. cit.* In the decree of John Mey it is ordered, that the Prior of the Culdees is to have the precedency at table, *i. e.* in the refectory, and in executing and regulating the divine offices, as being *praecentor*, and that due reverence be paid to him by the other Culdees.

(23) See above *Not.* 16.

§. iv. There were Culdees also at York, who in the account given of their hospital of St. Leonard of that city (24) are called *Colidei* and clergymen of St. Peter's the cathedral. Whether that name was derived to them from Ireland or Scotland I am not able to tell, and it is immaterial to inquire. We find them there in the reign of Athelstan, king of England, who made them some grants in 936; and they continued at York for a long time after down to, at least, the times of Pope Adrian IV., who confirmed their possessions. But it is in the history of Scotland that the name *Culdees* most frequently occurs; for they had more establishments in that country than in Ireland, whereas the Irish, for the greatest part, adhered to their old system of having their cathedrals served by communities of monks in preference to the new ones of Secular Canons or Culdees. It is not my business to enter into a de-

tailed account of the Culdees of Scotland ; yet I may be allowed to touch on some points relative to them, merely to show how much their whole history has been misunderstood. And first this much is certain, that there is no mention of them in true Scottish history until after the year 800, (25) nor, I believe, for many years later, and that the name *Culdees* or *Keledei* first appeared at St. Andrews. (26) It is said, that Constantine the third, king of Scotland, who died in 943, spent the last five years of his life among the Culdees of that city. (27) Such Scotch Culdees, as were seated in episcopal sees, acquired the privilege of electing the bishop out of their own body, and seem to have held it for a considerable time. (28) This was precisely conformable to what the Secular Canons gradually attained in other countries, but which I do not find that the Irish Culdees ever enjoyed. It seems, that the see and Culdees of St. Andrews claimed, about the beginning of the 12th century, a preeminence over those of all Scotland ; for it is recorded, that while Turgot, who had been prior of Durham, was bishop of St. Andrews, *the whole right of the Culdees throughout the entire kingdom of Scotland passed to the bishoprick of St. Andrews.* (29) The obvious meaning of these words is, that, as the see of St. Andrews was then considered as the metropolitical one of Scotland, its bishop and chapter, or Culdees, insisted upon a precedence over those of all the kingdom, and that no bishop should be installed in that country without their consent. In an old document, written by a Culdee of St. Andrews, we read, that *in said city, where is the apostolic see (of St. Andrew), the archbishop of all Scotland ought to be ; and that without the counsel of the elders of that place no bishop ought to be ordained in Scotland.* (30)

(24) *Ap. Dugdale. Monast. Angl. Vol. 2. p. 367.* The hospi-

tal had been first called that of St. Peter; and the Colidei placed one of their own body over it.

(25) See Chalmers, *Caledonia*, Vol. 1. p. 434. This writer, who has treated of the Culdees much more fairly and rationally than many others, yet speaks of them as if they had been a sort of monks, who performed the functions of secular priests, and elsewhere represents them as derived from the old Irish monks, who formed the Cathedral chapters. It would have been more correct to say, that they were secular clergymen, who in some places were substituted to the monks. There is a story in a *MS.* account of the bishops of Dunkeld by Alexander Myln, and quoted by Sir James Dalrymple, Toland, and Jamieson (*Historical, &c.* p. 136.) of Culdees having been placed in Dunkeld about *A. D.* 729 by a king of the Picts at the instance of St. Adamnan. How could this have been, whereas Adamnan died in 704? Add, that Chalmers, who has deeply examined every document relative to the Scotch Culdees, maintains that they were not heard of until after 800. Others say, that there were no Culdees at Dunkeld until 815. (Jamieson, *ib.*) All mere guess-work.

(26) Chalmers, *ib.* This brings us down to, at least, the middle of the ninth century, whereas there were no Culdees at St. Andrews until it became an episcopal see, and it is acknowledged that it did not become such until after Kenneth, king of the British Scots, conquered the Picts in 843, and added their country to his kingdom. Chalmers says, (*ib.* p. 429.) that there is reason to believe, that the see of St. Andrew was founded during the rule of Grig, who ceased to reign in 893.

(27) Buchanan, *rex* 76. See also Usher, *Pr.* p. 659.

(28) Jamieson, quotes (*p.* 100, 101.) a passage from Martine, *Reliquiae*, in which we read; "Culdei episcopum e suo corpore eligendi potestatem in Scotia semper habebant, donec translatum fuit ab iis jus illud ad clerum, quod primum in electione Sancti Andreani episcopi Willielmi Wisharti abrogatum fuit anno 1271, aut eo circa." And Chalmers observes, (*Caledonia*, Vol. 1. p. 436.) that before the introduction of the Canons Regular at St. Andrews in 1140 the Culdees alone acted as Dean and Chapter in the election of the bishops, and that thenceforth both parties were joined in that right until 1272, when it was usurped by the Canons Re-

gular. He says also, that the culdees of Brechin continued for many ages to act as the Dean and Chapter of that diocese.

(29) The passage, as quoted by Usher (*p.* 1032.) from a chronicle of Durham, is as follows: "Anno ab Incornatione Domini MCVIII. tempore regis Malcolmi et sanctae Margaretae electus fuit Turgotus prior Dunelmensis in episcopum Sancti Andree, consecratusque est Eboraci 3 Kalend. Augusti, et stetit (sedit) per annos septem. *In diebus illis totum jus Keledeorum per totum regnum Scotiae transiit in episcopatum Sancti Andree.*" The latter part of this passage is quoted also by Selden. (See above *Not.* 5.)

(30) This document, otherwise fabulous enough, has been published by Usher, (*p.* 648. *seqq.*) and in it we find (*p.* 651.) the following passage: *Ex hac itaque civitate archiepiscopatus esse debet totius Scotiae, ubi apostolica sedes est; nec absque consilio seniorum istius loci ullus episcopus in Scotia debet ordinari.*"

§. v. There were several Culdee houses in Scotland besides those annexed to episcopal sees. (31) The Culdees, whatsoever place they belonged to, are in Scotch charters and documents often called Canons; (32) are spoken of as acting in that capacity; had priors; were required to live in community, and to observe *canonical* discipline according to the institution of their rule. (33) In fact, those of Scotland were to all intents and purposes Secular Canons, and continued to enjoy the privileges annexed to that description of clergymen, until they began to be disturbed in the early part of the 12th century by the Canons Regular of St. Augustin, in the same manner as the Secular Canons were at that period, and prior to it, in other countries, where they were ousted out of many cathedrals, &c. and Canons Regular substituted in their stead. Indeed a great part of them, both in Scotland and elsewhere, deserved to be set aside; for they violated some of the chief rules of their institution by ceasing to live in community, and taking to themselves

wives or concubines. (34) For these reasons many of the Scotch Culdees laid themselves open to proceedings against them during the reign of Alexander I., who brought Canons Regular from England and established them in several places in lieu of the Culdees. Thus he dismissed in the year 1115 the Culdees of Scone, and entrusted the church of that place to Canons Regular. (35) David I. his successor, although favourable to Canons Regular, yet treated the Culdees with mildness, and did not eject them, wherever they submitted to the reformation, which he introduced. (36) When he procured the establishment of a regular episcopal see at Dunkeld, he allowed the Culdees to continue to act as Dean and Chapter. (37) Several Culdee houses, in which the primitive rules were observed, remained in Scotland until much later times. Of their system I find a remarkable instance in the case of the Culdees of Monymusk, who had been placed under the bishop of St. Andrews by the same king David I. Disputes having arisen in course of time between them and the bishop, the matter was referred to Pope Innocent III., whose referees decided in the year 1212, that “the number of the Culdees of Monymusk should be fixed at twelve with a prior. They were to have one refectory, one dormitory, with a cemetery in the church of Monymusk. Their elections were to be made by choosing three of their own number, out of whom the bishop was to elect a superior. The Culdees were not to become Canons Regular without the consent of the bishop. They were restricted as to the holding or acquiring of lands. And the bishop promised for himself, and for his successors, that the Culdees should in future enjoy the privileges, which had been thus settled by the Pope’s referees.” (38)

(31) Chalmers mentions several of them *ib.* p. 438.

(32) Thus in a charter (*ap.* Jamieson, *App. No.* 12.) *Canonici,*

qui Keledei dicuntur. Elsewhere we find *Keledei, qui se canonicos gerunt.* In a deed (*ib.* No. 11.) Keledeis sive *Canonicis* (of Monymusk). Frequently called *Canonici* without the addition of *Keledei.* (See *ib.* Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.)

(33) Amidst all Jamieson's shufflings these points are quite clear from what he has himself *p.* 270. *seqq.* He throws out (*p.* 272.) some doubts about the propriety of calling secular clergy *Canons*, and refers to Ducange as if he made mention only of *Canons Regular.* But Ducange treats of both the *Secular and Regular Canons*; nor is there any one at all versed in ecclesiastical history or Canon law, that has not read and heard of *Secular Canons*, who were and are so called on account of their being secular clergymen subject to particular rules. But objections have been made also to the propriety of the title *Canons Regular, Canonici Regulares*, because it implies a tautology, as if we should say *Regular Regulars.*

(34) See Fleury, *Instit. au Droit, &c.* part 1. *ch.* 22.

(35) Chalmers, *Caledonia, Vol.* 1. *p.* 438, 439.

(36) See *ib.* *p.* 437, 438, for the Culdees of St. Servan, Portmoak, and Dunfermlin.

(37) *Ib.* *p.* 435. It is false, says Chalmers, that David expelled the Culdees from Dunkeld. This had been said by Alexander Myln, (of whom above *Not.* 25.) who talks of married Culdees of Dunkeld, and then tells us how David turned them out, and changed their monastery into a cathedral church, in which he placed a Bishop and Canons forming a secular college. Toland seized upon this, as if it proved that the Culdees were not Canons. But the fact is, that those very Canons, placed in the Cathedral, were Culdees; and, if any of them had wives before, they ceased to have them after the regulation made by David. The fictitious Culdees of old times were running in Myln's head; and his statement proves the very reverse of Toland's conclusion, whereas the Chapter of Dunkeld continued to consist of Culdees.

(38) *Ib.* *p.* 438. Yet, says Chalmers, did the bishop of St. Andrews, in opposition to a solemn promise, suppress those Culdees, and place Canons regular in their room. The original of this decision may be seen in Jamieson's *Appendix No.* 19. On the substance of the whole transaction he has in the body of the

work some quibbling unworthy of a man of learning and candour. Thus he says (*p.* 260.) that a complaint was made against the Culdees of Monymusk for their acting as Canons. This was not the case; for the complaint was, that said Culdees, *who* acted as Canons, and some others of the diocese of Aberdeen were endeavouring to establish at Monymusk, which belonged to the see of St Andrew, a house of *Canons Regular*, in opposition to the bishop, and to the prejudice of his church; “*Kildei quidam, qui se “ canonicos gerunt, et quidam alii Aberdonensis diocesis, infra “ villam de Monismuske pertinentem ad ipsum (episcopum), “ quamdam Canoniam Regularem eodem renitente contra justi- “ tiam construere non formidant in Ecclesiae suae prejudicium et “ gravamen.*” Jamieson shamefully confines the charge of erecting the *Regular canonry* to the persons of the diocese of Aberdeen. Fie! Why overlook *qui* in the text, *qui se canonicos gerunt!* Then he has (*p.* 261) some stuff about the ideas of the Culdees not conforming to the Papal ideas of a Canonry; and he tells us, (*p.* 262) that they were “non descripts, because not allowed to be called either monks or canons.” This is really intolerable. There was no prohibition against their being called *Canons*, that is, *Secular Canons*; and in fact they were frequently called so, as in a deed of Duncan, earl of Mar (*App. No.* 11.), “*Keledeis sive Canonicis ibidem (Monymusk) servientibus;*” in the confirmation of the same by John, bishop of Aberdeen, (*ib.* *No.* 12.) “*Canonicis, qui Keledei dicuntur;*” and in that by the king Alexander (*ib.* *No.* 13.) simply “*Canonicis de Monimusc.*” Many more instances might be added from that Appendix, if necessary. But the bishop of St. Andrews did not, for some reasons of his own, like that those Culdees or Canons of Monymusk should become *Canons Regular*. Did Mr. Jamieson not understand the terms of the documents, which he has published? Or is he so ignorant as not to know, that besides the *Canons Regular* there were long before them, and are still, people called *Secular Canons*? His shufflings and tervigersations are all directed to keep up the fable of the anti-Romanism of the Culdees, on which point he has deeply imbibed the spirit of Ledwich.

§. 6. This sentence was on the whole very favourable to the Culdees, and it proves, that neither In-

nocent III. nor his referees considered them as persons in a state of hostility or opposition to Rome. And in fact, whatever some ignorant and violent bigots may have thrown out, they were never in the times of their existence, whether in Scotland or elsewhere, supposed to be in such state. We have seen, that David I. a king much attached to Rome, was kind to them; and Edelred, a brother of his, abbot of Dunkeld and earl of Fife, made a grant of Ardmore to God and St. Servan and to the Culdees of Lochleven. (39) Prior to the reign of David, king Malcolm and his queen St. Margaret, who were not anti-Romanists, granted to the same Culdees a place called Ballecristin; and more than one bishop of St. Andrews, earlier than Turgot, made over to them churches, &c. as being holy men, and for obtaining the suffrages of their prayers (40) Accordingly they were neither anti-episcopalians, nor in opposition to Rome. A Culdee was made bishop of St. Andrews in 1272; for they continued there until that time and later, notwithstanding the efforts of the Canons Regular to turn them out and get exclusive possession of their places, in which they did not fully succeed until 1297. (41) In progress of time, as had happened in many other countries, the partiality for the system of the Canons Regular prevailed to such a degree, that the Culdees or Secular Canons lost many of their establishments in Scotland, which were granted to these new comers. The *Religio*, or religious order, was considered preferable to the Culdee institution, and from the first introduction of Canons Regular Alexander I. made grants to the church of St. Andrew for the purpose of establishing there some of them for the service of God. (42) I shall conclude this account of the Culdees with one or two observations on the unfounded assertion of some writers, that it was a general rule with them to denominate all their churches from the Holy Trinity. (43) In the first place this

is not true. The principal Culdee house of Scotland was that of St. Andrew's, and the Culdees had a church there called *of St. Mary*. (44) The church of these of Monymusk was also the name of St. Mary. (45) The Culdees of Lochleven had their church under that of St. Servan. (46) The Culdees of York belonged, as we have seen, to the church of St. Peter, and their hospital got the name of St. Leonard. (47) It is laughable to reflect, how the allegers of the anti-Romanism of the Culdees, in making that assertion as a proof of it, turn out to be disappointed, and how their argument operates against themselves. For the fact is, that the persons, with whom the system attributed to the Culdees prevailed, were downright Romanists. They were the Trinitarians, a branch of Canons Regular of St. Augustin, in whose Rule, approved of by Pope Innocent III., it is enjoined, that "*all the churches of said Order should be entitled in the name of the Holy Trinity.*" (48) As early as the 13th century, not long after the founding of this order, many Trinitarian houses were established in Scotland, and in some places these Canons Regular were substituted to the Culdees. (49) Hence it came to pass, that there were in that country so many churches called *of the Holy Trinity*. There might have been some there, as was the case in all Christian countries, bearing that title and even belonging to Culdees, before the introduction of the Trinitarians; but the truth is, that the system of giving exclusively that denomination to churches was observed by this Order alone.

(39) Jamieson's *Appendix*, No. 5.

(40) *Ib.* In the grant of the church of Sconyn by Tuadal, one of those bishops, the Culdees of Lochleven are mentioned as *viri religiosi*, to whom it was made *pro suffragiis orationum*. In that of the bishop Modach to God and St. Servan and said Culdees, they are marked as "*in scola virtutum ibidem degentibus*."

Jamieson has some silly exceptions scarcely worth noticing, for instance, that little regard was paid to saints in Scotland till the beginning of the 12th century. How then account for the legend (*ap. Usher, Pr. p. 648, seqq.*) concerning the reliques, veneration &c. of St. Andrew, whence the city of St. Andrews got its name long before that century?

(41) There was a decree as far back as the pontificate of Adrian IV. by which this Pope ordered that, according as the Culdees of St. Andrews died, Canons Regular should be placed in their situations. (Jamieson. *p. 281.*) These Canons having usurped the privilege of electing the bishop, the Culdees at length appealed in 1297 to Pope Boniface VIII. in support of their former rights, but lost their plea *non utendo jure suo*, because they had suffered two former elections to proceed without their interference. (*Ib. p. 289.*) This appeal shows, that the Culdees were not anti-Romanists. They used to be attacked and abused by the Canons Regular, as may be seen in *No. 7.* of Jamieson's *Appendix*, where after an account of the reliques of St Andrew, &c. it is said, that after the death of the holy men, who had brought said reliques, and of their disciples, religious worship was lost, the nation being barbarous and uncultivated. Yet, it adds, there were in St. Andrew's church, such as it then was, thirteen persons *per successionem carnalem*, who were called *Kelledei*, that is, not thirteen married successions of Culdees, as Toland explains these words, but thirteen Culdees who got their places by inheritance from their relatives. Whether the author meant inheritance from their fathers or from uncles, cousins, &c. cannot be determined. Then he states, that they lived more according to the traditions of men than the rules of the holy fathers, and that they still lived so. He says, that they used to celebrate their offices, and that, after they became Culdees, they were not allowed to have their wives in their houses, nor even any other women. This sort of an account of the old Culdees of St. Andrews was evidently drawn up by some English Canon Regular of that city, who strove to misrepresent them as far as he could. That the Culdees celebrated Mass and the Church offices like all other Secular Canons is beyond question; and in the catalogue of their library of

Lochleven (*Ib.* No. 6.) we find the *Pastorale*, *Missale*, *Graduale*, and *Lectionarium*.

(42) “ *Ecclesiam B. Andreae apostoli possessionibus et reditibus ampliavit—eo nimirum obtentu et conditione ut in ipsa ecclesia constitureretur Religio ad Deo deservendum.*” (*Ap.* Jamieson, p. 215.) These grants were not made to the Culdees in particular, as he seems to suppose, but to the church in general, that it might be enabled to support the *Religio* or religious community of Canons Regular. For this is the true meaning, although not understood by Jamieson, of *Religio* in that passage. His translation of the words marked in Italics is very strange; “that in the church itself a proper form of divine service should be constituted or set up.” What necessity would there have been for augmenting the revenues of the church if there were question only of introducing a proper form of divine service? For there were clergymen there already, *viz.* the Culdees; and if their form was incorrect, it might have been altered without any expense; or who, that understands Latin, could translate these words in the manner that he has done? But he seems to have wished to insinuate, that the Culdees had some form of worship peculiar to themselves, and which the king meant to set aside. For I cannot believe, that he was unacquainted with the sense, in which *Religio* so often occurs in his documents, that is, as meaning a religious order. And I find that referring (*p.* 216.) to Wyntown’s Cronykil, who, he says, speaks as if there had been no religion at St. Andrew’s before Alexander’s time, he confesses, that Wyntown seems to understand by *Relygyowne* a religious order. And so he certainly did. This acceptance of *Religio* for religious order, monastic life or institution, was quite common in the middle ages, and there is an instance of it even in Salvian, who lived in the 5th century. The abbot Suger says “(*Ep.* 163); Haec duo potissimum amplexatus sum, videlicet de *statuenda Religione* in B. Genovefae Parisiensis et nobili Compendiensi ecclesia.” This is exactly like the *in ipsa ecclesia constitureretur Religio* quoted by Jamieson. It occurs in this sense in the legends of founders of religious orders, as, *ex. c.* Bruno *Carthusianae Religionis institutor*; and Jamieson knew that there is a work of Augustinus Ticinensis referred to by Usher, (*Pr.* p. 659.) entitled *Christi-*

anarum religionum (sive, adds Usher, *ordinum religiosorum*) *Elucidarium*. Hence in Italian a religious order is usually called *Religione*; thus they say, *la Religione Domenicana*, &c. and *Religion*, has the same meaning in French, as in the phrase *habit de Religion*, from the Latin *habitus Religionis*, the religious habit or dress. Now it is a shame for Jamieson to have endeavoured to twist the word *Religio* from this acceptation in passages, where it could have no other. This he has done not only at p. 215, but likewise p. 251, 374, &c. And for what? To make his readers believe, that the Culdees professed a particular sort of religion, or summary of doctrine, different from a new one, which was introduced instead of it. This is a base trick unbecoming a writer of any sort of history. There was no question of religion, understood in a doctrinal sense, between the Culdees and others; whereas the whole business came merely to this point, that the *Religio* or religious order of the Canons Regular was established in various parts of Scotland, and that, being much favoured, they exerted themselves to obtain the situations and advantages, which had belonged to the Culdees or Secular Canons. In a similar strain Jamieson was not ashamed to copy (p. 358.) Ledwich's ridiculous and ignorant explanation of the "*antiquae religionis*" of Giraldus Cambrensis. (See *Not.* 118. to *Chap.* xxx.)

(43) Ledwich (*Agtiq.* &c. p. 414.) says, from Dalrymple, with triumph; "The Culdees never placed their churches under the invocation of the Virgin Mary, or any saint, but of the Holy Trinity." Jamieson has the same thing (*Historical*, &c. p. 207); and I am surprized that even Chalmers fell into this mistake, *Caledonia*, Vol. 1. p. 438.

(44) Jamieson, p. 282, *seqq.*

(45) Idem, *Appendix*, No. 11.

(46) Chalmers, *Caledonia*, Vol. 1. p. 436.

(47) See above §. 4. and *Not.* 24.

(48) The Trinitarian Rule may be seen in the *Monast. Angl.* Vol. 2. p. 380. *seqq.* One of its regulations is that now mentioned: "*Omnes ecclesiae istius Ordinis intitulentur nomine sanctae Trinitatis.*"

(49) Chalmers enumerates (*Caledonia*, Vol. 1.) several establishments of the Trinitarians, whom he calls *Red Friars*,

that is, Friars of the Redemption of captives. He mentions (*ib.* p. 691) such Trinitarian foundations at Failefurd, Peebles, and Dornoch; (*p.* 686.) those of Dunbar, Houston, and Scotland-well; and (*p.* 683) one in Aberdeen.

§ VII. To the year 1187 is assigned the death of a bishop of Ardagh, named O'Tirlenan, and successor of Christian O'Heotai, who died in 1179. (50) In these times, the bishop of Emly was Isaac O'Hamery, the successor of Charles O'Buacalla, and the bishop of Ross was one Benedict; (51) but the precise times of their deaths are not known. In 1188 died a bishop of Inniscathy, Aidus O'Beachain (52) In or about this year Alured le Palmer, a Dane, founded an hospital near Dublin to the west, where Thomas-street is now situated, and was himself the first prior of it. It was called the priory of St. John Baptist, and fell under the direction of the Cruciferi, a branch of the Canons Regular of St. Augustin. (53) At said year is mentioned a Cistercian establishment of Feal or Ne-feal on the borders of Limerick and Kerry, as a cell to the monastery of Nenay. (54) Martin O'Brolaigh, a professor of Armagh, who is called the most learned of the Irish, died in this year, (55) as did also a holy man, named Amlave O'Doigre, in the island of Hy, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage. (56) In said year John de Courcey, returning from an expedition in Connaught, was met by Conor Maenmoigi, the eldest son of Roderic O'Conor, and Donald O'Brian, king of North Munster, who attacked and defeated him with considerable loss; and the worthy Donald O'Loughlin, king of Tirone, was killed, fighting in battle at a place called *Cavanne-cran*, although he had gained a victory. He was honourably buried at Armagh. (57) The following year, 1189, is memorable for the death, on the 6th of July, of Henry II. who was succeeded by his son Richard I. surnamed *Coeur de lion*. He was

crowned in the church of Westminster on the 3d of September following, and, besides several other bishops, the coronation was attended by John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, Albin O'Mulloy, bishop of Ferns, and Concors, bishop of Enaghdone. (58) Richard having not long after gone to the Holy Land, such parts of Ireland, as were possessed by the English, remained under the dominion of his brother John, who was styled Lord of Ireland. In this year Conor Maenmoigi was killed by his own people, in consequence of which Roderic O'Conor again took possession of his kingdom. John de Courcey during an expedition of his through some parts of Ulster plundered Armagh; and in said year Murchard O'Carrol, king of Ergal, died in the abbey of Mellifont, where he was buried near the founder, Donogh O'Carrol; (59) and O'Hislenan, bishop of Ardagh, was killed, but by whom I do not find mentioned. (60)

(50) Ware, *Bishops at Ardagh*.

(51) See *ib.* at Emly and Ross.

(52) *AA. SS. p. 542.* and Harris, *Bishop at Limerick*.

(53) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26 at Dublin*, and *Annals at A. 1188*.

(54) Harris, *Monast. at Cistercians*. See also Ware, *Antiq. ib.* at Limerick.

(55) *Tr. Th. p. 310.* and Ware, *Annals, loc. cit.*

(56) *Tr. Th. p. 501:* (57) Ware, *Annals at A. 1188*.

(58) Ware, *ib.* at 1189. In all probability this Concors was the same as the Concors who was abbot of St. Brendan's of Clonfert in the year 1175, and who was one of the Ambassadors of Roderic O'Connor to Henry II. (See Chap. xxix. §. 9.)

(59) Ware, *ib.* (60) See Ware, *Bishops at Ardagh*.

§. VIII. In or about 1190 John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, having demolished an old parochial church in the South suburbs of the city, erected in its stead the church of St. Patrick, which he raised to the rank of a collegiate church, endowing

it and placing therein thirteen Canons or Prebendaries. (61) It was not until after his death that it became a cathedral, during the incumbency of his successor, Henry de Loundres. About the same time, as is said, he built and endowed the nunnery of Grace-Dieu, three miles north of Swords in the county of Dublin, for Regular canonesses of the order of St. Augustin, having removed thither the old nunnery of Lusk. (62) In the same year 1190, or, as some say, the preceding one, Cathal O'Conor, surnamed *Crobhdearg*, founded the Cistercian abbey of Knockmoy in the now county of Galway, six miles south-east of Tuam, in memory of a victory, which he had obtained there, and hence it was called *De colle victoriae*. (63) Gilla-Criost, or Christian, O'Macturan, bishop of Clogher, died in 1191, and was succeeded by Maeliosa, the son of Mac-Mael-Ciaran, and abbot of Mellifont. (64) In the same year died Murchertach or Maurice, archbishop of Cashel. (65) His successor was Matthew O'Heney, or O'Enny, a Cistercian monk, and a very wise and holy man. About this time, and most probably in 1192, died a bishop of Cloyne, named Matthew, who governed that see as far back as the year 1171, when Henry II. arrived in Ireland. (66) He was succeeded by Laurence O'Sullivan, who held the see until 1204 or 1205. Matthew O'Heney was appointed apostolic legate in 1192, and in said year convened a great synod in Dublin, which was well attended. (67) It is said, that in this synod he confirmed to John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, and his successors, all the donations, which John, Lord of Ireland, had made to his church, and the annexation of the see of Glendaloch. For it is stated, that John had in the year 1185 granted to John Cumin such annexation, when that see should become vacant. (68) Be this as it may, the union of Glendaloch with Dublin did not take place in 1192, nor, at the earliest, until about 1214 after

the death of William Piro, or Peryn, bishop of Glendaloch. (69) And even from that period until 1497 it was little more than nominal; for the Irish septa of that territory would not submit to the see of Dublin; and we find a continuation of bishops of Glendaloch, some of whom were appointed by Popes.

(61) Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1190. and *Bishops* at *John Cumin*. See also Harris, *Bishops*, p. 302.

(62) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Dublin*; Harris, *Monast.* at *Canonesses of the order of St. Augustin*; and Archdall at *Grace Dieu*.

(63) Ware, *ib.* at *Galway*, and *Annals* at *A.* 1190; Harris, *ib.* at *Cistercians*, and Archdall at *Abbey Knockmoy*.

(64) Ware and Harris *Bishops* at *Clogher*. They call Mac-Mael-Ciaran a bishop. If there be not some mistake, it must be supposed, that he embraced the ecclesiastical state after the death of his wife. They have not told us where he was bishop.

(65) Harris, at *Archbishops of Cashel*. There can be no doubt, but that, as Harris observes, Maurice was the same as the bishop Murchertach, whose death is marked at *A.* 1191. in the *Annals of Innisfallen*; and accordingly Ware was mistaken in confounding him with his successor Matthew O'Heney.

(66) Ware and Harris, *Bishops* at *Cloyne*. Harris remarks, that the *Annals of Innisfallen* assign the death of a bishop O'Mongagh to *A.* 1192. He thinks, and I believe with good reason, that O'Mongagh was the same as Matthew of Cloyne. If so, he must have been the Pope's legate in Ireland, and perhaps the immediate successor, as such, of St. Laurence O'Toole. For the said *Annals* state, that on his death the legatine authority was entrusted to O'Enny, that is, Matthew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel.

(67) *Annals of Innisfallen* at *A.* 1192. and Harris, *Archbishops of Cashel* at *Matthew O'Heney*. See also Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1192.

(68) Harris, *ib.* and at *Dublin, John Cumin*, from the Black book of Dublin. I much doubt the truth of these statements relative to the annexation of the see of Glendaloch. Ware, although

he makes mention (*Annals at A. 1192.*) of the synod held in Dublin by Matthew O'Heney, yet has nothing about that annexation. He quotes indeed (*Bishops at Henry de Londres*) the attestation in favour of the claim of the Archbishops of Dublin to the see of Glendaloch attributed, whether truly or not I shall not inquire, to Felix O'Ruadan, an archbishop of Tuam in the 13th century, in which it is said, that not only John but likewise his father Henry II. annexed Glendaloch to Dublin. Harris has (*p. 377.*) from the *Crede mihi* a passage of a grant ascribed to John, and dated *A. 1192*, by which the archbishop of Dublin should take possession of the bishopric of Glendaloch in case of its becoming vacant, and the bishop of Glendaloch for the future should be *chaplain and vicar to the archbishop of Dublin*. According to this strange sort of a deed there was to be still a bishop of Glendaloch, while the revenues of the see were to belong to the archbishops of Dublin. There is something very suspicious in these Dublin documents; but as a discussion concerning them would be relative to times, of which I do not mean to treat, I shall leave them as they are.

(69) Harris, *Bishops at Glendaloch, William Piro*. See also Ware at *Henry de Londres*.

(70) Ware, *Annals at A. 1497*, and Harris, *loc. cit.*

§. IX. A bishop of Ardfert, named Donald O'Conarchy, who was called bishop of Iar-Muan, or West Munster, died in 1193. (71) He was succeeded by David O'Duibditrib, who lived until 1207. In said year 1193 Africa, daughter of Godred, king Mann, and wife of John de Coursey, founded the Cistercian abbey of Our Lady of Leigh, or *De jugo Dei*, vulgarly called *Gray Abbey*, in the now county of Down and barony of Ardes, in which she was afterwards buried; (72) and Geoffry Fitz-Robert, senechal of Leinster, founded at Kells, in the now county of Kilkenny, the priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary for Canons Regular of St. Augustin, four of whom he procured from the priory of Bodmin in Cornwall. This establishment was confirmed by Felix O'Dullany, bishop of Ossory. To this priory

that of Tullales or Tullelash, in the county of Cork, and barony of Duhallow, founded by Matthew, son of Griffin, was afterwards annexed, (73) To this year some assign the death in, that is near, the abbey of Mellifont, of Dervorgill, the wife of Tiernan O'Ruarc, who had been long before carried away by Dermod Mac Murrough; and about the same time Gilbert de Nangle, an English or Norman adventurer, plundered the island of Inis-clothran in Lough-ree, where there was an ancient and celebrated monastery. (74) In or about 1194 died Eugene, bishop of Clonard, who a little before his death assumed the title of *bishop of Meath*, which his successors have since used. (75) Yet we have seen that a bishop Idunan called himself by that title as far back as the year 1096. (76) In the confirmation of two donations made to the monastery of St. Thomas near Dublin by Hugh de Lacy in 1183, Eugene styles himself bishop of Clonard. (77) Hence, and from the circumstance of Ethru O'Miadachain having been called bishop of Clonard, (78) it appears that the title, *bishop of Meath*, was not assumed after Idunan's time, until it was adopted by Eugene. This bishop is said to have appropriated the church of Skrine in Meath to the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary near Dublin. (79) He was succeeded by Simon Rochfort, an Englishman, and the first of his nation who presided over that see, and who deserved to govern it, as he was an excellent and attentive prelate. (80) He removed the see from Clonard to Newtown near Trim, where he founded in 1206 a convent of Augustin Canons, and raised its church to the rank of a cathedral under the title of St. Peter and St. Paul. (81) During his incumbency five of the old episcopal churches of the principality of Meath, *viz.* Trim, Kells, Slane, Skrine, and Dunshaughlin, were only heads of rural deaneries, governed by archpriests, in the diocese of Meath. (82) The sees of Duleek, Ardraccan, and

Fore, were also swallowed up in this diocese, but at what precise times I am not able to tell. Thus the diocese of Meath contains a greater number of ancient sees than any other in Ireland, and, since that of Clonmacnois was united to it in later times, has swelled to an extraordinary extent. To the same year 1194 is assigned the foundation, by an O'Dogherty, of a Cistercian house at Hilfothuir, in the now county of Donegal, which was afterwards united to that of Arrhoe, or De Samario. (83)

(71) Ware, *Bishops at Ardfert*.

(72) Ware, *Annals at A.* 1193. and *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Down*; and Archdall at *Gray Abbey*.

(73) Ware, *Antiq. ib.* at *Kilkenny*, and Archdall at *Kells* and *Tullelash*. Harris has (*Monast.*) the foundation of the priory of Kells in about 1183. This is a mistake; for, as Ware states, it occurred in the reign of Richard I. which began in 1190. (Compare with *Not* 121. to *Chap.* xxx.)

(74) Ware, *Annals at A.* 1193.

(75) Ware, *Bishops at Meath*.

(76) See *Chap.* xxiv. §. 5. and xxv. §. 6.

(77) Harris, *Bishops of Meath at Eugene*.

(78) See *Chap.* xxix. §. 6. (79) Harris, *ib.*

(80) Ware, *Bishops at Meath*. He says, that Simon Rochfort was consecrated about 1194; but Harris states in his additions, that it will appear from his *Antiquities* probable, that he was advanced to that see a considerable time before said year. If so, Eugene must have died much sooner than is supposed. I do not find in Harris' *Antiquities*, viz. those which he alludes to, any thing relative to these points.

(81) Ware and Harris, *ib.*

(82) This appears from Simon Rochfort's constitutions passed at Newtown in 1216 (*ap.* Wilkins, *Concilia, &c.* Vol. 1. p. 547.) in which, after a preamble stating, that it had been decreed in the council of Kells that, according as the *Chorepiscopi* and bishops of smaller sees should die, archpriests were to be placed in their stead to be appointed by the diocesans, and as presiding over rural deaneries, we read, that the churches of Trim, &c. which had

been bishops' sees, were then merely heads of such deaneries. Ledwich (*Antiq. &c. p. 394. seqq.*) calls Trim *Athunry*, because forsooth the original has *Athrumia* from the Irish *Ath-Truim*, the ford of Truim or Trim. This sapient Doctor has made a pretty hodge podge of the ancient sees of Meath. He found in Harris' *Bishops* (*p. 138.*) that there are twelve rural deaneries in the present diocese of Meath, and thence concluded, that they had all been sees of at least *chorepiscopi*. Some of them indeed had been so, and even of regular bishops; but where did he find a bishop or *chorepiscopus* of Ratoath, Mullingar, Ardnurchor, or Ballyloughort, places now reckoned among these deaneries? Is it because some old sees had been reduced to rural deaneries, that therefore every present deanery must have been a bishop's see? Now, on the contrary, some places, that were really sees, are not counted among these deaneries, such as, *ex. c.* Dunshaughlin and Ardbraccan. With equal good logic he has made out twelve or thirteen old sees for the diocese of Dublin (he should have added Glendaloch) as if every one of its now deaneries had been formerly honoured with a bishop or a *chorepiscopus*. Now among the places, which he reckons, there are but four of five at most, in which we find any sort of an episcopal see at any time, such as Lusk, Clondalkin, Tallaght, Swords, and Finglas. But who has ever heard of a bishop of Bray, Wicklow, Arklow, &c. &c.? Besides, Ledwich might have learned from Harris, (*ib. p. 299.*) whom he had before his eyes, that the number of deaneries has been changed in the dioceses of Dublin and Glendaloch. And, if he understood these subjects, or attended to correct reasoning, he would have seen, that the number and state of our ancient sees are not to be judged of from the present division of deaneries. Such an idea never occurred to Harris; but the Doctor did not care what he thrust into his farrago, whether right or wrong, provided he could swell the book. Amidst a heap of stuff it is droll to hear him preferring himself (*p. 402.*) to Ware, Harris, and Usher, who, he says, had not even a tolerable idea of our original episcopacy!

(83) Harris, *Monastic.* and Archdall at *Hilfothuir*. Ware has not this monastery.

§. x. In this year Donald O'Brian, king of North

Munster, granted to Briccius, bishop of Limerick, and his successors, and to the clergy of St. Mary's of Limerick, in free and perpetual alms, the lands of Mungram, or Mungret, and those of Ivamnach. (84) This was the last year of that good and brave prince, and he was succeeded by his son Donough Carbrach O'Brian. (85) Besides other monastic foundations, of which we have seen already, Donald established a house of Canons Regular at Clare, *alias* called *Kilmony*, under the little of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the now county of Clare; (86) and another, styled a priory, for said order, in Inis-negananagh (the island of Canons) in the Shannon, and comprized in the same county, besides a nunnery, under the name of St John the Baptist, for Augustin canonesses at Kil-Oen likewise in said county, and in the barony of Islands. (87) He is also said to have founded in 1194 the Cistercian abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Corcumroe, or *De petra fertili*, in that county, and barony of Burren, which, however, some attribute to his son Donough and mark at A. 1200. (88) In the city of Limerick he had formed, about the time of the arrival of the English, an establishment, under the name of St. Peter, for Black nuns of the order of St. Augustin. (89) About the same time he had erected a cathedral in Limerick, which was dedicated under the title of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and which he afterwards richly endowed, although there was one there before, called St. Munchin's. (90) Thus Donald added to his many foundations the erection of two cathedrals, *viz.* this one of Limerick, and that of Cashel. (91) He was also a great benefactor to the see of Killaloe, (92) where it is said that he was buried. His loss was severely felt by his subjects; for soon after his death the English got possession of Limerick and other parts of N. Munster, where they committed great cruelties, particularly on the family of Donald, one of whose sons Mur-

togh, they deprived of his sight by putting out his eyes, and another they massacred after having dragged him out of a sanctuary. But, while thus wreaking their vengeance against the memory of Donald, they were checked and forced to fly by Cathal Crobhdearg O'Conor, prince of Connaught; and Donald Mac-Carthy of Desmond drove them out of Limerick. (93)

(84) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Matthew O'Henev, Cashel*, and at *Briccius, Limerick*. The deed was witnessed by Matthew O'Henev, archbishop, &c. and Ruadri O'Gradei. (See Ware, *Antiq. cap. 29. at Limerick*.)

(85) Ware, *Annals at A. 1194*.

(86) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26. at Clare*. It is odd, that Donald's charter for this foundation is dated *A. 1195*, (see Archdall at *Clare*) although it is agreed, that he died in 1194. This must have happened in consequence of the witnesses not having assembled to sign it until 1195.

(87) Ware, *ib.* and Archdall at *Inis-negananagh and Kil-Oen*.

(88) Ware, *ib.* Harris, *Monast.* and Archdall at *Corcumroe*.

(89) Ware, *ib.* at *Limerick*.

(90) See Ware, *Antiq. cap. 29. at Limerick*, and Harris, *Bishops, p. 501*.

(91) See *Chap. xxix. §. 5*.

(92) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 29. at Killaloe*, and *Bishops of Killaloe at Constantine O'Brian*.

(93) See Ware, *Annals, at A. 1194, and 1195*. Leland, *Hist. of Ireland, Book 1. ch. 5.* and Ferrar, *History of Limerick part 1. ch. 2.*

§. XI. Maeliosa, who had been raised to the see of Clogher in 1191, held it for only about four years; for he died in 1195. He gave up to John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, and his successors, his claim to the church of All Saints near Dublin, reserving it, however, to himself during his life, to be held of the said archbishop and of the church of the Holy Trinity, or Christ-church. (94) He was succeeded

by Tigernach Mac-Gilla-Rowan, an Augustin Canon. In the same year died Florentine, bishop of Elphin, who was son of one Riagan of the family of Malruanaidh, which was descended from kings of Connaught. (95) He had been a Cistercian monk, and for some time abbot of Boyle. (96) His next successor seems to have been Ardgall O'Conor of the royal house of that name. The death of Nehemias, bishop of Kildare, may be assigned to this year; whereas he was promoted to that see in 1177, and is said to have governed it about eighteen years. (97) Who was his immediate successor I am not able to discover. Constantine O'Brian, bishop of Killaloe, who had assisted at the third council of Lateran, must have died before 1195, for in said year we find Dermod O'Coning bishop there, who was deprived of the see and driven out of it by Matthew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, the Pope's legate, for what reason is not recorded. Dermod died of grief in the same year, and was succeeded by Charles O'Heney, (probably the same as Cornelius or Conor O'Heney) in or about whose time the see of Roscrea was united to that of Killaloe, and the see of Iniscathy to that of Limerick, while its possessions were divided between the Sees of Limerick, Killaloe, and Ardfert. (98) The nunnery of Augustin canonesses of St. Brigid's of Odra or Odder in the now county of Meath, and barony of Skrine, had its possessions confirmed in this year by Pope Celestin III. (99) At the same time he confirmed also those of the nunnery of the same order of St. Mary's of Clonard, which had been endowed long before, probably by the O'Melaghlin's; (100) and likewise those of St. Mary's nunnery of the same order at Termon-Fechin in the now county of Louth. (101) To said year is assigned the death of one Donald O'Find, who is called *comorbu of Clonsfert-Brenain* or *Brendan*;

but it is uncertain, whether he was bishop or only abbot of Clonfert. (102)

(94) Ware, *Bishops at Clogher*. It appears, that said church and the priory annexed to it had been placed under the superintendence of one of Maeliosa's predecessors, Edan O'Killedy. (See *Chap. xxviii. §. 10*)

(95) *AA. SS. p. 158.*

(96) Ware, *Bishops of Elphin at Florence O'Mulrony*.

(97) See Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Kildare*.

(98) The same, *ib. at Killaloe*. Ware says, that Iniscathy was united, as well as Roscrea, to Killaloe; but Harris has corrected his text in the manner stated above.

(99) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26. at Meath*, and Archdall at *Odder*. Alemand and after him Archdall say, that this nunnery was founded by the Barnwall family. I am sure that Alemand had no authority for this assertion; for it is certain, that the Barnwalls were not settled in Meath until a very long time after that period. He was fond of complimenting distinguished Irish families with the honour of making them founders of religious houses merely on conjecture.

(100) Ware, *ib. and Archdall at Clonard*. See Celestin's Bull, dated 26 February, *A. 1195, in Monast. Angl. Vol. 2. p. 1043.*

(101) Ware, *ib. at Louth*, and Archdall at *Terfeckan*. If we are to believe Alemand, this nunnery had been founded by a M'Mahon. Ware does not say so, although Archdall in his careless manner refers to him for it.

(102) Ware, *Bishops at Clonfert*. The title *comorba* means, as I have often remarked, successor. But it is more probable, that St. Brendan was not a bishop, (see *Chap. x. §. 7.*) and accordingly, unless some particular reasons appear to the contrary, the denomination, *Comorba of Brendan*, indicates rather an abbot than a bishop.

§. XII. In 1196 died Maurice (Murchertach), bishop of Ross. He had succeeded Benedict, who was bishop there in 1172, and who seems to have died about 1190. (103) Maurice's immediate suc-

cessor was Daniel, a secular priest, who was consecrated at Rome about the year 1197 by the bishop of Albano, in virtue of an order of Celestin III, whom he had imposed upon by means of forged letters in the name of several Irish bishops, as if they attested his having been duly elected. In opposition to this fraud Florence a monk, and another monk, whose name is marked only by the initial letter E, went to Rome, where each of them alleged, that himself, not Daniel, was the person elected to the see of Ross, and Florence exposed the tricks and knavery of Daniel. On being thus informed, the Pope commissioned Matthew O'Heney of Cashel, his legate, and Charles O'Heney of Killaloe, to inquire into the pretensions of the various candidates, and directed them, in case of their finding Daniel canonically elected, to establish him in the possession of the see; but, if otherwise, then to examine the question between Florence and E. whichever of whom could prove the truth of his claim should be consecrated by the archbishop of Cashel. Those prelates, having received this commission, cited Daniel three times to appear before them; but he declined to do so, and accordingly was pronounced contumacious. They next inquired into the claims of Florence and E; upon which it appeared from the concurrent testimonies of the clergy and people of Ross, of the king of Cork (Desmond), and of the bishops of the province, that Florence had been canonically elected, and E not as much as put in election; and consequently they confirmed Florence in virtue of the apostolic authority. Meanwhile Celestine III. died, and was succeeded by Innocent III. (104) Daniel, availing himself of this circumstance, went again to Rome, and by means of certain false and roundabout statements, in which he implicated the king and bishop of Cork, and likewise Florence, deceived the new Pope as he had the former, insomuch that Innocent sent peremptory

orders, that Daniel should be put in possession of the see, and that the king of Cork should be admonished not to oppose him. Florence now found it necessary to repair to Rome, and laid before the Pope a true account of the proceedings of the prelates of Cashel and Killaloe on the commission before mentioned. The Pope, apprehensive of being circumvented by forged letters, as his predecessor had been, remanded Florence to the said prelates with a mandate to cite Daniel, if in Ireland, and to proceed canonically in the cause. But if he were not in Ireland that they should, allowing him a year, reckoned from the time of his departure for Rome, commit in the mean time the administration of the see of Ross to Florence, who, on Daniel's not returning, should be consecrated at the end of said year; and in case Daniel were in Ireland, and should refuse to appear on a citation within three months, that Florence should be consecrated without delay. The Pope set aside all power of appeal in this cause, lest the church of Ross, which had been vacant near three years, should continue longer without a pastor. (105) Florence, on his return to Ireland, was consecrated bishop of that see by the archbishop of Cashel, and thus the matter ended. (106)

(103) Ware, *ib.* at *Ross*. He says, that Benedict held the see for about 18 years after 1172.

(104) Celestin died on the 8th of January A. 1198, and on the same day Innocent was elected Pope.

(105) There is a full account of the whole transaction in a letter of Innocent III. to the archbishops of Armagh and Cashel and the bishop of Killaloe, (*ep.* 364. in Baluze's edition of his *Epistles*, *Lib.* 1.) dated at Perugia the 17th of September, probably of the year 1198, reckoning the almost three years, mentioned by him, from the death of Maurice in 1196. I have abridged this account; but whoever wishes to see more of it may consult Harris, *Bishops of Ross at Daniel*.

(106) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Ross*.

§. XIII. Reginald O'Flanua, bishop of Emly, died in 1197. He is supposed to have been in that see at the time of its cathedral being destroyed by fire, that is, as is said, in the year 1192. (107) I find no account of who was his immediate successor. In this year John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, was much harrassed by Hamo de Valoniis, *alias* de Valois, who being appointed Justiciary or deputy under John, earl of Morton, and finding the English government much distressed in Ireland, commenced his career with the invasion of ecclesiastical property. He seized on several lands belonging to the see of Dublin, notwithstanding the opposition of the archbishop, who, as all his efforts to resist oppression were fruitless, removed from the cathedral the books, chalices, images, &c. and got the crucifixes crowned with thorns and stretched prostrate on the ground. He excommunicated those, who had injured him and his church, laid an interdict on the diocese, and leaving Ireland repaired to king Richard and to the prince John, from neither of whom did he meet with any redress. (108) About the same time the see of Leighlin being vacant, John a Cistercian monk, and abbot of the monastery *De Rosea valle*, *alias* Monasterevan, was elected by the Chapter and confirmed by Matthew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, as apostolic legate, the archbishop of Dublin being then either in England or Normandy. But Hamo de Valoniis opposed the consecration of John, and took possession of the temporalities of the church of Leighlin and of the property of the Canons. In consequence of these violent proceedings Matthew O'Heney was loth to consecrate John, who accordingly went to Rome and was well received by Innocent III., who consecrated him himself, and gave him a letter directed to the Chapter, clergy, and people of the town and diocese of Leighlin, in which, after mentioning his having received letters from them, and

from the archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, and the bishops of Ossory and Kildare, and touching upon other circumstances connected with the election, &c. he tells them, that he has consecrated John, and that he now sends him back to his church, ordering them to obey him. (109) At the same time he wrote a very sharp letter to John, earl of Morton, in which he complains of the unjust and outrageous conduct of his deputy Hamo, and of John himself having detained the archbishop of Dublin in Normandy, and admonishes him not to prevent the bishop John, whom he himself had consecrated, from administering the see of Leighlin, and to take care that he be not molested by any other person. He desires him to make Hamo refund to the church and Canons of Leighlin what he had taken from them, and threatens him, in case of non-compliance, with disappointing him as to certain hopes of his, perhaps those, which John entertained of being declared king of Ireland. (110) These letters must have been written in 1198, the first year of Innocent's pontificate, being dated in September, (111) while John was only earl of Morton, and consequently prior to his having been crowned king of England on the 26th of May A. D. 1199. Meanwhile Hamo, having plundered not only the church, but likewise the laity, whereby he became very rich, was recalled in 1198, and Meiler Fitzhenry substituted in his place. (112) Some time after, in compensation for the injuries he had done to the see of Dublin, he made a grant of 20 plough-lands to the archbishop, John Cumin, and to his successors. (113)

(107) The same, *ib.* at *Emly*. Ware does not mark this fire at *A.* 1192, but Harris does.

(108) Hoveden at *A.* 1197, p. 773. *Ber. Angl. Scriptores*, Frankfort *A.* 1601. Ware, *Annals* at *A.* 1197, and Leland, *Hist. &c. B.* 1. ch. 5.

(109) This letter is No. 366 in Lib. 1. of the *Epistola e*, ed. by Baluze. It is dated from Perugia 21st September.

(110) This letter is No. 367, *ib.* dated 18th September.

(111) This is the month of the date also of the letter concerning the affair of Ross, and they are likewise addressed from Perugia, whereby is confirmed what I have observed (above *Not.* 105) as to that letter having been written in 1198.

(112) See Ware, *Annals* at A: 1198, and Leland, *B. 1. ch. 6.*

(113) Ware and Harris, *Bishops* at *John Cumin.*

§. XIV. Cornelius Mac-dermot, king or prince of Moylurg, who had taken the Cistercian habit in the abbey of Boyle, died there in 1197; and to the same year is assigned the death of Flahertach O'Maldory, prince of Tirconnel. (114) The following year is remarkable for the death of the last king of all Ireland, Roderic O'Conor, who departed this life in the monatory of Cong, where he had spent several of his last years. (115) After his death terrible dissensions and wars occurred between Cathal Crobhdearg O'Conor and Cathal Carrach O'Conor, each assuming the title of king of Connaught; but it is not my province to enter into a history of these bloody and unhappy contests. In said year 1198 a bishop of Raphoe, whose name is not known, resigned his see, and another was chosen in his stead; but this resignation was disapproved of by Innocent III. who in a letter to the archbishop of Armagh, dated from Rome May 18, says that as said resignation was irregular, he had already directed him to compel the bishop to resume his pastoral functions, in which case should he voluntarily resign the see into the hands of the archbishop, then the clergy of that church should bring the new bishop to election according to the canons, and the archbishop might confirm and consecrate him. (116) At this time Donogh O'Beoda was bishop of Killa-lala, at whose request the same Pope, by a decree of the 30th of March, same year, confirmed the anci-

cient possessions of his see. (117) In 1199 died Richard I. king of England, and was succeeded by his brother John, earl of Morton, styled *Lord of Ireland*. The Cistercian abbey of St. Mary of Comerer, *alias* Comber or Cumber, in the now county of Down, and barony of Castlereagh, was founded in this year by Brian Catha Dun, ancestor of the O'Neils of Clandeboys, who supplied it with monks from Alba Landa in Carmarthenshire. (118) At said year is marked the death of a holy man, Maurice O'Baodain, in the island of Hy, (119) of whose monastery he was apparently a member. Augustin, the bishop of Waterford, who had been nominated by Henry II. and had assisted at the Lateran council in 1179, must have died about these times; for we find that see in the possession of one Robert in the year 1200. (120)

(114) Ware, *Annals* at A. 1197. (115) Ware, *ib.* at A. 1198.

(116) This letter is No. 177, *Lib.* 1. of the above mentioned collection. Ware supposes, (*Bishops* at *Raphoe*) that it was written in 1198.

(117) Ware and Harris, *ib.* at *Killala*.

(118) Ware, *Annals* at A. 1199. and *Antiq. cap.* 26 at *Down*. Also Archdall at *Cumber*, who most strangely places Cumber three miles S. W. of Strangford, while on the contrary it lies many miles to the north of that town. Alemand in his conjectural and impertinent manner attributes the foundation of this abbey to the family of the Whites.

(119) *Tr. Th.* p. 501.

(120) Ware and Harris, *Bishops* at *Waterford*.

§. xv. To said year 1200 is assigned the foundation of two Cistercian monasteries by Donogh Carbrach O'Brian, the successor of Donald king of North Munster. One was that of Kilcoul or Kilcooley in the now county of Tipperary, and barony of Stewarda and Compsy. It was otherwise called the abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary *De arvi campo*,

and was a daughter of the monastery of Ieripont or Ierpoint, that is, it received its first monks from that establishment. (121) The other was the abbey of Corcumroe, if, however, it had not been already founded by his father Donald. (122) The Cistercian abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Tintern, or *De voto*, in the now county of Wexford, and barony of Shelburne, was founded in this year by William Mareschal the elder, earl of Pembroke, in consequence of a vow, which, when in great danger at sea, he had made of erecting a monastery in the place, where he might first arrive in safety. This happened to be near Bannow bay, where Tintern is situated. He endowed it, and supplied it with monks from Tintern in Monmouthshire, over whom John Torrel was placed as first abbot. (123) Another Cistercian monastery, likewise of the Blessed Virgin, was established in said year at Kilbeggan in Westmeath, and supplied with monks from Mellifont. It was called *De flumine Dei* by allusion, I suppose, to the river Brosna, near which that town is situated. (124) About the same time the magnificent monastery of Athassel, near the Suir, three miles from Cashel, was founded in honour of St. Edmund, king and martyr, by William Fitz-Adelm de Burgo, for Canons Regular of St. Augustin. The founder was buried there in 1204, as were in later times some of his posterity. (125) In or about the same year 1200 Theobald Walter, Butler of Ireland, founded and endowed a priory at Nenagh, likewise for Canons Regular, with an hospital annexed, where they were to attend the sick, that served God there. As it was dedicated in the name of St. John, it was commonly called *Teach-eon* or the house of John. (126) The priory of St. Mary of Tristernagh in Westmeath, barony of Moygoish, was established and endowed for persons of the same order about this time by Geoffry de Constantine. (127) To these times we might, according to one account,

assign the foundation of the priory of Aroasian Canons at Rathkeale in the now county of Limerick, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary; but it appears more probable, that it did not exist until after the year 1200, (128) In like manner the Cistercian abbey of Woney or Wetheny, *alias* Abington, in said county, which some have affixed to the latter end of the 12th century, was in all appearance not founded until 1205, the year prior to the death of its founder Theobald Fitz-Walter, Butler of Ireland, who was interred there in 1206. (129) Thus the house of Gilbertin Canons at Balimore, near Lough Seudy in Westmeath, has been assigned to the 12th century, although it was not founded until the year 1218. (130). The monastery of Kilkenny West, in the same county, for Cruciferi, likewise a branch of the Canons Regular of St. Augustin, which could not have been founded until some time in the 13th century, has been marked as belonging to the 12th (131).

(121) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Tipperary*. Harris, *Monast. at Cistercians*. Archdall at *Kilcooly*. In the *Monast. Angl.* (Vol. 2. p. 1029.) there is a deed of king Henry III. confirming the grant made to this abbey, there called *Kylleconil*, by Donald O'Brian. Instead of *Donald* must be read *Donogh*; for, as Ware observes, according to the book of the statutes of the Irish Cistercians it was founded in 1200, six years after Donald's death. He mentions the Register of Richmond, which brings it down to 1209. This would not prevent its having been founded by Donogh; but in all probability the true date is 1200.

(122) See above §. 10.

(123) Ware, *ib.* at *Wexford*, and *Annals* at *A.* 1200. See also Archdall at *Tintern*, and *Monast. Angl. Vol.* 2. p. 1032.

(124) Ware, *ib.* at *Westmeath*. Harris, *Monast. at Cistercians*, and Archdall at *Kilbeggan*. Alemand in his conjectural way attributes this foundation to the Daltons; but Ware, infinitely better authority, says nothing of the founder.

(125) See Ware, *ib.* at *Tipperary*, and Archdall at *Athassel*.

(126) Ware, *ib.*

(127) Ware, *ib.* at *Westmeath*, and Archdall at *Tristernagh*. The deed for this foundation, witnessed by Simon (Rochfort) bishop of Meath, may be seen in *Monastic. Angl. Vol. 2. p. 1046*.

(128) Harris (*Monast.*) marks it at about 1200; but neither Ware nor Archdall mentions the time of its foundation. It existed, however, in the latter part of the 13th century. Were we to believe Alemand, its founder was one Harvey.

(129) See Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26.* at *Limerick*, and Archdall at *Abington*. The charter of foundation and endowment is in *Monastic. Angl. Vol. 2. p. 1034*, marked about A. 1205.

(130) Ware (*ib.* at *Westmeath*) has this monastery, but does not mention the time of its foundation. Harris, who is often very loose in his dates, places it (*Monast. at Praemonstre Canons*) in the 12th century. Now, as Archdall observes (at *Ballimore*), it was not founded until 1218.

(131) Harris, *Monast. at Cruciferi*. Ware (*loc. cit.*) touches on this monastery without telling us when founded, or who was the founder. But Archdall (at *Kilkenny West*) shows, that it was founded by Thomas Dillon, a priest, and grandson of Sir Thomas Dillon. As Sir Thomas did not come to Ireland until 1185, and was then very young, it follows, that his grandson was not a priest, nor a founder of a religious house until many years after 1200. (See Lodge's *Peerage at Visct. Dillon.*) Alemand attributes this foundation to the Tyrrel family, and why? Because there were Tyrels in that country.

§. xvi. There were several other religious establishments formed about the end of the 12th century; but I do not find the precise years of their foundations. The priory of St. John Baptist near Kells, for the same order of Cruciferi, was founded by Walter de Lacy. (132) This order had a priory, called of St. Leonard, with an hospital annexed to it, near Dundalk, which had been founded towards the close of the reign of Henry II. by Bertram de Verdon, lord of that place. (133) Two Benedictine

priorities, one near Cork, and the other near Waterford, both under the name of St. John the Evangelist, were founded by prince John, while only earl of Morton, consequently in the 12th century, and made cells to the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul in Bath. (134). The Benedictine nunnery of Kilcreunata, *alias*, of the Castle wood, in the now county of Galway, was founded by Cathal Crobhdearg O'Connor about 1200. Afterwards were annexed to it the cells of Inchmean in Mayo and Ardarn in Roscommon. (135) St. Mary's nunnery of Grany, in the now county of Kildare, for Augustin canons was founded about the same time by Walter de Riddlesford; (136) and nearly at the same time Robert son of Richard, lord of Norragh, founded that of St. Mary of Timolin in said county (barony of Narragh and Rheban) for Augustin nuns, following the Arosian rule, in which he placed a daughter of his. (137) Another nunnery of Augustin canons is mentioned as having existed at this period in Killeigh, a once celebrated place in the now King's county (barony of Geashill). (138) The house of Canons Regular of Kilrush in the county of Kildare, three miles and a half west of old Kilcullen, a cell to the priory of Carthmel in Lancashire, was founded by William Mareschal earl of Pembroke, but whether in the late part of the 12th, or the early one of the 13th century, I am not able to determine. (139) A priory of the same order is said to have been founded near Naas by a baron of Naas in the 12th century. (140) Whether the similar priory of Selsker, called of Sts. Peter and Paul, near Wexford, of which the Roches were at least, patrons, existed in these times is uncertain. But if it be true, as some say, that it was founded by the Danes, it must have been long prior to the end of said century. (141) The military religious orders, which had no establishments in Ireland

until the arrival of the English, obtained many afterwards. We have already seen of that of Kilmainham by Strongbow. (142) At Clontarf there was a commandery, called of St. Comgall, for Knights Templars, since the reign of Henry II. (143) One for Knights Hospitalers was founded at Wexford under the names of St. John and St. Bridged by William Mareschal, earl of Pembroke; but whether before or after the commencement of the 13th century I cannot clearly discover. (144) Another for the same order was founded by Walter de Lacy during the reign of Richard I., consequently in the 12th century, at Kilmainham-beg near Nobber in the now county of Meath. (145) The one for the same order at the place now called Castle-buy in the Ardes, county of Down, could not have been founded until the 13th century; for its founder was Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, who was not until then distinguished by that title. (146) A commandery for Knights Templars was established by Matilda de Lacy at Kilsaran in the now county of Louth, barony of Ardee, and, although I think it could not have been so early, is said to have been founded in the 12th century. (147) There were three similar commanderies in the county of Waterford, Kilbarry within the Liberties of the city of Waterford, Killure two miles east of said city, and Crook in the barony of Gualtiere; the two former are assigned to the 12th century, and the last to the 13th. (148)

(132) Ware (*ib.* at *Meath*) does not mark the time. Harris (*loc. cit.*) has *Cent. 12.* Archdall (at *Kells*) following Alemand, poor authority, says that it was in the reign of Richard I. If this be true, it was founded in the 12th century.

(133) Ware, *ib.* at *Louth*, and Archdall at *Dundalk*.

(134) Ware, *ib.* at *Cork* and *Waterford*. Archdall (at *Waterford*) pretends, that John founded the priory there in 1185, because that was the year of his arrival in that city. This is an ill-founded conclusion.

(135) Ware, *ib.* at *Galway*, and Archdall at *Kilcreunata*. I do not find mentioned in what part of the county of Galway this place was situated; but it appears, that it was not far distant from the county of Roscommon.

(136) Ware, *ib.* at *Kildare*. Harris was mistaken (*Monast.*) in placing this nunnery in the county of Carlow, whereas Grany lies in the barony of Kilkea and Moon (co. Kildare) not far from Castle-Dermot. (See Archdall at *Grany*.)

(137) Ware, *ib.* Archdall (at *Timolin*) says, his grand-daughter Lecelina.

(138) Ware (*ib.* at *King's County*) does not state by whom this nunnery was founded, nor at what time whether before or after the arrival of the English. The conjectural Alemand tells us, that it was founded by the Warren family, and hence Harris assigned it to the 12th century. Archdall also (at *Killeigh*) follows Alemand, and in his careless manner refers to Ware, as if he had attributed its foundation to the Warrens. I suspect, that it existed long before the English settled in Ireland; for Killeigh was distinguished of old as a religious place.

(139) Ware (*ib.* at *Kildare*) does not mark the time of this foundation. Harris (*Monast.*) assigns it to the 12th century, and Archdall (at *Kilrushe*) to the beginning of the 13th.

(140) Harris, *ib.* and Archdall at *Naas*. Ware (*loc. cit.*) says nothing of the time.

(141) Neither Ware (*ib.* at *Wexford*) nor Archdall (at *Wexford*) marks the time of its foundation. Harris (*loc. cit.*) assigns it to the 12th century. This priory existed in 1240. See Ware (*Bishops of Ferns at Johannes de S. Johanne*) and Archdall *ib.*

(142) Chap. xxix. §. II. (143) Ware *ib.* at *Dublin*.

(144) Ware (*ib.* at *Wexford*) does not mention any particular time; nor does Archdall at *Wexford*. Harris (*loc. cit.*) in his general way has *Cent. 12*.

(145) Ware, *ib.* at *Meath*.

(146) Ware (*ib.* at *Down*) does not mark the time of this foundation, but attributes it to Hugh de Lacy, *earl of Ulster*. Yet Harris (*loc. cit.*) and Archdall (at *Castle-buy*) place it in the 12th century.

(147) Although Ware (*ib.* at *Louth*) makes no mention of the time, yet Harris (*loc. cit.*) and Archdall (at *Kilsaran*) have

Cent. 12. But the Matilda de Lacy meant by Ware was in all appearance the daughter of Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath, and could not have flourished until the 13th century. Her father died in 1234.

(148) Ware (*ib.* at *Waterford*) is silent as to the times and founders of these establishments. But Harris (*loc. cit.*) and Archdall (at said places) mark the centuries as above; and Archdall adds from Alemand, fine authority, that the one of Crook was founded by a baron of Curraghmore.

CHAP. XXXII.

Death of Thomas O'Conor archbishop of Armagh, and of several other bishops—Inquiry concerning the ancient sees of Ireland—and of ancient monasteries—The great monastery of Hy still kept up, and considered as an Irish establishment—Amalgad O'Fergal elected abbot of Hy by the clergy of the North of Ireland—Account of the early Monkish Orders in Ireland—Ancient Irish liturgies—The Cursus Scotorum—Ancient Irish Canons—Ecclesiastical architecture of the ancient Irish—Description of the ancient church of Kildare—Inquiry on the origin and uses of the ancient round towers.

SECT. I.

I DO not find the death of any Irish prelate marked at the year 1200; but several of them died not long after. Thomas O'Conor, archbishop of Armagh who has left a high reputation for piety and learning, departed this life in 1201, and was buried in the abbey of Mellifont. After his death a great contest took place with regard to the choice of his successor, the electors being divided in their votes

relative to the candidates, among whom were Ralph le Petit, archdeacon of Meath, and Humphrey de Tickhull. The king John espoused the party of Tickhull; but the Pope Innocent III. confirmed the appointment of Eugene Mac-Gillivider, which the king refused to agree to, insomuch that on Tickhull's death in 1203 he took part with Ralph le Petit. But his opposition was ineffectual; for the Pope's authority prevailed, and the king became reconciled to Eugene, who thenceforth governed the see peaceably until his death at Rome in 1216. (1) Catholicus or Cadla O'Dubhai, archbishop of Tuam, a highly respected prelate, after having held that see forty years, died at a very advanced age in the same year, 1201, in the monastery of Augustin Canons at Cong, and was succeeded by Felix O'Ruadan, a Cistercian monk. (2) In or about said year died Malachy, usually called the third, bishop of Down, whose successor was one Ralph, apparently a Scotchman; as did also John, bishop of Leighlin, who was succeeded by Herlewin, a Cistercian, as John himself had been. (3) Felix O'Dullany, bishop of Ossory, died in 1202, and was buried in the Cistercian church of Ieripont or Ierpoint, to which he had been a benefactor. It is said, that many miracles have been wrought at his tomb, which was at the north side of the high altar. (4) According to some writers it was he that removed the see of Ossory from Aghaboe to Kilkenny; but this is rather doubtful. (5) He was succeeded by Hugh Rufus, an Englishman, and Canon Regular of St. Augustin, who was prior of the house of Kells in the now county of Kilkenny. (6) Briccius, bishop of Limerick, was most probably dead in these times; for we find, that his successor Donogh or Donat O'Brian of the princely house of that name, a learned, liberal, and zealous prelate, died in 1207. (7) As from what is related of him it appears, that he held the see of Limerick for some years, we may fairly

conclude, that Briccius, who was living in 1194, (8) died about the end of the 12th century. Not to encroach further on the history of times, of which I do not mean to treat, I shall conclude this necrology with the death of the illustrious Matthew O'Heney, of which we read: "A. D. 1206. Mat-
 " thew, archbishop of Cashel, legate of all Ireland,
 " the wisest and most religious man of the natives
 " of that country, having founded many churches,
 " and triumphed over the old enemy of mankind
 " by working many miracles, voluntarily abandon-
 " ing all worldly pomp, happily went to rest in
 " the abbey of Holy Cross" (in the county of Tipperary). (9) He had written some tracts, among which was a Life of St. Cuthbert bishop of Lindisfarne, and was succeeded by Donogh or Donatus O'Lonargan, likewise a Cistercian monk. (10)

(1) Ware and Harris at *Archbishops of Armagh*. Harris seems to say, that Eugene was appointed by Papal provision, independently of any election. But it is evident, even from his own account of the matter, that there had been an election; and all that the Pope did was to confirm the choice made of Eugene as the most regular and best supported. Innocent III. was a strenuous abettor of canonical elections. John preferred the others, being Englishmen or Normans, to Eugene, who was an Irishman.

(2) Ware, *Archbishops of Tuam*. Harris adds, that Felix O'Ruadan was uncle to Roderic O'Conor, king of Connaught. I suspect, that this is a mistake; for he lived until 1238, and is not spoken of as having reached an extraordinary age, as must have been the case were he an uncle of Roderic.

(3) Ware, *Bishops at Down and Leighlin*. John was the bishop, of whom we have seen above, *Chap. xxxi. §. 13.*

(4) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Ossory*.

(5) See *Chap. xxix. §. 14.* and *ib. Not. 92.*

(6) Ware and Harris, *ib.* (7) *Ib.* at *Limerick*.

(8) See *Chap. xxxi. §. 10.*

(9) *Annals of Mary's abbey*, and Ware and Harris, *Archbishops of Cashel*.

(10) Ware and Harris, *ib.* and at *Writers*. Harris calls Donat O'Lonargan *the second* by allusion to the O'Lonargan, archbishop of Cashel, who assisted at the council at Kells, and who died in 1158. But that O'Lonargan's christian name was not *Donogh* or *Donat*. It was *Domnald*, alias *Donald* or *Donall*. (See *Chap.* xxvii. §. 14. and xxviii. §. 5.)

§. II. The number of distinct episcopal sees was at the close of the 12th century nearly the same as that, which is stated to have been established by the council at Kells, and of which I have already given a list. (11) But about that time, or the early part of the 13th century, three of the sees mentioned in it, *viz.* Kells, Roscrea, and Iniscatthy, were merged in or united to others. (12) On the other hand the see of Enaghdune (Annadown in the county of Galway), although not in that list, continued to exist, and did so more or less until after many contentions with the archbishops of Tuam it was at length, after a long lapse of time, united to that see. (13) In like manner the see of Dromore, which also is omitted in said list, either still existed, or was revived in an early part of the 13th century. (14) Whether the see of Kilmore, of which likewise there is no mention in that list, was established or not before the 13th century, I am not able to determine. The earliest bishop of that see, or, as its bishops were first called, of Triburna, their original residence, or Breffny, of whose existence there is no doubt, died as late as A. D. 1231. (15) Some of our ancient sees, which still were kept up in the early part of the 12th century, seem to have entirely disappeared before the end of it. Thus those of Cong and Ardarn, which existed at the time of the synod of Rath-Breasail in or about 1118, (16) ceased, probably prior to the holding of the council of Kells, the former being united to Tuam and the latter to Elphin. (17) In the proceedings of said council there is no mention made of them. As to

several other old sees or places, in which there had been occasionally bishops in old times, such as Trim, Drumclieff, Lusk, &c. &c. I do not meet with a succession of bishops in them during any part of the 12th century. Many of our ancient monasteries had by these times ceased to exist. Several of them had been destroyed by the Danes; others, which were plundered and burned, as we have seen many instances of, during the wars between the Irish themselves, or those between them and the Anglo-Normans, not being rebuilt dropped off. (18) But to such persons, as wished to embrace the religious or monastic state, sufficient opportunities were afforded by the many establishments for Canons Regular of St. Augustin, and the Cistercian monasteries, adding some Benedictine ones, that were formed during the 12th century, and of which I have made mention in their proper and respective places.

(11) See *Chap. xxvii. §. 15.*

(12) See *Chap. xxxi. §. 9 and 11.* These sees are reckoned as existing by Cencius in his *Census Camerales*. But it is to be observed, that Cencius completed that book in the year 1192, (Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L. 78. §. 1.*) at which time those junctions had not taken place.

(13) See Ware and Harris at *Archbishops of Tuam*. We have met above (*Chap. xxxi. §. 7.*) with a bishop of Enaghdone named Concors. Enaghdone is in a list of Irish sees, which Camden has (*col. 1329. Gibson's ed.*) from a Roman *Provinciale*, and which Bingham (*Origines, &c. B. ix. ch. 6. sect. 19.*) has copied from him. This list differs also in some other respects from that, which I have already given (*Chap. xxvii. §. 15.*) It omits Kells, and has a see under the archbishop of Tuam, called *De Cellaiaro*, which I know not what to make of, unless it was the same as Kill-air in the now county of Westmeath, where St. Aidus, son of Brec, had been bishop in the sixth century. (See *Chap. xii. §. 2.*) Kill-air, although not in the present province of Connaught, might have been subject to Tuam, in the same manner

as Clonmacnois was for some time. In the said list both Roscommon and Elphin are distinctly mentioned, while in the other we find Roscommon alone. Bingham has (*ib.*) another list, published by Carolus a S. Paulo, likewise from a Roman *Provinciale*, and which makes the suffragan sees of Ireland amount to fifty-three. But it is a hodgepodge half unintelligible, and scarcely worth consideration. It has, however, one point, which ought not to be passed over, *viz.* its calling the see of Down *alias* that of Dromore. Hence it is more probable, that Dromore, during the time of its not existing separately, was included rather in the diocese of Down, as I have conjectured elsewhere, (*Not.* 106. to *Chap.* xxvii.) than in that of Armagh, as some thought, *ap.* Ware (*Bishops at Dromore*).

(14) The same, *Bishops at Dromore*. (Compare with *Not. prec.*)

(15) *Ib.* at *Kilmore*. It has been seen, (*Chap.* x. §. 3) that that there is no proof of St. Fedlimid, the patron saint of Kilmore, having been a bishop, or, at least, of that see.

(16) See *Chap.* xxv. §. 13. 14.

(17) Harris (*Bishops at Elphin*) calls one Denis O'Mulkyran *bishop of Ardarn*, who, he says, died in 1224. If he be right, the name of the see of Ardarn would have been retained at that time, although, as he observes, it was then united with Elphin. But said Denis was not a bishop, being only archdeacon or erenach of Ardarn. (*Archdall at Ardarna.*) Such archdeacons used to be found in places, which had been once episcopal sees.

(18) It would be an endless and almost fruitless task to inquire into the particular times, at which so many of those old monasteries disappeared. The reader, on looking over Archdall's *Monasticon*, and noting the periods, at which the succession of their abbots ceased, will perceive that a great number of them had fallen off, some sooner, some later, before the beginning of the 13th century.

§ III. Yet a considerable number of the old monasteries, particularly the larger ones, still continued to exist, such as those of Armagh, Derry, Bangor, Maghbile or Merville in the county of Down, Devenish, Clogher, Clones, Louth, Clonfert, Inch-

macnerin, the isles of Arran, Cong, Mayo, Clonard, Kells, Lusk, Kildare, Trim, Clonmacnois, Killeigh, Glendaloch, Saigir, the island of All saints in Lough-ree, Roscommon, Ballysadare, Drumclieff, Aghaboe, Lothra or Lorra, Lismore, Molana, Cork, Iniscatthy, Innisfallen, (19) and several others. The great monastery of Hy was still kept up, and considered as an Irish establishment, of which we have a clear proof in a transaction that occurred in the year 1203. One Kellach erected a monastery in Hy in opposition to the elders of the place, upon which the clergy of the North of Ireland held a meeting, which was attended by Florence O'Kervallen, bishop of Tirone (Derry), Moeliosa O'Dorigh, bishop of Tirconnel (Raphoe) and abbot of the monastery of Saints Peter and Paul at Armagh, Amalgad O'Fergal, abbot of Derry, Anmir O'Cobhtaich, and many others. Afterwards they all went to Hy, demolished the monastery, which had been built by Kellach, and placed over the abbey the above mentioned Amalgad, who was unanimously elected abbot. (20) This election of Amalgad seems to show, that Kellach was abbot of Hy, and that he was deposed on this occasion. What was his object in erecting a new monastery I cannot ascertain. Perhaps his intention was to introduce a new order into the island, perhaps of Cistercians or Augustin Canons, for both of which there was a great predilection in Ireland; or it may be supposed, that his only view was to construct a new edifice for the Columbian monks more aplendid and commodious than the old monastery, and on a different site, which the monks objected to on account of their attachment to every thing connected with the memory of St. Columba. These monks, as well as the whole of the Columbian order, still adhered, as far as I can discover, to their old rule and system; but several other Irish monasteries seem to have adopted before or about these times the rule of the Canons Regular of St. Augustin. (21)

The transition was not difficult; for the old Irish rules did not, in substance, differ much from that of said Canons, inasmuch as they were not as strictly monastical as those of the Egyptian, Basilian, or Benedictine monks, and allowed, without particular dispensation, the union of the active service of the Church, such as practised by the secular clergy, with the observance of monastic regulations, which, although varying more or less, were, as I have often remarked, founded on the system, which St. Patrick had seen followed in Lerins and at Tours, and which he introduced into Ireland. (22) Now the characteristic feature of the Canons Regular, which distinguishes them from monks emphatically so called, is, that, although they make vows and are bound to observe certain laws similar to those of the monks, they are capable of practising the functions, which usually belong to the secular clergy.

(19) See Archdall at these places.

(20) *Tr. Th.* p. 501. Florence O'Kervallan, or O'Cherballen, is called by Ware bishop of Derry. His being here styled bishop of Tirone is owing to a considerable part of that territory having been in these times comprized in the diocese of Derry. This was not the case until after Muredach O'Cobhtaich became bishop of Derry in the place of Flathbert O'Brolcan. For before that time the title of *bishop of Tirone*, or *Kinel-Eogain*, used to be given to the bishop of Ardstraw. (See *Chap.* xxix. §. 5. and *Not.* 100. to *Chap* xxvii.) Anmir O'Cobhtaich, who attended the meeting, was a Columbian monk; for he was afterwards abbot of Derry. (*Tr. Th.* p. 505.)

(21) See Ware, *Opuscula S. Patr. &c.* p. 117.

(22) See *Chap.* iv. §. 9. 12. and vii. §. 15.

§. iv. Yet the system of the ancient Irish communities was much more severe than that of the Canons Regular, as is clear from the Rule of St. Columbanus, which was taken from those of the monasteries in Ireland, particularly that of Bangor, of

which that great saint had been a member. After the great law of loving God and our neighbour, the first thing required of a monk was implicit obedience to the orders of his superior without complaining or murmuring. Silence was strictly enjoined, except on necessary and useful occasions. Their fare was of a very simple kind, consisting of herbs, pulse, farinaceous substances mixed with water, and a small allowance of biscuit. Their meal was late in the day; but, although scanty, and such as to render every day a sort of a fast-day, it was sufficient for the necessities of nature without injuring the health or impairing the strength of the body, or preventing the monks from fulfilling their duties of praying, working, and reading. (23) They were not allowed to eat any thing before None (three o'clock in the afternoon) on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year, a regulation which was observed, and, according to some accounts, still oftener in all the Irish monasteries. (24) Independently of the great fast of Lent, which did not begin, at least as late as the tenth century, in Ireland until the Saturday previous to the first Sunday of that holy season, (25) the regular weekly fast-days, observed by the whole Irish church, were Wednesdays and Fridays, nor was the fast, or, as now practised, the abstinence on Saturday, which has been substituted for that of Wednesday, received in Ireland until a very long time after it had been established in other parts of the Western church. (26) The ancient Irish monks generally abstained, as far I can discover, at all times from flesh meat, but they were allowed to eat fish, (27) and even in Lent the use of eggs was not prohibited. (28) Yet some monasteries possessed sheep and cows, (29) the former chiefly for the sake of the wool, of which the monks made their garments, and the latter on account of the milk, which was much used by them, and allowed even on the days of the strictest fast. (30) They used, however, to treat

guests and strangers with flesh meat. (31) Their usual drink was milk or water; yet they occasionally drank beer and even wine. (32) The Irish monks were at the same time instructed, that the external observance of fasts and abstinence does not in itself constitute sanctity, and that it is not enough to chastise the body, unless the soul be cured of malice and iniquity. (33). In fact, the greatest part of the Rule of St. Columbanus is relative to the necessity of suppressing cupidity and even a wish for superfluities, and of a total contempt of the things of this world; (34) the strict obligation of shunning vanity and pride, of observing chastity not only externally but inwardly in the mind, and of adhering to the straight rule of all the Christian virtues, but with discretion and prudence; the constant spirit of mortification, humility, patience, and abandonment of self will.

(23) St. Columbanus has in his Rule (*cap. 3. De cibo et potu*): “Cibus sit vilis et vespertinus monachorum, satietatem fugiens et potus ebrietatem, ut et sustineat et non noceat. Olera, legumina, farinae aquis mixtae cum parvo *paximatio*, ne venter oneretur et mens suffocetur; et enim utilitati et usui tantum consulendum est aeterna desiderantibus praemia; ideo temperandus est ita usus sicut temperandus est labor; quia haec est vera discretio, ut possibilitas spiritualis profectus cum abstinentia carnem macerante retentetur. Si enim modum abstinentia excesserit, vitium non virtus erit; virtus enim multa sustinet bona et continet. Ergo quotidie jejunandum est, sicut quotidie reficiendum est; et dum quotidie edendum est, vilius et parcius corpori indulgendum est, quia ideo quotidie edendum est, quia quotidie proficiendum est, quotidie orandum est, quotidie laborandum, quotidieque est legendum.” The word, *paximatum*, has been explained by some as meaning bread baked under embers, but is more usually understood of biscuit, and often occurs in old documents. One of them weighed six ounces, and Cassian says, (*Collat. 19. cap. 4.*) that two of them used to be given to each monk every day. (See Duncange at *paximatum*.)

(24) In the *Poenitentialis* or second part of the Rule of St. Columbanus (see *Not.* 15 to *Chap.* XIII.) it is ordered that, if any monk eats before None on those days, unless he be sick or infirm, he must fast for two days on bread and water. “*Si quis ante horam nonam quarta sextaque feria manducat, nisi infirmus; duos dies in pane et aqua.*” St. Aidan brought this practice from Ireland to Northumberland, where, according to his example, it was followed, except in the Paschal time between Easter Sunday and Whitsuntide, by the religious men and women, as Bede thus informs us (*Eccl. Hist. L. 3. c. 5.*): “*Cujus (Aidani) exemplis informati, tempore illo, religiosi quique viri ac foeminae consuetudinem fecerunt per totum annum, excepta remissione quinquagesimae paschalis, quarta et sexta sabbati jejunium ad nonam usque horam protelare.*” Whether St. Columbanus excepted the paschal time I do not find mentioned; but it is probable that he did. Ratramn of Corbie, who lived in the 9th century, goes still further, and says in his fourth book against the Greeks, that all the monks and persons belonging to religious communities throughout Ireland used to fast *every day*, except Sundays and holidays, until None or even later. There he writes, as quoted by Usher (*Pr. p.* 731); “*Scotorum natio Hiberniam insulam inhabitans consuetudinem habet per monasteria monachorum seu canonicorum, vel quorumcunque religiosorum, omni tempore praeter Dominicam festosque dies jejunare, nec nisi vel ad nonam vel ad vesperam corpori cibum indulgere.*” We have seen (*Chap.* xxx. §. 6.) that even in the latter part of the 12th century the Irish clergy in general, a great part of whom were monks, observed the practice of fasting almost every day until late in the evening. Many pious persons, hermits, &c. used to live merely on water herbs, cresses, and water, which they took at the close of the day. In the sixth or metrical Life of St. Brigid we read, that she and her virgins were wont for some time to go in search of such fare;

“*Vespere flumineas quaerebant fontibus herbas,
Antiqui soliti queis vitam ducere sancti
Frigida cum crispis sumebant pocula et herbis.*”

Tr. Th. p. 593.

We meet with in some Lives of Irish saints accounts of extraor-

dinary fasting from any food for some days; but this excess was not authorized by the monastic rules, which required that, as the monks had daily duties to perform, they should eat every day.

(25) See *Not.* 105. to *Chap.* v.

(26) It has been said, that in this point the Irish followed the practice of the Greek church, whose weekly fast days are Wednesdays and Fridays, rather than that of the Roman. But the fact is, that the ancient Roman church had the same practice; and it does not appear, that the fast of Saturday was observed at Rome until some time, and apparently a late one, in the 4th century. It might seem that it was first introduced there by Pope Innocent I., (see the 6th lesson of the Roman Breviary at 28 July, and Platina at *Innocent* I.) whose pontificate began in 402 and ended in 417; but some writers undersand his approbation of it as confirming a practice already observed and not establishing a new one. (See Sandini, *Vitae Pontif. Roman.* at *Innocent* I.) St. Augustin, who was contemporary with that Pope, remarks, (*Ep.* 86. *ad Casulanum*) that in his time it was observed at Rome and in some Western churches, but that in others it was not. The first certain account we find of it is in the 26th canon of the council of Eliberis in Spain, held in the year 305. (See Bingham, *Origines &c.* B. xx. ch. 3. sect. 6.) I think he is mistaken in saying, that it was practised a little earlier at Rome. It was not received at Milan in the times of St. Ambrose, nor, I believe, for a considerable time after in the Gallican church, the discipline of which was brought to Ireland by St. Patrick. Wherever it was kept, this fast did not at first set aside that of Wednesday; but its observers had, instead of two, three fast days in the week. (Bingham, *ib.* B. xxi. ch. 3. sect. 6.) Wednesday was universally kept as a fast day in Ireland down to the times of Colgan. (See *Not.* 182. to *Chap.* xi.) From the long permanence of this fast, or at least abstinence, it has come to pass, that to this day there are numbers of persons in this country, who scrupulously abstain from flesh meat on every Wednesday in the year, Ware mentions, (*Opusc. S. Patr.* p. 99.) that some explain *Dia Cedain*, the Irish name for Wednesday, as signifying the first fasting day of the week. But O'Brien (*Irish Diction.* at *Dia*) gives a quite different etymology.

(27) The monks of Hy had a sort of sea-water pond, in which

were kept sea-calves or seals for the use of the monastery (see *Not.* 183 to *Chap.* xi); for that kind of fish used to be eaten in those times. Their taking of other sorts of fish is mentioned by Adamnan (*vit. S. Col. L. 2. cap.* 19). St. Gallus was employed at Bregentz in fishing for the use of the brethren and of others. (*Chap.* XIII. §. II.)

(28) The holy bishop Cedd, who had been educated at Lindisfarne by Aidan and Finan, while strictly observing a Lent fast, used every day, except on Sundays, to take in the evening only a little bread, one egg, and a small quantity of milk mixed with water. (*Bede, Eccl. Hist. L. 3. cap.* 23.)

(29) St. Columba had sheep in Hy. (See *Not.* 183. to *Chap.* xi.) He had also cows, (*Adamnan Vit. S. Col. L. 2. cap.* 16.) whereas milk was much used by his monks. The Irish Columbian monks of Northumberland possessed some cattle. (See *Chap.* xviii. §. 1. and *ib. Not.* 5.) St. Bridgid had sheep, cows, and even swine. (*Cogitosus, Vit. S. Brig. capp.* 8, 16, and 20.)

(30) See above *Not.* 28.

(31) We read in the Life of St. Molua, (concerning whom see *Chap.* xii. §. 7.) that, on his being visited by St. Moedoc, bishop of Ferns, he ordered a calf to be killed to serve as part of an entertainment for him. But he afterwards discovered, that St. Meodoc did not eat flesh meat. (*AA. SS. p.* 221.) It is related (*ib. p.* 421.) that, on the holy bishop Aedus, son of Brec, arriving at the monastery of Inis-Bofinde in Lough-ree, the abbot St. Rioch, not knowing that the bishop abstained from such meat, prepared a great supper of it for him. St. Brigid used to treat guests and strangers with bacon and other sorts of meat. (*Cogitosus, cap.* 4 and 15.)

(32) The great St. Finnian of Clonard did not scruple to take a cup of beer on festival days. (See *Chap.* x. §. 5.) It is said in the first Life of St. Kieran of Saigir, (*cap.* 33.) that at a dinner, with which he entertained Kieran of Clonmacnois and the two Brendans, the Lord provided them with a sufficiency of wine.

(33) See *Chap.* xvi. §. 8.

(34) In the 17th chapter of the synod called of St. Patrick, after its being stated, that monks are persons who live solitary, without earthly property, under the authority of a bishop or abbot, we find the following words; "Non sunt autem monachi, sed Vac-

troperiti, hoc est, contemptores solliciti ad vitam perfectam in aetate perfecta." The meaning of this passage seems to be, that monks ought to be like the *Vactroperiti*, who despised all worldly things. Ware confesses (*Opusc. S. Patr. p. 117.*) that he did not know, to what language *Vactro* belongs. Dr. Ledwich (*p. 423.*) very wisely pronounces, that it is latinized from the Irish *Vaigneas*, solitude. But, as Ducange observes, *Vactroperiti* is the same as *Bactroperatae*, a name given to certain philosophers from their carrying *bactron*, a staff, and *pera*, a sack or bag. St. Jerome says of them, (*ad. cap. 19 Matth.*) "*quod contemptores seculi, et omnia pro nihilo ducentes, cellarium suum vehebant.*" In the same chapter of the synod is added, "*quia in frigore et nuditate, in fame et siti, in vigiliis et jejuniis vocati sunt.*"

§. v. The Irish monks used to live by their own labour, (35) and accordingly certain times of the day were assigned for their respective manual occupations, except on Sundays and festivals, which were spent in celebrating the divine offices. (36) The intervals between those times of the day were occupied in reciting psalms, anthems, and prayers, or the canonical hours, according to the office prescribed for each day. Having read these parts of the office together, every one was bound to pray privately in his own cell. They assembled again in the beginning of the night and read the first Nocturn, consisting of a certain number of Psalms. The second Nocturn, which contained an equal number, was read at midnight; but about twice that number was read early in the morning. A much greater number was read on Saturday night, coming Sunday, than on any other. St. Columbanus established a distinction between the long and the short nights of the year, as he thought it too severe to make the monks recite as many Psalms in the short ones as in the long ones; and accordingly he directed that, when the nights began to grow long, the number of Psalms should be augmented, and so proportionally

until they reached their greatest length, and vice versa diminished according as the nights became shorter and shorter. (37) On the whole it appears, that our ancient monks used to read a much greater number of Psalms than is usually enjoined by the present discipline of the Catholic church; yet the canonical hours of the day, Prime, Tierce, Sexte, and None, were much the same as at present; for, independently of the annexed versicles and prayers, each of them consisted of only three Psalms. (38) Thus the monks were not overloaded with those long offices observed in some continental monasteries, and which scarcely allowed time for other occupations. (39) Consequently, although they were also bound to work more or less every day, except Sundays and holidays, they had leisure enough for study and for attending the instructions of the professors or lecturers, who, as we have seen innumerable instances of, were to be found in every Irish monastery. Time was allowed likewise for that most useful and laudable employment, which they were among the first to introduce into monasteries, *viz.* that of transcribing books, which was in itself a labour equivalent to any other, and in which many of them used to be engaged. (40)

(35) In the Life of St. Brendan of Clonfert it is laid down as a rule, that a monk ought to be fed and clothed by the labour of his own hands; “*Monachum oportet labore manuum suarum vesci et vestiri;*” and it is stated, that it was thus his 3000 monks maintained themselves. (See *Chap. x. §. 7.*) A similar rule is found in one of the visions of St. Fursey (See *Vit. S. Furs. L. 1. cap. 26*); “*Qui vero in monasteriis degunt, cum silentio operantes suum panem manducant.*” St. Moedoc, bishop of Ferns, used to join his monks in their agricultural labours. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 10.*) The monks, placed by St. Colman at Mayo, earned their bread with their own hands. (*Chap. xviii. §. 2.*) In a matter so clear I need not quote further instances.

(36) Columbkil, on occasion of the death of a Leinster bi-

shop, named Columbanus, gave orders, that the monks, who were preparing on a working day to set about their daily labours, should rest on that day, saying, that he intended to celebrate the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist. (See *Not.* 182 to *Chap.* XI.)

(37) Rule of St. Columbanus, *ch.* 7. He observes, that it was the practice of some to read the same number of psalms every night, whether long or short, and that between night and morning or matines they used to meet in choir four times; 1. at the beginning of night, 2. at midnight, 3. at the crowing of the cocks, 4. in the morning.

(38) See *ib.*

(39) See, for instance, what Fleury has (*Hist. Eccl. L.* 63. §. 60.) concerning the practices of Clugni.

(40) Columbkil set a glorious example for his followers with regard to this occupation. We find him a short time before his death copying part of the Psalter. (See *Chap.* XII. §. 14.) Adamnan makes mention (*L.* 2. *cap.* 9.) of a book of hymns and other books transcribed by him. If we are to believe O'Donnel, (*L.* 3. *cap.* 42.) he left 300 manuscripts of sacred books in his own handwriting. Baithen, one of his chief disciples and his immediate successor in Hy, having written a copy of the Psalter, brought it to the saint, telling him, that it was necessary to get it revised by one of the brethren. Columbkil answered; "Why do you give us this trouble? for there is no mistake in the whole of it, except that one vowel, *I*, is wanting." This shows, how careful they were in rendering their transcripts correct. There is a proof of the attention paid to correctness also in the request made by Dorbeneus relatively to the transcribing of Adamnan's *Life of Columbkil*. (See *Not.* 44. to *Chap.* XIX.) In a *Life of St. David of Wales*, published by Colgan, (at 1 *March*) and written, I believe, in Ireland, as in great part it is taken up with accounts of Irish friends or disciples of that saint, the practice of writing in the monastery is mentioned (*cap.* 12.) as a usual occupation, after the monks had returned from their rural labours, just as was that of reading or praying. How ungrateful are some modern petty foggers in literature to those good and indefatigable monks, who have preserved for us so many monuments of ancient learning, history, poetry, &c.!

§. VI. The discipline observed by our monks was exceedingly strict. Penances were enjoined for the slightest transgressions and omissions relative to morality, observance of the Rule, and decent behaviour. Those penances consisted in the infliction of blows or stripes, fasting on one biscuit and water for two or more days, and in reading an additional number of Psalms. (41) The monks were bound to remain in the community, to which they had been first attached; but the abbot could permit or command them to go elsewhere, if he thought it would tend to their greater proficiency, or to the good of religion. (42) I find in one of the Irish canons the age for making the monastic vow marked at 20 years; (43) but whether that age was generally considered as sufficient, or whether it was required in all our old monasteries, I am not able to determine. The Irish monks, as well as the clergy at large, were distinguished from the laity by the tonsure, of which enough has been said already; (44) but they had no particular habit or form of dress, except such as became grave, sedate, and humble persons. They wore a long tunic made of wool, over which they sometimes threw the cuculla or mantle of the same material. Notwithstanding the variety of monastic rules, that existed in Ireland, there was no difference as to the colour of their garments; for they left the wool in the natural colour which it had received from the sheep. (45) Accordingly some of them were clad in white, some in black; for, besides white sheep, there were also black ones in Ireland; (45*) but there was no obligation as to using any particular colour.

(41) See the *Poenitentialis* or Supplementary Rule of St. Columbanus *passim*. The practice of inflicting stripes prevailed also in some monasteries of the Continent, *ex. c.* at Clugni. (Fleury. *L.* 63. §. 60.)

(42) This is the plain meaning of the 21st chapter or canon of

the synod, called of St. Patrick, although the text is somewhat corrupt. Dr. Ledwich says, (*Antiquities, &c. p. 406.*) that in this canon are noticed the Sarabaites, a sort of independent monks, who lived as they pleased, two or three or a few more together, chiefly in cities and frequented places, under no Rule and without any superior, and whom St. Jerome represents as pests of the Church. (See Bingham, *Origines, &c. B. vii. ch. 2. sect. 4.*) But in the quoted canon there is not a word about them. Did the Doctor mean to state, that there were Sarabaites in Ireland? He refers also to the third canon of the synod of St. Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus. Now in this canon monks are not mentioned at all, the words of it being, "*Clericus vagus non sit in plebe,*" the intention of which was, that every clerk should be attached to a church. Among the Irish monks there were none such as the Sarabaites; and we have seen, (above *Not. 34.*) that they are, without exception, defined *persons living solitary &c. under the authority of a bishop or abbot.* And by the 34th canon of said synod any monk rambling about without permission of his abbot is ordered to be punished; "*Monachus inconsulto abbate vagulus debet vindicari.*"

(43) *A viginti annis debet unusquisque constringi non adtestando sed voto perficiendo, ut est illud, Unusquisque sicut proposuit corde suo faciat, et ut vota mea reddam in conspectu Domini, quia, &c. (Synod of St. Patrick, cap. 17.)* This does not mean, that persons under 20 years of age could not be received in the monasteries, and it was quite usual to instruct boys in them; but according to this regulation, although a young man might have an intention, and even declare it, to become a monk, he was not to be solemnly bound to the monastic state, until he had reached the age of twenty. And to this, it seems, is relative the distinction implied in the words *adtestando* and *perficiendo*. That was supposed to be a perfect age, *i. e.* an age, in which a person was able to judge, whether he could fulfil the duties of that state during the remainder of his life. Just before the words quoted above we read, "*in aetate perfecta, hoc est, a viginti annis,*" &c.

(44) See *Chup. xvii. §. 16.*

(45) Jocelin writes (*Vit. St. Patr. cap. 185.*): "*Super caetera indumenta (S. Patricius) cuculla candida amiciebatur, ut ipse habitus forma et colore monachus sui speciem, et candidatum hu-*

militatis et innocentiae repraesentare videretur. *Unde et monachi in Hibernia S. Patricii sequendo vestigia per multa temporum volumina habitu simplici contenti erant, quem ovium ministrabat lana, qualibet extrinseca tinctura remota.*" The wool, which he alluded to, was usually white. Thus Adamnan makes mention (*Vit. S. Col. L. 2. c. 44.*) of the white tunic, *candida tunica*, of St. Columba; and in the 2d Life of this saint we read (*cap. 6*) that he instructed in Hy *candidos monachorum greges*. St. Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, who, whether an Irishman or not, followed the Irish practices, used the common sort of dress, but so as that his was not remarkable either for nicety or dirt. And hence it became a rule of his monastery, that no one should wear clothes of a variegated or precious colour, and that the monks should be content chiefly with such as the natural wool of the sheep did furnish. (*Bede, Vit. S. Cuthb. cap. 16.*) Of the cuculla of St. Columba we have seen elsewhere (*Not. 175 to Chap. xi*). Some cucullas were long, some short. That which Jocelin says was worn by St. Patrick, appears to have been long, as covering his other garments; and, as the Irish monks followed his example, we may suppose that theirs were long also.

(45*) Giraldus Cambrensis says, (*Topogr. Hib. Dist. 3. cap. 10.*) that the Irish wore thin woollens, (*laneis enim tenuiter utuntur*) by which, as appears from what follows, he must have meant woollen mantles, and that these were generally black, because the sheep were black in Ireland. Dr. Ledwich, in a chapter on the Ancient Irish dress, full of mistakes and mis-statements, tells us, (*Antiq. p. 339.*) that their reason for using black clothing was, that such was the colour of their bogs, their constant retreats. Now this great antiquary had just before quoted the passage of Giraldus, to which I have referred; but he could not resist his passion for casting some slur on the Irish nation. Giraldus assigns as the cause of that part of their clothing being black, that their sheep were black; but the Doctor brings in the bogs. He might as well have said, that dark colours were preferred at Rome, "*Roma magis fuscis vestitur, Gallia rufis,*" (*Martial, Epig. 129. L. 14.*) because the Romans used to hide themselves in bogs. Where did he find, that they were the constant retreats of the Irish in ancient times? Was it in Borlase's account of the Irish rebellion, to which he refers, an author treating of the civil wars of Ireland in the 17th

century? What an antiquary! Black sheep could not have been as general in Ireland in Giraldus' time as he seems to say, whereas Jocelin, his contemporary, in mentioning the white wool of St. Patrick's cuculla, and his example being followed by the Irish monks in not dyeing the wool for their garments, (see *Not. prec.*) plainly alludes to white wool. Giraldus spoke of only such parts of Ireland as he was better acquainted with.

§. VII. As I have happened to touch upon the mode of dress, I must be here allowed to make a few remarks on the beastly assertion of Ledwich, (46) that not only the Irish laity but even their ecclesiastics of old times were in the habit of not wearing any other dress than a short sort of mantle, that covered the shoulders and reached only to the elbows, leaving the rest of the body absolutely naked. (47) This he founds on a vile mis-interpretation of a canon of the Irish church, by which it was ordered that, if any clerk from the ostiarius (or door-keeper) up to the priest be seen without a tunic, or do not cover the turpitude and nakedness of his belly, he be despised by the laity and separated from the Church. (48) But the object of the canon was, the clergy should not appear dressed in a fashion, which was very general with young and military men, particularly of the lower orders, who below their upper dress, reaching to the elbows or waist, wore a sort of pantaloons covering in one piece the thighs, legs, and feet, but so tight and fitted so close to the limbs as to discover every muscle and motion of the parts, which it covered. (49) Pantaloons of this kind were justly considered as an indecent article of dress, and particularly unbecoming ecclesiastics, on which account the impropriety of it was marked in the strong terms, which occur in the canon, representing it as tantamount to real nakedness. Accordingly it was enacted under the penalty of excommunication, that no clergyman should appear, or be seen by others, except habited, at

least, in a *tunica femoralis*, that is, a coat closed behind and before, which should reach, at least, to the knees, (50) This then is the sum total of what Ledwich has so shamefully misrepresented. (51) I may here observe, that in the canon there is no mention of bishops; for they always appeared in their full dress. The use of those pantaloons even by the laity was disapproved of; but, in spite of the exertions of the clergy and of others, it was retained by the lower orders until a late period. (52)

(46) *Antiq. &c. p. 332.*

(47) He charges the Anglo-Saxons with following the same practice, even down as late as the 12th century; and why? Because William of Malmesbury says, that the English wore clothes, which reached to the middle of the knees, and that their skins were punctured with ornamental figures. The latter part of this passage has nothing to do with the question; but surely, if their clothes reached to their knees, their dress was very different from that, which he attributes to them. Here he introduces one of his favourite nonsensical positions, *viz.* that the Irish were descended from the same stock with the Anglo-Saxons, than which nothing can be more false, unless our antiquary meant to go back as far as the times of Noah. The Irish were derived from a southern source, the Anglo-Saxons from a northern; their languages were essentially different, and so was their mythology; not to mention several other particularities, which it is not my province to inquire into.

(48) This canon is No. 6. of the synod, called of Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus, *ap. Ware, Opusc. S. Patr. p. 42.*) and is thus in the original; "*Quicumque clericus, ab ostiario usque ad sacerdotem, sine tunica visus fuerit, aut turpitudinem ventris et nuditatem non tegat—pariter a laicis contemnentur, et ab Ecclesia separantur.*" In Martene's edition of this canon (*Nov. Thes. Anecd. Tom. 4. col. 5.*) the words, *Patricius ait*, are prefixed to it, and instead of simply *tunica*, we find *tunica femorali*, as also, instead of *aut*, it has *quae*; and after *pariter* it has *condemnantur, et ab Ecclesia separabuntur*. But St. Patrick could not have been the author of this canon, whereas it contains

likewise an order for observing the Roman tonsure, an order, which could not have been made until, at the earliest, after the Southern Irish had received the Roman paschal computation and, what usually accompanied it, the Roman tonsure, which they did not prior to about *A. D.* 633. (See *Chap.* xv. §. 6.) Ware was mistaken in assigning this canon, whatever may be thought of the other canons of that synod, to St. Patrick and his companions; and hence he supposed, (*ib.* p. 124.) that the ancient author of the old catalogue of the three classes of Irish saints, (*ap. Usher, Pr.* p. 913, *seqq.*) of which I have elsewhere treated at large, was wrong in stating, that the two first classes used the old Irish tonsure. Now the fact is, that said author was right; and if St. Patrick had commanded the use of the Roman tonsure, the Irish clergy would never have adopted any other. Accordingly it follows, that the canon in question was passed some time in the 7th or 8th century. I say the 8th, because the *MSS.* whence D'Achery and Martene published their collections of Irish canons, were as old as that period.

(49) This sort of dress is described by Giraldus, who (*Topogr. Hib. Dist.* 3. *cap.* 10.) writes; “*Caputiis namque modicis assueti sunt et arctis, trans humeros deorsum, cubito tenus protensis, variisque colorum generibus panniculorumque plerumque consutis; sub quibus phalingis laneis quoque palliorum vice utuntur, seu braccis caligatis, seu caligis braccatis, et his plerumque colore fucatis.*” It is not my business to enter into a minute explanation of this passage, which is not as clear as Dr. Ledwich (*Antiq.* p. 339.) imagined. It would indeed be clear enough, were we to understand it as he does. For he introduces, besides the *capuche*, a jacket as placed between it and the *braccae* or *pantalons*. But Giraldus makes no mention of a jacket, unless it be supposed, that he comprized it under the name of *capuche*. And it is probable, that he did; whereas he places immediately beneath it either the *phalingae* or the *braccae*. But the Doctor, who understands by *phalingae* or *fallin* a jacket, makes him say, that the *braccae* were worn below the *fallin*. Now Giraldus has no such thing; and his plain meaning, as appears from the particle *seu*, is that below what he calls the *capuche* some wore the *fallin*, and others the *braccae*. The *fallin* was certainly not a jacket. According to O'Brien's and Shaw's dictionaries (at *Fallain*) it

was the Irish cloak or mantle, and this corresponds with Giraldus' observing, that they were used *palliorum vice*. Yet I allow, that the poorer Irish wore a jacket; (see Walker's *Histor. Essay on Irish dress*, pl. 1. fig. 2.) and it seems that the fallin, which some of them wore, was only a sort of a petticoat. (See *ib.* pl. 1. fig. 6.) Yet Walker is sometimes incorrect on these points; for instance, he translates (p. 28.) Giraldus' words, *phalingis laneis* &c. as if he had said, that the Irish, or some of them, wore the fallin, *besides large loose breeches or trowsers*. Instead of *besides* he should have written *or*; nor had he any right to bring in the words *large loose*, particularly as he himself had (p. 3.) spoken of the straight *bracca*, that was fitted exceedingly close to the limbs. *Trowsers*, or *trowses* as in Ware's *Antiquities* (ch. 11.) and in Harris's additions (ch. 23.) is a mis-translation of the *braccis caligatis* of Giraldus, whereas he meant the tight sort of covering used by many of the Irish, and not the wide one called *trowsers* or *trowses*. Lynch (*Cambr. Evers.* p. 122.) gives a very accurate description of it in these words; "Apud Hibernos *bracca* indumentum est continuum, non intercisum, succos, tibialia, et foeminalia complectens quo uno ductu quis pedibus, suris, et foemoribus induat. Nec enim *fluitans* erat (ut ait Tacitus) *sed strictum, et singulos artus exprimens*—Inguinem tegunt quidem *braccae*, ita tamen ut plane nudare videantur, nisi longiora tunicarum peniculamenta eidem obtenderentur." His using *nudare* comes to the same point as the *turpitudinem ventris et nuditatem* of the canon. By *longiora tunicarum peniculamenta* he means the fringes of the short tunic or jacket, that hang down from it over the *bracca*. The reader will form a clear idea of both the jacket and *bracca*, or pantaloons, by looking over the figures of O'More's (of Leix) soldiers in two drawings *ap.* Ledwich, *ib.* at p. 354.

(50) The *tunica foemoralis* must, as the very name shows, be carefully distinguished from the short tunic or jacket. Figures of persons wearing it may be seen *passim* in Walker's *Histor.* &c. *ex. c.* pl. 1. fig. 1. III. fig. 1. 2. 3. &c. Ledwich has, (pl. 20 at p. 282.) after Walker, from paintings in the abbey of Knockmoy, similar figures, in some of which it comes down to the knees, or even lower, and in others not quite so far.

(51) The practice of the Protestant bishops, who, when ap-

pearing in public in the short dress used in our times, wear a kind of apron, might have taught him to explain the words of the canon in a manner quite different from what he has done.

(52) Lynch says, (*loc cit.*) that the higher orders had ceased before his times to wear them, but that the plebeians could not be persuaded to drop the use of them, until at length some time before the war, that began in 1641, they, partly of their own accord, and partly through the exhortations of the priests, exchanged them for breeches. He thinks, that the reason, for which they had been so much attached to the use of those pantaloons, was, that no sort of covering was so convenient for their running with that innate swiftness of foot, for which they were so remarkable.

§. VIII. In the canon now treated of there is a clause, relative to the wives of clerks, from which it has been inferred, that even our priests were married, at least, at the time when said canon was made. After the order for not being seen without the long tunic, and that for using the Roman tonsure, (53) it is enjoined, that the clerk's wife shall not walk out without having her head veiled. (54) Now, as in the text of the canon the name *clerk* comprizes the various orders from the lowest, the *ostiarius*, up to the priests, it may be supposed, that by a *clerk's wife* may be understood one also of a priest. Yet this is not certain; for the name *priest* might have been inserted not inclusively, but exclusively, as if it were said, that all the members of the clerical orders lower than that of the priest should wear the tunic reaching, at least, to the knees. For it may be conjectured, that the priests were not chargeable with following the lay fashion above described, and that only some of the younger clerks, including even deacons, had adopted it. As a priest could not have been in those times under thirty years of age, and as a peculiar appearance of gravity was required from him, it is hard to think, that he would have appeared in such a dress. According to this suppo-

sition, the regulation relative to the wives of clerks did not extend to priests. I have not met with a single instance of a married priest in Ireland until the arrival of the Anglo-Normans and Welsh, among whom such priests were to be found. (55) Yet I allow that the words of the canon seem to favour the marriage of the Irish clergy, at least of the orders inferior to the priesthood, although they do not agree with other documents. The abbot Commian, who was an Irishman, and in all probability lived in the seventh century, has in his penitential (56) a canon condemning the marriage not only of a monk, but likewise of a clerk, after he had devoted himself to God, and sentencing the delinquent to a penance of ten years, three of which on bread and water, besides abstaining from the use of matrimony. (57) There may have been a variety of practices in Ireland relative to this matter, but some other arguments, besides the quoted passage of the sixth Irish canon, would be necessary to prove, that our priests were allowed to have wives. Perhaps it will be said that, although a priest was not permitted to marry after his ordination, he might have been allowed to retain a wife, whom he had before it, as now practised in the Greek church, and that thus this canon may be reconciled with that of Cumian, who mentions *after he had devoted himself to God*. But I find no reasons for admitting, that this practice was ever received in Ireland; where, on the contrary, it seems to have been condemned. (58) This much is certain, that not only in the times of Giraldus Cambrensis, but likewise as far back as those of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, there were no Irish married priests; for, if there were, he would undoubtedly have taken notice of a practice so contrary to the then general discipline of the Western church, as he did of other Irish customs, some of which were of much less importance.

(53) See above *Not.* 48.

(54) “*Et uxor ejus si non velato capite ambulaverit, pariter*” &c. Usher (*Discourse of the Religion, &c. ch. 5.*) take notice of these words, as indicating, that the Irish clergy were not prohibited from marrying. But he gives no other proof, except its being related, that St. Patrick was son of a deacon and grandson of a priest. This, however, does not prove, that the law of ecclesiastical celibacy did not exist in Ireland. He speaks of the clergy in general, but without the least allusion to bishops, as they are not mentioned in the canon. And, as already observed (*Not.* 75 to Chap. xxv.) he had changed his opinion with regard to them. As to what he says about the British clergy, it has nothing to do with the discipline of the Irish church. Toland (*Nazarenus, Letter 2. Sect. 2. §. 12.*) has followed Usher, adding what St. Bernard has about the eight so called archbishops of Armagh, who were married. But, as we have seen, those eight were merely nominal archbishops, as Toland well knew, who accordingly calls them *absolute laymen*. He talks also of the Culdees being married; but he tells us, (*ib. sect. 3.*) that said Culdees were commonly laymen. Whether they were or not, the Irish Colidei or Culdees were out of the question; and Toland observes, (*ib.*) that he confines his discourse to the Scotch Culdees alone, omitting those of Ireland. Yet Dr. Ledwich refers to Toland, as if he had said that the Irish Culdees were married; (see *Not.* II to *Chap.* xxxI.) and elsewhere he gives us with exaggeration the fable of the marriage of Celsus, archbishop of Armagh. (See *Not.* 75 to *Chap.* xxv.)

(55) See *Chap.* xxx. §. 6.

(56) Concerning this Penitential, or *De poenitentiarum mensura*, see *Chap.* xv. §. 8. and *ib. Not.* 55.

(57) This canon is in *cap.* 3. and in these words; “*Si clericus aut monachus, postquam se De voverit, ad secularem habitum iterum reversus fuerit, aut uxorem duxerit, decem annis poeniteat, tribus ex his in pane et aqua, et nunquam postea in conjugio copuletur. Quod si noluerit, sancta synodus vel sedes apostolica separavit eos a communione et convocationibus Catholicorum.*” (Compare with *Not.* 72. below.) By *clericus* Cummian must have understood only the clerks of the higher or holy orders, whereas those of the four minor ones, as they are now reckoned, were

not prohibited from returning to the world and taking wives, unless we are to suppose, that his rules and those of the Irish church were more severe than those of others. And in fact the words, *postquam Deo voverit*, seem to indicate, that he alluded only to the higher orders.

(58) If we are to judge of the discipline of the Irish church from the treatise of St. Columbanus entitled *Liber de poenitentiarum mensura taxanda*, (*ap. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 12. p. 21. seqq. A. 1677.*) which is different from the penitential for monks annexed to his Rule, (see above *Not. 24* and *41.*) clergymen, whose wives, which they had before their ordination, were still living, were bound to abstain from them after they had taken orders. His 20th canon is as follows; “*Si quis autem clericus, aut diaconus, vel alicujus gradus, qui laicus fuit in seculo cum filiis et filiabus, post conversionem suam iterum suam cognoverit clientelam, et filium iterum de ea genuerit, sciat se adulterium perpetrasse et non minus peccasse quam si ab fuventute sua clericus fuisset, et cum puella aliena peccasset, quia post votum suum peccavit, postquam se Domino consecravit, et votum suum irritum fecit; idcirco similiter septem annis in pane et aqua poeniteat.*” That by *clientelam* he meant a wife is evident from the whole context, and is confirmed by a parallel canon of the penitential annexed to a Missal found at Bobbio (of which hereafter) and much the same as the *Liber de poenitentiarum mensura*, &c. The 12th canon of this penitential has; “*Si quis clericus vel superior gradus, qui uxorem habuit, et post honorem iterum eam cognoverit, sciat se adulterium commisisse. Clericus quatuor, diaconus sex, sacerdos septem, episcopus duodecim, singuli in pane et aqua juxta ordinem suum.*” Mabillon observes (*Not.* on this canon) that by *clericus* perhaps is meant a subdeacon. The rules of this penitential were in all probability founded on the practices of the Irish church.

§. ix. It is very probable, that the Roman liturgy and offices were universally received in Ireland about the end of the 12th century, and there can be no doubt that they were observed in those parts, where the English power prevailed. Giraldus Cambrensis, amidst all his grumbling, does not charge the Irish with differing in this respect from the Eng-

lish or Romans. The exertions of Gillibert, bishop of Limerick, had paved the way for setting aside the old various Irish liturgies, &c.; (59) but St. Malachy's authority and influence contributed much more to the establishment of the Roman practices. (60) Add the seventh canon of the synod of Cashel, held in 1172, in which is an injunction to the same effect. (61) Although this synod was not attended by the prelates of Ulster, yet we may safely infer from their adherence to the principles of St. Malachy, that they approved of that injunction. The apostolic legates, of whom there was a constant succession in Ireland during that century, undoubtedly took care to introduce and enforce the practices of the Roman system. Of the old Irish liturgies and offices no copy is, as far as I know, to be found, except perhaps of the one, and that the most remarkable, which was called *Cursus Scotorum*, or the liturgy &c. of the old Scots or Irish; which was brought to Ireland by St. Patrick, and was the only one observed during the times of the first class of Irish saints, and consequently for above 100 years. (62) I have had occasion to allude to it more than once, and to remark, that after the introduction of new liturgies or masses it was still followed by St. Comgall in Ireland, and by St. Columbanus, in the continent. (63) It has been said, that it was originally the liturgy of St. Mark the Evangelist; that it was used by St. Gregory Nazianzen and other Greeks, afterwards received by Cassian, Honoratus first abbot of Lerins, St. Caesarius, bishop of Arles, and the abbot Porcarius, also by St. Lupus of Troies and St. German of Auxerre, the friends of St. Patrick, who received it from them; and that it was retained by St. Comgall, &c. (64) This *cursus* continued in force, at least with the followers of St. Columbanus, for many years after that saint's death in 615. (65) How long it might have been kept up in Ireland by the monks of St. Comgall's institution, I am not

able to discover. It must not be confounded with the liturgy usually called *Gallicana*. (66)

(59) See *Chap.* xxv. §. 10.

(60) See *Chap.* xxvi. §. 6 and 10, and xxvii. §. 5.

(61) See *Chap.* xxix. §. 3.

(62) See *Chap.* x. §. 4. It is called in the Catalogue of saints (*ap.* Usher, *Pr.* p. 913.) *una missa, una celebratio*.

(63) See *Chap.* 1. §. 5. x. §. 12. xiii. §. 14.

(64) Such is the account given in the tract on the Origin of Ecclesiastical offices, quoted by Usher, (*Pr.* p. 343, 840, and 917.) and published in Spelman's *Councils*, &c. (*Vol.* 1. p. 176, *seqq.*) and in Wilkins' (*Vol.* 4. p. 741, *seqq.*). Although written in a course style, and sometimes incorrect, owing perhaps to an unlearned transcriber, and containing various mistakes, some of which have been noticed by Usher, it is, however, worth copying. After giving an account of the *cursus* called the Gallican one, the origin of which he ascribes to St. John the Evangelist, and which, he says, was followed by St. Polycarp, and in the Gauls by St. Irenaeus, &c. the author continues; "Sed beatus Marcus evangelista, sicut refert Josephus et Eusebius in quarto libro, per totam Ægyptum vel Italiam taliter praedicaverunt, sicut unam ecclesiam, ut Omnis sanctus, vel Gloria in excelsis, vel oratione Dominica, et Amen universi tam viri quam foeminae decantarent. Tanta fuit sua praedicatio unita, et postea Evangelium ex ore Petri apostoli edidit. Beatus Hieronymus adfirmat ipsum cursum, qui dicitur praesente tempore Scotorum, beatus Marcus decantavit, et post ipsum Gregorius Nanzenenus, quem Hieronymus suum magistrum esse adfirmat. Et beatus Basilius, frater ipsius S. Gregorii, Antonius Paulus, Macarius, vel Joannes et Malchus secundum ordinem patrum decantaverunt. Inde postea beatissimus Cassianus, qui Livoronsi (*Linerensi*, or *Lirinensi*, Usher) monasterio beatum Honorium habuit comparem. Et post ipsum beatus Honoratus primus abbas, et S. Caesarius episcopus, qui fuit in Arelata, et beatus Porcarius abbas, qui in ipso monasterio fuit, ipsum cursum decantaverunt; qui beatum Lupum et beatum Germanum monachos in eorum monasterio habuerunt; et ipsi sub norman regulae ipsum cursum ibidem decantaverunt. Et postea in episcopatus cathedra (*episcopatu cathedram*) summi honoris, pro

reverentia sanctitatis eorum, sunt adepti; et postea in Britannii vel Scottiis praedicaverunt, quae Vita beati Germani episcopi Antioderensis et Vita beati Lupi adfirmat. Qui beatum Patricium spiritaliter litteras sacras docuerunt, atque enutrierunt, et ipsum episcopum pro eorum praedicatione (*per eorum praedicationem*, Usher) archiepiscopum in Scottiis ac Britannii posuerunt, qui vixit annos centum quinquaginta tres, et ipsum cursum ibidem decantavit. Et post ipsum beatus Wandilochus senex et beatus Gomogillus (*Comgallus*), qui habuerunt in eorum monasterio monachos circiter tria millia. Inde beatus Wandilochus in praedicationis ministerium abbato (*a beato*, Usher) Gomogillo missus est, et beatus Columbanus partibus Galliarum destinati sunt Luxogilum (*Luxeu*) monasterium; et ibidem ipsum cursum decantaverunt. Et inde postea percrebuit formam (*forma* or *fima*) sanctitatis eorum per universum orbem terrum; et multa coenobia, ex eorum doctrina, tam virorum quam puellarum sunt congregata. Et postea inde sumpsit exordium sub beato Columbano, quod ante beatus Marcus evangelista decantavit. Et si nos non creditis, inquire in Vita beati Columbani et beati Eustasi (*Eustasii*) abbatis, plenius, invenietis, et dicta beati Athletii (*Atthlati* Usher) abbatis Ebovensis (*Attala, abbot of Bobbio*).’

From this author’s being so particular in tracing the history of the *Cursus Scotorum*, i. e. of the Irish, while he treats very slightly of four other courses or liturgies mentioned by him, it appears very probable, that he was an Irishman, and perhaps one of those, that lived in the continent. But, it may be said, if he were, would he have told us, that St. Patrick lived 153 years? This I suspect to be an erratum of a copyist; and it is plain that in his text, as it now exists, there are several errata. I cannot find, who was the blessed Wandilochus mentioned by him, except that he appears to have been one of the first companions of St. Columbanus, who set out with him from Ireland. They were twelve in all; but their names are not regularly recorded. (See *Not. 5. to Chap. XIII.*) What said author has about that *cursus* having been originally that of St. Mark, or as Mabillon explains it, (*Disquisitio de Cursu Gallicano*, § 1 in his work *De Liturgia Gallicana*) an Alexandrian liturgy, is curious, although I would not pretend to say, that it is certain. There is a liturgy, called of St. Mark, which had been found in Calabria by Sirlet,

and was afterwards printed in Paris. But it is more than doubtful, whether St. Mark had any thing to do with it. (See Bona, *Rer. Liturgic. L. 1. cap. 8.*)

(65) It is plain, that it was used in the life-time of the author of the now quoted tract. Now he lived after the death of Eustasius and Attala, the former of whom succeeded St. Columbanus at Luxeu, and the latter at Bobbio.

(66) We have seen, (*Not. 64.*) that said author makes a distinction between them. We have another proof from its having been remarked, in opposition to St. Columbanus and his Rule, that the Mass, which he celebrated, differed in some points from that, which was usually observed in France in his times, that is, from the old Gallican liturgy, which was not set aside until long after in the reign of Charlemagne. Jonas relates (*Vit. S. Eustasii, cap. 5.*) that Agrestinus, an enemy of Columbanus' Rule, said, "*Columbanum etiam a caeterorum ecclesiasticorum more desciscere, et sacra Missarum solemniam multiplicatione orationum vel collectarum celebrare.*" It is indeed probable, that the Gallican liturgy, strictly so called, (of which see Mabillon *De Liturgia Gallicana*) was introduced into Ireland during the period of the second class of Irish saints. In a Mass celebrated by Columbkil the name of St. Martin was mentioned among the commemorations. (See *Not. 182. to Chap. xi.*) Now as Mabillon observes, (*ib. L. 1. cap. 5.*) his name was commemorated in the Gallican liturgy. Columbkil might have received his Mass from the Britons David, Gildas, and Docus; (see *Chap. x. §. 4.*) and it is said, that the Britons followed the Gallican liturgy. Yet St. Martin's name might have been also in the Mass, which St. German and Lupus delivered to St. Patrick, that is in the *Cursus Scotorum*. Usher (*Pr. p. 343.*) and after him Stillingfleet (*Antiquities of the British churches, ch. 4.*) were much mistaken in the confounding those two liturgies together; for the one, which was delivered by Cassian, German, Lupus &c. was not, as they say, the *Cursus Gallorum*, which was supposed to have been derived from St. John, but the *Cursus Scotorum* attributed to St. Mark.

§. x. There are good reasons for thinking, that the *Cursus Scotorum* is still extant, and that it is the same as the ancient Missal, which Mabillon found

in the monastery of Bobbio, and which, he says, was written about 1000 years before his time. (67) From its antiquity it is clear, that it must have been brought to Bobbio by St. Columbanus or some of his disciples; and hence arises a strong presumption, that it was the liturgy used by him. (68) The part of the Mass, called the *Canon*, is taken from that of the Roman liturgy, and agrees nearly with it as it is read at present; yet it has in the article, *Communicantes* after *Cosmae et Damiani*, the names of some other saints, among whom is St. Martin. (69) In this Missal there are few masses for saints. It has those for St. Stephen, the apostles James and John, the Cathedra S. Petri, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the Invention of the Holy Cross, the nativity of St. John the Baptist and his passion, Saints Peter and Paul, the king Sigismund, (70) St. Martin of Tours, and Michael the archangel. It has three Rogations before the Ascension, and two Masses for the dead, one in general, and another *Missa sacerdotis defuncti*. In it I find no Mass for any Irish saint, nor even mention of any one of them. This is the chief point, which may excite a doubt of its being the same as the *Cursus Scotorum*. Yet this difficulty can be easily removed by observing, that the respect paid by the Irish clergy to St. Patrick prevented them from adding any Mass to those contained in the Missal brought by him, and that they were loth to introduce their own saints into it. On the other hand this Missal is accompanied with a Penitential, (71) and what is exceedingly remarkable, one that agrees in very great part with that of St. Columbanus, called *Liber de poenitentiarum mensura taxanda*, (72) and in some points with the Penitential of Cumman. Accordingly the Penitential joined to the Missal may be supposed to have been intended for the use of the Irish church, and hence it becomes highly probable, that said Missal was also used by it. The antiquity of this Missal appears from the wording of the Creed, which we

find in it ; for, although it is the same in substance as the Roman Creed, commonly called the *Apostles' creed*, yet several words are different. (73) To show, that the copy found at Bobbio was written in Ireland or, at least, by an Irishman, it is asserted, that the characters or letters are exactly of the same kind as those of ancient *MSS.* recognized to have been written by Irishmen. (74) Add, that, as is usual in such old *MSS.*, certain vowels and consonants are frequently interchanged for each other according to a mode peculiar to the Irish ; (75) and that some eminent diplomatists think it probable, that St. Columbanus brought that Missal from his own country. (76) On the whole, although I do not pretend to decide on the matter, I cannot but think that said Missal was the one used by that saint himself, and that the only difference between it and the ancient *Cursus Scotorum* consists in his having added to it the Mass of St. Sigismund in compliance with the custom of the province of Besançon.

(67) He has published it in his *Museum Italicum*, Vol. 1. and, finding it different in various respects from the *Liturgia Gallicana*, and not well knowing what title to give it, has called it *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*. In a margin of the *MS.* is the name of Bertulfus, who in all appearance was the abbot of Bobbio of that name in the seventh century. He thought, that it was a particular Missal for the province of Becançon, in which was Luxeu, particularly as it contains a Mass for St. Sigismund, King of Burgundy. I have had already (Not 157 to Chap. XXI.) occasion to give a short account of this Missal ; but it is well worth some further observations.

(68) That it was is strenuously maintained by Doctor O'Connor (*Res. Hibern. Scriptor. Ep. Nuncup.* p. 130. *seqq.*). This did not occur to Mabillon, or at least he does not mention it. He says, that it was not for the use of Bobbio, as there is nothing in it about St. Columbanus or his disciples, or about monastic affairs. But surely it might have been a general Missal for the clergy both secular and regular ; and in such case there was no

necessity for specifying monastic matters, or introducing into it the name of St. Columbanus, &c. Besides, that copy was probably written before the death of St. Columbanus.

(69) In that Missal the Canon appears in only what is called the *Missa cottidiana* (quotidiana) *Romensis*, and hence it appears, that, it was the only one used throughout the year. After *Cosmae et Damiani*, the last names in the Roman article *Communicantes*, come *Hilarii, Martini, Ambrosii, Augustini, Gregorii, Hieronymi, Benedicti*. We have seen, (*Not. 66.*) that St. Martin's name was in the Mass celebrated by Columbkil; and hence why may we not be allowed to conjecture, that his Mass was the same as that of the Missal of Bobbio? But, it will be said, the name of St. Gregory (*i. e.* in all appearance, of Pope Gregory) could not have been in a Mass celebrated by Columbkil, who died before him. Yet this and other names might have been added after Columbkil's death; and in fact such additions were far from being uncommon in ancient Missals. (See Bona, *Rev. Lit. L. 2. cap. 12.*) I am sure that the last name in that Mass of Columkil was *Martini*; for it was upon its being mentioned that he stopped the choir. (*Nct. 182 to Chap. xi.*) On the whole it is improbable, that Columbkil's Missal was not different from that of Bobbio, without our supposing that he followed (as hinted in *Not. 66.*) the liturgy strictly called the Gallican. Were this as certain as it is probable, it would follow of course, that the Missal of Bobbio contains the *Cursus Scotorum*.

(70) If it was the *Cursus Scotorum*, this Mass might have been added to it by St. Columbanus when at Luxeu.

(71) Mabillon (*Pref. to the Missal of Bobbio*) remarks, that this is a very singular circumstance, and almost the only instance to be met with.

(72) This must not, as I have already observed, (above *Not. 58.*) be confounded with the Penitential annexed to the Rule of St. Columbanus. We have seen (*ib.*) an instance of two parallel canons of said Penitentials, differing merely as to the number of years marked for penance. Several more such canons will be found on comparing them, and drawn up nearly in the same words, but sometimes not agreeing with regard to the length of the penitential times. Mabillon was not aware of this concordance; for

he had not collated those penitentials. Ho found a trifling agreement of Canon 47 of that of the Missal with one of the other Penitential of Columbanus, that is, the one joined to the Rule, and two or three rather material parallelisms between it and the Penitential of Cummian, particularly that of Canon 28 of the Missal with one of *cap. 3.* of Cummian, which I have quoted above (*Not. 57.*), and between which and said Canon 28 the only difference is, that in the latter, instead of *Si clericus aut monachus*, we read simply *Si quis clericus*; and instead of *decem* and *tribus* we find *duodecim* and *sex*, whence it appears that the regulation by this canon was not severer than that of Cummian. But, if Mabillon had compared the Penitential, annexed to the Missal with St. Columbanus' tract *De poenitentiarum mensura &c.*, he would probably have been led at least to suspect, that said Missal was the one used by the saint himself, and consequently contained the *Cursus Scotorum*.

(73) It runs thus; "*Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem, creatorem caeli et terrae. Credo in Jesum Christum filium ejus unigenitum, sempiternum, conceptum de Spiritu S. natum ex Maria V. Passum sub Pontio Pilato. Crucifixum, mortuum, et sepultum. Descendit ad inferna. Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis. Ascendit ad caelos. Sedit (sedet) ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis. Inde venturus judicare,*" &c. The remainder exactly as in the Roman creed. I need scarcely tell the reader, that this Creed appears in said Missal at the *Traditio Symboli*, which used to take place on Palm Sunday, for the *Competentes*, but not as forming a part of the Mass; whereas the practice of repeating any Creed in the Mass was not observed in those times in any part of the Western church, except in Spain, where the reading of the Nicene Creed, or rather that of Constantinople, during divine service was introduced in the year 589; and which was imitated by the churches of France and Germany in the time of Charlemagne, but not received at Rome until *A. D. 1014.* (See Bona, *Rer. Liturg. L. 2. cap. 8.* and Bingham, *Origines &c. B. x. ch. 4. sect. 17.*)

(74) Dr. O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptor. Ep. Nuncup. p. 135* and 142.

(75) Dr. O'Conor observes (*ib. p. 136.*) that the vowels *e* and *i*, *o* and *u*, as likewise the consonants *b*, *p*, and *v*, are constantly

interchanged. He had remarked, (p. 134.) that *stillae* and *stilla*, appear in the Missal for *stellae* and *stella*, *Josep* for *Joseph*, *osanna* for *hosanna*, *exorcidio* for *exorcizo*. We have seen above *Not. 73 sedit* for *sedet*.

(76) Dr. O'Connor quotes from the great Benedictine work (*Nouveau Traité de Diplom. Paris, 1757*) the following passage concerning this Missal: " Elle tient peutetre de l'écriture Romaine, usitée dans les Isles Britanniques avant la conversion des Anglois. Dans cette écriture du VI on VII siècle l'e prend la place de l'oe et de l'i, et l'u celle de l'o. — Le savant Benedictin conjecture, que ce Sacramentaire (from Mabillon's *Sacramentarium, &c.*) y fut apporté de Luxeuil par St. Columban. On peut, avec autant de fondement, supposer, que ce Saint l'aura apporté de la Grande Bretagne en Franche Comté." Instead of *Grande Bretagne* they should have written *l'Irlande*; for surely they knew, that St. Columbanus was an Irishman, and went straight from Ireland to France.

§. 11. The Irish church had a very great number of canons peculiar to itself. Of those, which are said to have been enacted by St. Patrick, or by him and his fellow bishops, and many of which were undoubtedly of their formation, I have said something already. (77) They have been published from Spelman and elsewhere, and illustrated with learned notes by Sir James Ware. (78) After St. Patrick's times a multitude of canons was drawn up by various Irish synods, a vast number of which down to the eighth century is still extant; and out of large collections of them the learned Benedictine D'Achery has published very many of them, and others have been added by his confreres Martene and Durand. (79) I have often had occasion to refer to several of those canons; but it will not be amiss to give a general view of some of the more remarkable ones, following, as nearly as I can, the order, in which I find them as published by Ware, D'Achery, &c. In the synod, called of St. Patrick, there is a canon concerning excommunication, in which

the excommunicated person is ordered to be rejected from communion and from table, mass and peace. (80) This canon is illustrated by another of an Irish synod, which distinguished six modes of excommunication, some greater, some lesser. (81) There is a canon prohibiting the rebaptization of persons already baptized, no matter by whom. This was plainly intended against the abettors of Donatist principles; for it assigns as a reason, that the seed is not infected by the iniquity of the sower. (82) It is somewhat singular, that one of the solemn times, besides Easter and Pentecost, for celebrating baptism was in the Irish church the festival of the Epiphany. (83) There is a canon concerning the propriety of taking out the holy sacrifice on Easter night. It states, that it may be taken to the faithful, which, strictly speaking, is not a *taking out*, because they believe in and receive Christ under the one roof of faith. (84) There is a prohibition against a man marrying the widow of his brother, (85) to which was added another condemning not only a man, who should act in that manner, but likewise a woman, that married the brother of her deceased husband, and sentencing the parties to rejection from communion until death. (86) With regard to other matrimonial regulations, I need not repeat here some Irish canons already quoted. (87) It is remarkable, that the system of the jubilee, as established in the Old Testament, was observed to a certain degree in Ireland; but with what modifications it is difficult to determine, although there are various canons relative to it. (88) Some canons enjoin on the clergy not to bring any suits before infidel judges. (89) These must be very ancient, as are also some others, in which infidels are mentioned, such as that which prohibits alms offered by Gentiles to be received into the church. (90) Several canons are relative to the duties of princes, the respect and obedience due to them, and to not speaking ill of good

ones. (91) With regard to sending out of Ireland for decisions on difficult ecclesiastical matters, there is a canon ordering such questions to be referred to the Apostolic see. (92)

(77) *Chap. VIII. §. 3.*

(78) He has them among the *Opuscula S. Patricio adscripta*, and in the following order; 1. *Synodus S. Patricii* consisting of 31 *capitula* or canons. 2. Nine other canons attributed to St. Patrick. 3. *Synodus episcoporum*, id est, *Patricii, Auxilii, Isser-nini*, containing 34 canons. 4. Three canons ascribed to St. Patrick, besides two others not said to have been drawn up by him, one of which is expressly stated to have been made by an Irish synod. 5. Certain rules, called *Proverbs of St. Patrick*, chiefly for the direction of ecclesiastical judges. See also the *concilia M. B. &c.* of Spelman, *Vol. 1.* and of Wilkins, *Vol. 1.*

(79) The collection by D'Achery is in his *Spicilegium*, *Tom. 9. p. 1. seqq.* and in De la Barre's edition of it *Tom. 1. p. 492. seqq.* He says in the *Monitum*, that the Irish canons, that follow, were drawn up before the eighth century, and selected by him from a great and ancient *MS.* collection of canons, consisting of 65 books divided into several *capitula* or articles. Having observed that this collection is valuable, *utpote continuata serie locis S. Scripturae, conciliorum, et SS. Patrum scite admodum ac prudenter insertis alternata*, he apologizes for having omitted a considerable number of said canons; 1. because many similar canons may be found elsewhere; and 2. because he shunned the labour of correcting the manifold mistakes and solecisms, with which the *MS.* abounded, having been copied by an ignorant person unacquainted with Latin. Accordingly he picked out only the most remarkable canons, particularly such as were decreed in Irish synods. For it is to be recollected, that in said great collection there are several canons copied from those of foreign councils, besides some sentences or passages from Gildas and others. D'Achery followed two *MSS.* one of the monastery of Corbie, the other of that of St. Germain. He says, that the collection was made about the eighth century (in the margin *Anno circ. 790*) and quotes a passage from Abedoc, the original writer of it, who has in the end; "*Abedoc clericus ipse has collectiones conscripsi*

iacinosae conscriptionis, Haellucar abbate dispensante, quae de sanctis Scripturis, vel divinis fontibus hic in hoc codice glomeratae sunt; sive etiam decreta, quae sancti Patres et synodi in diversis gentibus vel linguis construxerunt. Afterwards Martene found a more correct copy of it in the Bigot Library at Rouen, which had belonged to the monastery of Tiscam, and thence inserted in the *Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum* (Tom 4. p. 1. seqq.) a large number of canons, which D'Achery had omitted. He mentions also the names of various synods, by which said canons had been made, such as *Synodus Fervensis, Consulensis, Valensis, Laudatae, Erenensis, Hibernensis, Ancoritana, Luci Victoriae, Sapientia, &c.* Some of these names do not indicate places; and such of them as do I confess I am not able to explain, excepting the *synodus Hibernensis*, which occurs several times likewise in D'Achery's collection, and which must mean not a single Irish synod, but divers ones called in general *Hibernensis*. Martene mentions also a synod of N. Britain, and gives *Excerpta de libris Romanorum et Francorum*, the *Canones Adomnani* (of which see Chap. XVIII. §. 14.) a *Libellus de Remediis peccatorum* chiefly from Theodore of Canterbury, besides canons from the book of David (of Wales) and some articles from Gildas. In both D'Achery's and Martene's collections there are some canons the same as in Ware's, although now and then with a slight variation of words. In the collection of canons, &c. called *Excerptiones* or *Excerpta* from the *Jus Sacerdotale* of Ecgbert, archbishop of York, who lived in the eighth century, by Hucarius *Levita*, that is, a deacon, there are also some Irish canons, and a *Synodus Hibernensis* is now and then quoted. This collection is in Wilkin's *Councils &c. Vol. 1. p. 101. seqq.* Hucarius was perhaps the same as Haellucar above mentioned, who was fond of collecting canons, and might have, when only a deacon, drawn up those *Excerptiones*, before he directed, when abbot, Abedoc in compiling the great collection in 65 books. It is not to be wondered at, that the Irish church had a great number of canons; for one of her ancient decrees lays down, that councils be held twice in the year; "Sancta synodus bis in anno decrevit habere concilia." (Ap. Usher, *Discourse on the Religion, &c. ch. 6.*) Perhaps by *Sancta synodus* was meant the council of Nice, which, as well as other councils, had established that rule as to provincial synods; but

from its being repeated in our canons we may suppose, that it was observed in Ireland.

(80) It is at *cap. 4.* in these words; *Audi Dominum dicentem : Si tibi non audierit, sit tibi velut gentilis et publicanus. Non maledices, sed repelles excommunicatum a communione et mensa, et missa, et pace. Et si haereticus est, post unam correptionem de-vita.*

(81) D'Achery has from *L. 39. cap. 1.* "Synodus Hibernensis sex modos dicit, a celebratione, a communicatione Missae, a cohabitatione, a benedictione, a colloquio pacifico, a commeatu." (Compare with *Not. 32. to Chap. XIII.*)

(82) This canon is in *cap. 7.* of the synod of St. Patrick; "Statuunt ne rebaptizati (sint) qui Symboli traditione (traditionem) a quocunque acceperunt, quia non inficit semen seminantis iniquitas." It mentions the delivery of the Creed as the usual preliminary to baptism. It is by no means relative to the question of the validity of baptism administered by lay persons, as Ledwich supposes, *Antiqu. &c. p. 423.* But enough has been said already (*Not. 101. to Chap. XXIV.*) concerning his unlearned effusions on this point.

(83) In *cap. 19.* of said synod we read; "Octavo die Catechumeni sunt; postea solemnitatibus Domini baptizantur, id est, Pascha, Pentecoste, et *Epiphania.*" Without entering into the Practice of some Eastern churches, and that, although disapproved of, followed in Spain and Sicily, it is known that Epiphany was a solemn time of baptism down to a rather late period in the African churches, as appears from Victor Uticensis referred to by Bingham; (*Origines, &c. B. XI. ch. 6. sect. 7.*) to whom I may add, that, as Tillemont relates, (*Mémoires, &c. Tom. XVI. p. 556.*) it was on the night of Epiphany *A. D. 484.* that St. Eugenius, bishop of Carthage, cured one Felix of blindness at the time of blessing the baptismal font for those that were to be baptized. It is not improbable, that the Irish founded their practice on some African canons.

(84) It is in *cap. 13.* of the said synod, and entitled *De Sacrificio*; "In nocte Paschae si fas est ferre foras. *Non foras fertur, sed fidelibus deferatur. Quid aliud significat quod in una domo sumitur agnus, quam sub uno fidei culmine creditur et communicatur Christus ?*"

(85) It is in *cap. 25.* of the same synod, and has been quoted above *Not. 51.* to *Chap. xxvi.*

(86) This canon is among what are called *Judicia Compendia* *ap. Martene (loc. cit. col. 19.)* and is thus expressed; “Vir si nupserit duabus sororibus, vel mulier duobus fratribus, abjiciantur a communione usque ad mortem; verum tamen in exitu vitæ propter misericordiam, si in columes permiserint hujus conjunctionis vincula dissolvere, poenitentiam sequantur. Quod si defecerint, in talibus nuptiis difficilis est poenitentia permanentibus.”

(87) See, for instance, *Notes 96 and 97.* to *Chap. xxiv.*

(88) One of them is in *cap. 30.* of the Synod of St. Patrick in these words; “Nunquam vetitus (vetitum) licet, verum observandæ sunt leges Jubilæi, hoc est, quinquaginta anni, ut non adfirmantur incerta veterato temporis.” Ware has another (*Opuse. S. Patr. p. 118.*) from an Irish synod, entitled *De his quæ non eludit Jubilæus*, which enters into distinctions concerning the sorts of property comprized or not under the law of the Jubilee. D’Achery has from *Lib. 35.* some canons relative to it, one of which (*cap. 8.*) is thus headed; “De eo quod observandæ sunt leges Jubilæi etiam in novo” (Testamento). This system must have been introduced and kept up with the concurrence and approbation of the civil power, as indeed is plain from the very terms of some of those canons. It seems to have originated in the mode of tenure, by which the Irish tribes and septs held their lands.

(89) The first of the nine canons attributed to St. Patrick (see above *Not. 78.*) is entitled “De judicio clericorum, ut non sit apud iniquos, aut apud infideles;” then it has, “Omnis mundialis sapiens, si (etsi) sapiens sit, non judicet judicia Ecclesiæ.” Ware (*loc. cit. p. 119.*) quotes another to the same purpose; “Clericus, qui causam suam, sive justam sive injustam, ad judicium alterius fidei judicis provocat, excommunicetur.”

(90) *Can. 13.* of the synod of Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserinus.

(91) See the 2d and 3d of the nine canons above mentioned, and the rules about princes *ap. D’Achery* from *Lib. 24.* (in which passages are quoted, in the name of St. Patrick as the author, from *De abusioibus seculi*) and from *Lib. 36,* some of which, however, relate to ecclesiastical chiefs.

(92) It is the 6th of the nine canons *ap. Ware*, and in *L. 20. cap. 5. ap. Dachery*, premised by the words, *Patricius ait.* Having quoted it and made some remarks on it already, (*Not. 35. to Chap. xv.*) I need not repeat it here.

§. 12. The marriage of a nun was considered as adultery, and punished by excommunication. But, should she repent, and quit that state, she was to do penance, and not to live near the man, whom she had married. (93) There is a caution given not to break ecclesiastical unity, which is recommended by the example of the first believers. (94) Next after this is a canon declaring the punishment of a person, who had robbed a church, which must have been enacted in one of those mixed assemblies so common in Ireland, in which princes and chieftains used to sit jointly with the clergy. It orders, that his hand or foot be cut off; or that he be thrown into prison, or exiled and make double restitution, and swear not to return until he has fulfilled his penance. (95) I find a canon, purely ecclesiastical, whereby three years penance is imposed for such a theft, and in case of a murder in a holy place seven years, both penances to be performed in a state of pilgrimage. (96) Penances were also enjoined, but not so severe, for every common theft; (97) and there was a general order to drive thieves, robbers, and plunderers out of the Church. (98) The age for a priest is fixed at his thirtieth year, and for a bishop at the thirtieth, fortieth, or fiftieth. But if a man had been married until he was thirty years old, and wished to become a clergyman, he was bound to remain a subdeacon for five years, and a deacon for five years more, after which he might be ordained a priest in his fortieth year. (99) A bishop was to be consecrated with the consent of the clergy, laity (of the diocese), and of the bishops of the whole province, chiefly the metropolitan. (100) No bishop was allowed to appoint his successor; but the

appointment was to take place after his death. Yet he might, with the consent of a synod and the approbation of the people of the district, ordain, towards the end of his life, a bishop to succeed him. (101) With regard to the Divine service, a canon states, that the Church offers to God, 1. for itself; 2. for the commemoration of Jesus Christ; and 3. for the departed souls. (102) This last oblation is explained in another, according to which the Church offers for the souls of the deceased in four ways; for the very good the oblations are mere thanksgivings; for the very bad they are consolations of the living; for those not very good they are made for the obtaining of full remission; and for such as were not very bad, that their punishment may be rendered more tolerable. (103) By *punishment*, or, as the original has, *damnatio*, we must understand not eternal punishment or damnation, but the purgatorial sufferings; whereas, besides the universal rule of not offering for souls, of whose being in hell no doubt was entertained, there is an Irish canon directing, that the holy sacrifice be not offered for such deceased persons as were guilty of the *sin unto death*, that is, as most probably meant by it, final impenitence. (104) There is a very severe canon against persons, who falsely accuse others, depriving them of communion until the end of their lives. (105)

(93) The 17th canon of the synod of Patrick, Auxilius, &c. is as follows; *Virgo, quae voverit Deo, permanet casta, et postea nupserit carnalem sponsum, excommunicationis sit donec convertatur. Si conversa fuerit, et dimiserit adulterium, poenitentiam agat, et postea non in una domo nec in una villa habitent.*"

(94) The first of the three particular canons ascribed to St. Patrick (see above *Not.* 78) is entitled *De unitate subditorum*, after which we read; "Quis ergo audet scindere unitatem, quam nemo hominum solvere vel reprehendere potest? Then comes a quotation from *Acts* iv. 32. *seqq.* Instead of *Quis ergo* that sentence begins *ap.* Martene (from *L.* 21. *cap.* 10.) with *Synodus di-*

cit; *Si quis autem, &c.* and ends with *anathema sit*, thus forming a canon.

(95) “ Qui furatus fuerit pecuniam ab ecclesia sancta, ubi martyres et corpora sanctorum dormiunt, illius manus vel pes circumcidatur, aut in carcerem mittatur, aut in peregrinationem ejiciatur et restituat duplum; et jurabit quod non revertetur donec impleverit poenitentiam.” This canon, although attributed to St. Patrick, could not have been made in his time, as the Irish Christian princes were not as yet powerful enough to establish such a law. There is a similar canon, and called an Irish one, in *No. 74* of the *Excerptiones* from the *Jus Sacerdotale* of Ecgbert, and another in D’Achery’s collection from *L. 28. cap. 6.*

(96) It is in D’Achery from *L. 42. cap. 15.* “ Quicumque reliquias episcoporum vel martyrum (alluding to holy places) homicidio violaverit, septem annis peregrinus poeniteat; si vero furto, tribus annis.” After this, rules are laid down for cleansing the pollutions of such places.

(97) See canon 15. of the synod of Patrick, Auxilius, &c.

(98) “ Synodus; Fures, et latrones, et raptores de Ecclesia ejiciendi sunt;” *ap. D’Achery* from *L. 41. cap. 3.*

(99) *L. 1. cap. 9. ap. D’Achery.*

(100) The canon on this point (*ap. D’Achery ib. cap. 5.*) was originally of a council of Carthage, as observed by D’Achery. Considered relatively to Ireland, it must be understood of the bishops of regular sees; for, as has been often observed already (*ex. c. Chap. xxiv. §. 12. and Not. 104. to Chap. xi.*) the Irish church had *Chorepiscopi*, whose appointment and consecration did not require all that apparatus. We have also seen, that those *Chorepiscopi* used to be consecrated by one bishop; but such was not the case with regard to the bishops of established sees, whereas for their consecration three bishops, at least, were required in Ireland as well as elsewhere. Thus we read in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, (*L. 2 c. 43.*) that, when consecrating Carellus for the church of Tammacha in Hua-nonella (Tirellil, Sligo), he was assisted by the bishops Bron and Bitaeus *juxta Ecclesiae consuetudinem.* Whether such consecration took place or not, is of little consequence; but the pointing to the *custom of the Church* adds to the proofs of the rule of consecration by no fewer than three bishops having been observed by the Irish church.

(101) D'Achery has (*ib. cap. 17.*); "Synodus ait; Nullus episcopus successorem in vita sua faciat, sed post obitum ejus boni bonum eligant. Item, Synodus definivit episcopum ordinare successorem in exitu vitæ consensu synodi et regionis ipsius sententia, ne irritum fiat."

(102) This canon is from *L. 2. cap. 9. ap. D'Achery*; "Synodus; Nunc Ecclesia multis modis offert Deo; primo pro seipsa; secundo pro commemoratione Jesu Christi, qui dixit, *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*; tertio pro animabus defunctis."

(103) It is in *cap. 20. ib.* thus expressed; "Synodus ait; Quatuor modis offert Ecclesia pro animabus defunctorum. Pro valde bonis gratiarum actiones sunt, in quibus nihil oblatio habet quod debeat; pro valde malis consolationes vivorum; pro non valde bonis, ut plena remissio fiat; pro non valde malis, ut tolerabilior fiat damnatio ista." Nothing can be more contrary than this canon to Usher's system relative to the practice and doctrine of the Irish church in praying for the dead. (See *Not. 157. to Chap. XXI.*)

(104) *Cap. 12.* among the thirty-one of the synod of St. Patrick (see above *Not. 78.*). I have elsewhere (*Not. 157. to Chap. XXI.*) referred to this canon, the original of which is headed, *De oblatione pro defunctis*; then follows; "Audi Apostolum dicentem; *Est autem peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo dico ut roget quis. Et Dominus, Nolite donare sanctum canibus. Qui enim in vita sua sacrificium non merebitur accipere, quomodo post mortem illi poterit adjuvare.*" The unfortunate persons here alluded to were such as led notoriously bad lives, and could not be brought to show even symptoms of repentance. They were different from those, called *very bad* in the canon, (*Not. prec.*) who might have been so without publicly appearing as hardened obstinate sinners.

(105) "Synodus; Qui falso accusant *fratres*, usque ad exitum vitæ non communicent. (*Ap. D'Achery from L. 16. cap. 13.*) From the word, *fratres*, it might seem, that this canon was relative to the brethren in monasteries; but it may be well understood of persons in general bearing false witness against their neighbours.

§. XIII. I find a singular canon declaring that an

oath of a son or daughter, unknown to the father, one of a monk without the knowledge of his abbot, and that of a boy, are void. (106) Among many regulations relative to Church property there is, alluding to pious donations, particularly, it seems, made by will, one, in which it is ordered, that sons, or brothers, or relatives be not defrauded of their due, and that the church do receive only a certain portion, called the portion of God, leaving to the rightful heirs what they are justly entitled to. (107) A spirit of disinterestedness was required from the clergy; and accordingly there was a canon enjoining, that the superfluous of a priest, or whatever he possessed beyond his wants, should be given to the church. (108) This was intended partly for the use of the church itself, such as for repairs, necessary expenses, &c. and partly for the poor, in the same manner as the usual offerings of the faithful, concerning which there are two canons; one empowering the bishop to divide them between the church and the poor, and another condemning a clergyman, who should seize upon said offerings, to be removed from the church. (109) We find some canons relative to the ecclesiastical lands or tracts, called *Terminus*, and their boundaries or marks. "Let the Terminus of a holy place have marks about it—Wherever you find the sign of the Cross of Christ, do not do any injury.—Three persons consecrate a Terminus of a holy place, a king, a bishop, and the people." (110) There are several canons respecting succession to property, wills, debts, pledges, bargains, &c. which were evidently drawn up in those mixed assemblies, above mentioned, of clergymen and laymen. (111) Among the Irish canons there are two taken from the council of Gangra in Paphlagonia, which was held against the heretic Eustathius and his followers, who, besides other errors, condemned matrimony, and taught that married persons could not be saved. By these canons persons,

observing virginity to please the Lord, are ordered under pain of anathema not to insult married persons, nor to express an abhorrence of marriage or of persons engaged in it. (112) They are by no means relative to the question of marriage of the clergy, as a certain author, who was always raving about matrimony, strives to insinuate. (113) But there is a canon, whereby clerks are prohibited to frequent women, not their relations, and are ordered to live with no other females than their mother, or aunt, or sister, or niece, so as to guard against even the suspicion of scandal. (114) In other respects the clergy were bound to observe a very grave and strict line of conduct. For instance, they were not allowed to be spectators of games or sports under pain of degradation; (115) nor, under the same penalty, to walk about in fairs or markets, unless they wanted to buy something. (116) And a clergyman, singing at a banquet, and not edifying religion, was liable to an excommunication; as was also a swearing clergyman. (117) There are some very remarkable canons relative to matrimonial continence, prescribing abstinence from the exercise of conjugal rights at certain stated times, among which are mentioned the three lents or chief fasting seasons of the year. (118) I shall quote only one canon more, which is that against leaders of barbarians, that is of invaders, plunderers, and destroyers. Such leaders are condemned to penance of fourteen years. (119)

(106) D'Achery has it from *L. 34. cap. 5.* "Synodus Hibernensis; Juramentum filii aut filiae nesciente patre, juramentum monachi nesciente abbate, juramentum pueri, irrita sunt."

(107) This canon is from *L. 41. cap. 6.* in these words; "Synodus; Nullum oportet fraudare filios, aut fratres, aut propinquos. Item, Ecclesia non nisi partem Dei accipiat: cum enim heres mundi venerit, retrahet ea quae mundi sunt." According to a fixed rule (*L. 2. c. 14.*) a certain part of the property of a deceased person was reserved for the priests, that is, for the use of

the church, including their maintainance, and for his funeral obsequies, beyond which, in virtue of this canon, the church was not allowed to exact or receive any more. According to the sixth decree of the council of Cashel it was the third part of a man's moveable goods. (See *Chap.* xxix. §. 3.)

(108) *Ap.* D'Achery, *L.* 2. *cap.* 20. "Synodus decrevit, ut sacerdos omne, quod superfluum habet, det in Ecclesia, et ut quantum Ecclesiae dimiserit tantum Ecclesia demat de superfluis ejus."

(109) The 25th canon of the synod of Patrick, Auxilius. &c. is as follows; "Si quae a religiosis hominibus donata fuerint diebus illis, quibus pontifex in singulis habitaverit ecclesiis, pontificalia dona, sicut mos antiquus, ordinare, ad episcopum pertinebunt, sive ad usum necessarium, sive egentibus distribuendum, prout ipse episcopus moderabit." Then comes canon 26. *ib.* "Si quis vero clericus contraverit, et dona invadere fuerit deprehensus, ut turpis lucri cupidus ab Ecclesia sequestretur."

(110) D'Achery has from *L.* 42. *cap.* 11. "Synodus Hibernensis; Terminus sancti loci habeat signa circa se---Synodus dicit; Ubi-cumque inveneritis signum Crucis Christi, ne laeseritis—Tres personae consecrant terminum loci sancti; rex, episcopus, populus." Of what was meant by *Terminus* in the ecclesiastical sense I have treated already (*Not.* 63 to *Chap.* xxvi.). It appears, that crosses used to be erected in such holy places, and that this might have been done by either a king, a bishop, or by the people. For it is more probable, that this is the meaning of the canon, than that all the three parties were to concur in rendering a place a *Terminus*.

(111) See *ap.* D'Achery from *Libb.* 31, 32, 33.

(112) D'Achery has these canons from *L.* 43. *cap.* 2. "Synodus; Si quis ex his, qui virginitatem propter Dominum servant, extollitur adversus conjugatos, anathema sit.—Item, Unusquisque, qui virginitatem custodit, propter Dominum faciat, non propter execrationem conjugii; qui enim virum fidelem et religiosam foeminam detestatur, aut culpabiles aestimat, anathema sit." These canons were copied from the ninth and tenth of the council of Gangra, and also from the first.

(113) The reader will easily perceive, that I allude to Dr. Ledwich, who touching (*Antiq. &c.* p. 325.) on the former of these

canons introduces the Trullan canons, &c. concerning the marriage of the clergy. Now neither in that canon, nor in the one annexed to it, is there a word relative to the clergy; but this antiquary, with his usual blundering logic, infers that, because the Irish church, following the council of Gangra, condemned the Eustathian impiety, it therefore authorized the marriage of clergymen! He boasts (*ib. p. 422.*) of having perused with care all our printed canons, and explained many of them; but from the specimen, which he has given us, (*ib. seqq.*) a reader will be able to judge of his vaunted explanations.

(114) Martene has this canon from *Lib. 9.* “ Clerici frequentandi extraneas mulieres non habeant potestatem, sed cum matre, vel thia filia, sorore, nepte, tantum vivant, de quibus omnibus nefas est aliquid quam natura constituit suspicari.” The words, *thia filia*, if, as it seems, they are to go together, must mean an unmarried aunt; for *thia* signifies an aunt. (See Ducange at *Thia*.) But, if they be understood of two distinct persons, and that *filia* mean *daughter*, a case is supposed of a clerk having been married before he became an ecclesiastic, and of his having a daughter, that survived her mother. Be this as it may, the canon is plainly contrary to the opinion, that the Irish clergy were, at least in general, allowed in ancient times to have wives. (Compare with §. 8. above.)

(115) “ Omnis clericus, qui ludum spectare desiderat, degradetur.” *Ap. D’Achery*, from *L. 39. cap. 14.*

(116) Martene has from *Lib. 9.* “ Clericus, qui non procmendo aliquid in nudinis vel in foro deambulatur, ab officio suo degradetur.” I suspect, that by *degradetur* is to be understood in these two canons not total degradation from the clerical order, but merely a temporary suspension.

(117) We read *ap. Martene ib.* “ Clericus inter epulas cantans, fidem non aedificans, sed auribus tantum pruriens, excommunicatus sit—Clericus jurans excommunicandus est.” The punishment in the former case probably refers to one of those minor sorts of excommunication mentioned above §. 11. and *Not. 81.*

(118) D’Achery has the following regulations from *L. 44. cap. 11.* “ Synodus Hibernensis; In tribus quadragesimis anni, et in Dominica die, et in feriis quartis et in sextis feriis, conjuges continere se debent.—Item, in omnibus solemnitatibus, et in illis

diebus, quibus uxor praegnans, hoc est, a die quo filius in utero ejus motum fecerit, usque ad partus sui diem ---Item, a partu per 36 dies si masculus, si vero filia 46 dies.---Item, habitantibus illis in habitu religioso copulari non permittitur." Some have supposed, that this canon or canons, down to the last *Item*, belonged to the council of Eliberis or Elvira in Spain, because it appeared in some collections as from *Concilium Helibernense*. But Baluze in his Notes to Regino observes, (*Not. at No. 328. Lib. 1. p. 571.*) that in two very old MSS. the synod, in which said rules were established, is called *Ebernensia*. He refers also to D'Achery's *Synodus Hibernensis*, and concludes that it is a mistake to attribute them to the council of Eliberis. He remarks also, that some other canons, attributed to that council by Burchard and Ivo, are in the Irish collection of Corbie. As to the three lents, D'Achery thought, that, besides the great lent before Easter, the other two were the one after Pentecost and that prior to Christmas, such as are mentioned in a Capitulary of Charlemagne. But, as there were different usages with regard to fasting seasons in various churches, it is not easy to determine, which, independently of the great lent, were the two other ones of the Irish. Some churches had four lents, one for each of the four seasons of the year; others likewise had four, but not corresponding with the different seasons. Some had stated fasts for almost every month in the year, distinct from the usual weekly fasts. (See more in Bingham's *Origines, &c. B. XXI. ch. 2.*) Yet I believe, that one of our Irish lents was that kept before Christmas, which, according to the first council of Macon, held in 581, began after St. Martin's day, and continued until Christmas day, but so as that fasting was required only on three days in each week, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, to be observed according to the rules of the real or great lent. This was in fact a mere addition of Monday to the usual fasts of the week. Other councils shortened still more this sort of lent by reducing it to the last week before Christmas. (See Bingham, *ib. sect. 4.*) It is likewise to be recollected, that the word *quadragesimis* in the above Irish canon is not to be understood of periods of precisely 40 days, but as indicating certain fixed times for fasting, whether of greater or lesser duration, according to an acceptation quite usual in consequence of the Christian fasts having been established in imitation of the 40 days fast of our Saviour.

Even the great lent before Easter, did not in those days consist, at least in Ireland, (see above §. 4.) of that number of days. The last of those regulations seems to suppose, that the man and wife had, although living together, devoted themselves to the observance of some monastic rules, in which case they were to conduct themselves as if they lived separately in monasteries. Usher refers (*Discourse, &c. ch. 6.*) to the first part of said canon, and might have learned from it, with what attention the Irish church looked to the purity of the nuptial bed, without quibbling, as he does elsewhere, concerning its not having considered marriage a sacrament. The mighty argument, which he adduces (*ib. ch. 5.*) for his position, is a scrap from Sedulius the commentator, which he does not give entire. Sedulius makes the following observation on some words of St. Paul, *Romans i. 11. 12*; “*Quod autem dicit, ut aliquod tradam vobis donum spirituale, videtur indicare, esse aliquid, quod donum quidem sit, non tamen spirituale, ut nuptiae, divitiae, fortitudo corporis, &c.*” Hence Usher concluded, that Sedulius did not look upon marriage as a sacrament. Now it is quite plain, that in this passage marriage is alluded to incidentally, and merely in a temporal or worldly sense. But why did not Usher, who had read all Sedulius’s commentaries, quote some part of them, in which marriage is expressly treated of? He took care to conceal from the reader the following words on what St. Paul says of marriage, *Ephes. v, 32.* according to the Latin text, *Sacramentum hoc magnum est*, on which Sedulius has this observation; “*Sunt enim alia minora sacramenta.*” Hence it is clear, that, as he explained *great sacrament* by stating, that there are lesser sacraments, Sedulius reckoned marriage among the sacraments.

(119) *Ap. D’Achery from L. 57. cap. 2.* “*Synodus Hibernensis ait; Qui praebet ducatum barbaris, 14 annis poeniteat. Barbarus, id est, alienus. Quis est alienus, nisi qui more crudeli et inmani cunctos prosternit?*” This canon may be understood of princes or chieftains, who without provocation attacked, robbed, and murdered their neighbours; or persons that served as guides to marauding parties of strangers.

§. XIV. Prior to those of the twelfth century we find very few monuments of ecclesiastical architec-

ture in Ireland. This is not to be wondered at, because the general fashion of the country was to erect their buildings of wood, a fashion, which in great part continues to this day in several parts of Europe. As consequently their churches also were usually built of wood, it cannot be expected that there should be any remains of such churches at present. Several of them, although constructed of such slight materials, might have been elegant and splendid, and in a good stile of architecture. The description of the church of Kildare, which seems to have been entirely of wood, by Cogitosus, who lived at the latest in the early part of the ninth century, (120) shows, that it was an ample and neat structure. He says, that it was large and very lofty, and adorned with paintings. It contained three large oratories, divided from each other by wooden partitions, (121) all under one roof. One of these partitions was ornamented, painted with images, and covered with linen cloths, and being in the eastern part of the church reached across from one of its outside walls to the other. By this partition he meant the inclosure of the sanctuary, at each extremity of which he tells us that there was a door. By the one at the right the bishop, with his chapter, and the persons appointed to assist at the holy administration, used to enter the sanctuary and proceed to the altar, to immolate the holy sacrifice of the Lord; and that at the left was only for the abess and her nuns to come in, that they might enjoy the banquet of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. (122) The remainder or great body of the church was divided into two equal parts by a partition running from the sanctuary down to the front wall. The right one was for the male part of the congregation, including also priests (such, it seems, as were not actually officiating); and the left one for the females. Each division had a large door, not in the front wall of the church, but in the right and left sides. Thus there

were three oratories, as above mentioned, viz. these two parts besides the sanctuary. In this church were many windows; but its chief ornament consisted of the shrines of St. Brigid and St. Conlaeth, containing their bodies at each side of the altar, and adorned with wrought gold and silver, likewise with gems and precious stones, and with gold and silver crowns hanging over them. It is exceedingly probable, that the custom of drawing partitions in the churches, between the places assigned for the respective sexes, was nearly general in Ireland, conformably to the almost universal practice in ancient times of marking distinct and separate places for them. (122*)

(120) See *Not.* 18 to *Chap.* VIII. This description is in *Vit. S. Brigid. cap.* 35.

(121) *Divisa parietibus tabulatis.*

(122) Hence it appears, that the nunnery adjoined the church on the left, while the habitation of the bishop and his clergy was close to it on the right. (Compare with *Not.* 141. to *Chap.* VIII.)

(122*) See Bingham, *Origines, &c.* B. VIII. ch. 5. sect. 6.

§. xv. In building their churches of wood the Irish had no peculiar motive imaginable, except that they were very little in the habit of erecting any sort of edifices of stone or other materials. Accordingly nothing can be more ludicrous than the assertion of a silly presuming author, that “the doctrine and discipline of the Irish church were averse from stone fabricks.” (123) Even before the twelfth century some stone churches had been erected in Ireland, although it was not until that period that this fashion was introduced into some of the northern parts. (124) It has been said, that the round towers, which are almost peculiar to Ireland, were intended as steeples or belfries to churches. (125) It may be, and indeed seems certain, that some of them have been, although very unfit for the purpose, applied to that use, after their original destination had been forgotten. But

it is self evident, that they were not erected with that intention. Their construction was not adapted to it; (126) and, as far as can be discovered, the buildings intended for belfries in Ireland were square. Of this kind is that annexed to Cormac's Chapel on the Rock of Cashel; and it is remarkable, that not far from it there is a Round tower, which, we may be sure, existed at the time when that Chapel was built, and which must not have been considered as a belfrey, whereas in such case there would have been no necessity for erecting the square one near the Chapel. Yet, as I have said above, bells seem to have been placed in some of them, which accordingly got the name of *Clotheach*, that is the *house of the bell*. (127) But, although originally not belfries, they were, at least in the times of Giraldus Cambrensis, looked upon as ecclesiastical edifices, that is, as applied to some religious purpose. (128) An ingenious conjecture on this subject is, that they were built for and inhabited by anchorets of the description of those, who were called *Inclusi*, and who used to shut themselves up all alone in certain places. (29) But, although some anchorets might have availed themselves of them as habitations, for which they were fit enough, yet it is hard to believe, that such lofty buildings, as many of them are, were originally intended for that purpose and for the use of single persons. Where was the necessity of the various stages or floors, into which they were divided, if they were to be inhabited by only one man? Or why should they be all furnished with four windows at the top, opposite to one another, and facing the four quarters of the heavens? Of what use could these be to an anchoret? (130) I find another account of the use, to which they were applied, and which seems as probable as that now spoken of. It is, that they served as prisons for penitents, who used to be placed first on the uppermost floor, and after spending there a certain space of time in pro-

portion to their crimes, were allowed to descend to the next floor, and so on gradually, until they came down to the door and received absolution. (131) In this supposition the various stories or floors would have answered very well for accomodating the divers ranks of penitents with habitations.

(123) Ledwich, *Antiq. &c.* p. 141. The arguments, which he adduces to uphold this trash, are as nonsensical as his position. "Celsus," he says, "objects to the first believers, that they had no dedications or consecrations of altars, statues, or churches. Four centuries had almost elapsed before the usage here noticed began." Here in the first place he bungles every thing. Neither Celsus nor any other pagan had charged the Christians with not having churches, but with not having temples. Did not this wretched reasoner know, how learned men, and among others Bingham (*loc. cit. ch. 6. sect. 13.*) have explained in what sense Origen and other apologists acknowledged that they had no altars, while in another they held that they had, and even used the name *altar*? As to the *usage* he speaks of, viz. of dedications or consecrations, surely many churches were dedicated, and with great solemnity, during the reign of Constantine the great, long before the close of the fourth century. But what have these things to do with the reason why churches were built of wood rather than of stone? Might not wooden churches have been dedicated as well as stone ones? Ledwich meant to insinuate, that churches used not to be dedicated in Ireland. Now there are innumerable instances to the contrary, and we have already met with many of them. The 23d canon of the synod of St. Patrick, Auxilius and Isserninus requires, that divine service be not performed in a church, built even by a priest, until after it has been consecrated by a bishop; "*Si quis presbyterorum ecclesiam aedificaverit, non offerat antequam adducat suum Pontificem, ut eam consecret, quia sic decet.*" Amidst some other stuff he says, that reliques were placed in churches in 787. He refers to the 7th canon of the second council of Nice. But by this canon no new practice was introduced. The object of it was, as appears from the very words of it, and as has been observed by Balsamon and others, to re-establish the ancient one of not consecrating churches without

reliques of martyrs, which had been infringed by the Iconoclasts. The canon runs thus; " In such churches as have been consecrated without holy reliques of martyrs, we order reliques to be placed, accompanied with the *usual* prayers; and whoever consecrates a church without holy reliques is to be deposed as a *transgressor of ecclesiastical traditions.*" Even Bingham is forced to acknowledge, (*B. VIII. ch. 1. sect. 8.*) that as early as the times of Constantine the great, churches used to be erected over the graves or reliques of martyrs. Ledwich then comes forward with this triumphant conclusion; " While corruptions were creeping into religion on the continent, ours was pure and primitive. Retentive of the faith delivered to us, and precluded from access to Rome by the convulsions of the empire, we were strangers to the innovations of foreign churches; when time discovered them to us, we beheld them with horror and detestation." Horror and detestation at what? Was it at the respect paid to reliques? I wish he had told us who were the persons, that expressed such feelings. The Irish, instead of abhorring reliques, took great care of them. We have often seen how carefully they preserved those of St. Patrick at Armagh, the shrine of Columbkil in Hy and elsewhere; and the attention and honour paid to those of St. Brigid, &c. have just been mentioned. The church of Armagh was furnished from very old times with a considerable number of reliques of various saints (*Vit. Tripart. S. Patr. L. 3. c. 82.*); the delegates, who went to Rome about the year 630, brought thence reliques of martyrs on their return to Ireland; (see *Chup. xv. §. 6.*) and it was usual to expose or carry in procession reliques on solemn occasions. (See *ex. c. Chap. xxiii. §. 12.*) Usher was so well aware of the respect, which the Irish had for them, that he passes them by in his *Discourse, &c.* But the Doctor must have alluded not to reliques, but to our having retained the custom of building churches of wood, and thus preserving our religion pure by detesting the innovation of stone churches. For wood and stone are the burden of his talk. How any one could find this great virtue in wood, and connect it so closely with the doctrine and discipline of the Irish church, it is hard to conceive. Such notions suit only wooden-headed disputants.

Next he passes to chrism, wishing to make us believe that, because the Irish did not use it in baptism, (a matter already ex-

plained *Chap. xxiv. §. 12.*) it was not applied in the consecration of churches or altars. He might as well have said, that it was not used at all, not even in Confirmation. Now his introducing chrism brings us again to wood, for, as he argues, the Irish had altars of wood, (see *Chap. xxx. §. 7.*) which were therefore incapable of chrismation. And why? Because, he says, “the councils of Agde in 506, and of Epone in 517, forbid the holy oil to be applied but to *structures* of stone.” He had no right to appeal to the council of Agde; for it does not mention either stone or wood, but merely directs in its 14th canon, that altars should be consecrated not only with the unction of chrism, but likewise with the sacerdotal benediction; “*Altaria placuit non solum unctione chrismatis, sed etiam sacerdotali benedictione sacrari.*” It is true, that the council of Epone requires that no altars be consecrated except of stone, (see *Not. 48. to Chap. xxx.*) but it does not use the word *structures*, which Ledwich, who never scrupled to corrupt texts, or to quote falsely, introduced for the purpose of including also churches under that decree. And upon this vile trick he finds another position of his, *viz.* that churches were not “anointed with chrism” until the 6th century; while at the same time in neither of the councils, to which he refers, are churches at all mentioned. Now as to the canon of Epone relative to stone altars, what had it to do with the Irish church? That was far from being a general council; and, whatever weight its decrees might have had in France, they were not binding in Ireland.

Still he goes on with wood, and tells us that “the Britons, who symbolized with the Irish in religious tenets, had only wattled and wooden churches.—On the contrary the Anglo-Saxon church, founded by an eleve of Rome, early adopted the masses, stations, litanies, singing, reliques, pilgrimages, and other superstitious practices, flowing in a full tide from that imperial city, and with these *that mode of building peculiarly suited to them.* Hence the Anglo-Saxon fabrics had under them crypts for reliques, &c.” Is it possible to listen with patience to such a medley of stupidity and ignorance! As if masses, stations, &c. might not have been celebrated and held, or psalms sung, or reliques preserved, in wooden churches as well as in stone ones. According to Ledwich the characteristic mark of what he calls a pure Church is, that its buildings be of wood. Why then has he

not exerted himself to get St. Paul's and the many other stone churches of these countries demolished, and wooden ones substituted in their stead? I am really ashamed to appear as if arguing against these absurdities. So little idea had the Irish, or their disciples, of wood being the only fit material for ecclesiastical buildings, that St. Cuthbert, who was either an Irishman, or, at least, brought up and trained in the Irish schools of Northumberland, erected in the island of Farne a chapel of large rough stones and turf. (Bede, *Vit. S. Cuthberti cap.* 17.) Ledwich himself, who calls Cuthbert an Irishman, makes mention of it (*p.* 138). On the other hand the Roman missionaries attached no consequence to building churches of stone. One of the first of them, Paulinus archbishop of York, is stated to have got renewed the old church of Glastonbury, by making its walls of wood, which were sheeted outside with lead. (See Usher, *Prim.* *p.* 114.) The Anglo-Saxons continued to use the wooden church, which Finan had built at Lindisfarne; and many years after his death Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, did not scruple to dedicate it under the name of St. Peter the apostle. Stone was not introduced into it; but for its preservation Eadbert, bishop (the seventh) of Lindisfarne, roofed it and sheeted the walls with lead. (Bede, *Eccl. Hist. L. 3. cap.* 25.) So much for our antiquary's reveries as to wood marking the pure Irish church, and stone the corrupt Anglo-Saxon one. He has some similar balderdash concerning the Ostmen erecting stone-roofed chapels *for reliques*, one of which he places at Glendaloch, as if those Ostmen of old could have had easy access to a district so emphatically Irish, and so strong. Why did he not add, that Cormac's stone-roofed chapel at Cashel was also built by Ostmen? When treating of the antiquities of Glendaloch, he pours out more nonsense concerning a connexion between reliques and stone buildings, together with some malignant jargon (*p.* 43.) concerning the *adoration* of reliques, instead of saying, that respect was paid to them. And here he pretends, that the practice of depositing reliques in churches was first introduced into Ireland by the Ostmen in the 9th century, notwithstanding that, as we have seen (*Chap.* XXII. §. 12.) those Ostmen were still pagans until about the middle of the tenth. Were they Ostmen, that brought reliques from Rome about, as remarked above, the year 630?

Among his fanciful explanations of some ruins of Glendaloch

I cannot but touch upon one of them, although unconnected with the points now treated of. Having found three figures on a loose stone, of which he has given an engraving, he describes them thus (p. 39); "The one in the middle is a bishop or priest sitting in a *chair* and holding a *penitential* in his hand. On the right a pilgrim leans on his staff; and on the left a young man holds a purse of money *to commute it for penance.*" For this explanation he adduces no proof whatsoever. There is nothing to show that what the young man or rather boy, holds in his hand is a purse. It is rather a bell, with which he seems to summon the people to hear a sermon or discourse by the person in the middle, who appears not in a chair but raised on a pulpit, and holding a book. And even if it were a purse, who told Ledwich, that it contained commutation money? Might it not have been an offering to the church? And where did he find, that the book was a penitential? There is no kneeling, nor imposition of hands, nor any thing indicating a penitential transaction. But his perverse conjectures served him as a vehicle to enlarge on an abuse, which had nothing to do with the antiquities of Glendaloch, and which, as appears from a quotation of his own, was condemned by the Church.

(124) See *Chap. xxvii* §. 9. and *ib. Not. 59.*

(125) This was the opinion of the learned Molyneux (Boate's and Molyneux's *Nat. Hist. of Ireland*, p. 211) and has been followed by Ledwich, *Antiq. &c. art. on the Round Towers*, p. 285. *seqq.*

(126) Smith, speaking of the round tower of Ardmore, (*History of Waterford*, p. 48.) says that it has, no doubt, been used for a belfry or steeple; but he does not state, as Ledwich quoting him (p. 295) pretends, that such was the general use of all the round towers. Upon this quotation Dr. Milner remarks (*Letter 14. Inquiry or Tour in Ireland*); "Dr. Ledwich tells us, from "Mr. (Dr.) Smith, that the round tower at Ardmore has been, "at some period, used to hang a bell in, as appears by 'three "pieces of oak still remaining near the top of it" and by 'two "channels, which are cut in the sill of the door, where the rope "went out, the ringer standing below the door on the outside.' "But if these pieces of oak were coeval with the tower, it is un- "accountable that they should have remained entire, while the

“ beams in every other tower have mouldered away. Again, “ what reason can Dr. Ledwich assign, why there are not holes “ in the sills of every other tower? In a word, the ancient archi- “ tects were too wise to place the bell *under cover* and the ringer “ in the open air.’ In fact, the tower of Ardmore is covered with a stone roof ending in a point, (see a drawing of it in Vallancey’s *Collectanea*, Vol. 6. part. 1.) as are many other of our round towers to this day, and as they all undoubtedly were in the beginning. Dr. Milner’s general observation (*ib.*) on this point is very just. He says, “ that none of these towers is large enough for a “ single bell of a moderate size to swing round in it; that from the “ whole of their form and dimensions, and from the smallness of “ the apertures in them, they are rather culcated to stifle than “ to transmit to a distance any sound, that is made in them; “ lastly that, though possibly a small bell may have been accident- “ ally put up in one or two of them at some late period, yet we “ constantly find other belfries or contrivances for hanging bells “ in the churches adjoining to them.” Molyneux was aware of the difficulty, which the smallness of the dimensions opposed to their having been belfries, and, to ward it off, argued that they were ancient, because, he says, “ large bells are an invention of later times, and were not used in the earlier ages of the Church.” This is a pitiful evasion, especially coming from him, as he thought, of which by and by, that the round towers were built by the Danes, and consequently long after the early ages of the Church. To his argument Harris answers, (*Antiq. of Ireland ch. 17.*) that large bells were used in England as far back as the sixth century; and in fact, wherever belfries were erected designedly, a larger space was left for the swinging of the bell, and more opening allowed for the conveyance of sound, than we find in these towers. The very remarkable circumstance of the entrance or door into the towers being usually from 8 or 10 to 16 feet, or more, above the ground, without steps or any other means of getting in, unless with the help of a ladder, is, I think, a sure indication that they were not originally designed for belfries. What architect would have constructed a belfry, which the bell-ringer could not enter except by a ladder?

(127) Lynch, touching on the Round Towers, (*Cambr. Evers p. 133.*) says, that they were erected not for belfries but for watch-

towers, but that afterwards bells were placed in them; “*Non ut pro campanili sed pro speculo haberentur, unde prospectus ad longinqua late protenderetur. Postea tamen usus invaluit ut, campanis in earum culmine appensis, campanilium vices gererent—Vel nominis enim etymon illas indicat illi usui accomodatas fuisse; Clocteach enim perinde est ac domus campanæ, voce cloc campanam et teach domum significante.*” Ledwich refers (p. 285.) to this passage, but, in his usual mode of misquoting, omits what Lynch has about said towers not having been originally intended for belfries. He then quotes a passage from Peter Walsh, which is taken nearly word for word from Lynch, except that what Lynch mentions as a *report* is called by him *certain*. I cannot subscribe to what Lynch seems to assert, *viz.* that all the Round towers we are treating of were called *clocteach*, after some time; although an odd one of them might have been so called, from the circumstance of a bell being placed in it at a late period. But this was not the real name for a tower strictly understood. Towers are often mentioned in ancient Irish MSS. by the names *Tuir, Tura, Turreadh;* (see Dr. O’Conor, *Rer. Hib. Script. Ind. ad. proleg. p. 207.*) but *Clocteach* is the precise name for a belfrey, as translated by O’Brien, of whatsoever form or materials. As long as churches were built in Ireland of wood, it may be justly supposed that so were also the belfries; and we have seen, (*Not. 140. to Chap. xxii.*) that there was a wooden belfrey at Slane, which was burned by the Danes. Lynch’s idea that the Round towers were originally watch-towers, which he connects with his false supposition of their having been built by the Danes, (of which lower down) cannot be admitted no more than that of others, who imagined that they were erected to serve as beacons. Neither of these hypotheses can stand, as Harris and Dr. Milner have proved (*loc. cit.*) by very good reasons, such as their often being found in low and hollow situations, two of them being in some places near each other, &c. &c.

(128) Giraldus (*Topogr. Hib. Dist. 2. cap. 9.*) calls them, “*Turres ecclesiasticas, quae more patriae arctae sunt et altae, necnon et rotundae.*” He does not specify what ecclesiastical use they were applied to; but we may fairly conclude, that they were not then used as belfries; for if they were, he would in all probability have mentioned it. He must have considered some of them

as very ancient ; whereas he says, that the fishermen of Lough-Neagh used to see and show such towers in the bosom of that lake, which was said to have been formed by a sudden inundation at a very ancient period. He alluded to the tradition of Lough-Neagh, having burst out in the reign of Lugaid Riabhderg, who became king of Ireland in the year 65 of the Christian era. (See Harris' *County of Down*, ch. 1.)

(129) This opinion seems to have been proposed first by a Dean Richardson of Belturbet, from whom it was taken by Harris, who has endeavoured (*Antiq. ch. 17.*) to make it appear probable. It has been adopted also by Dr. Milner, (*Letter 14. quoted above*) who maintains, that these towers were well adapted for habitations of the *Inclusi*. In the Acts of St. Dunchad O'Braois. (of whom see *Chap. xxii. §. 15.*) the place, in which he led the life of an anchoret, is called a prison of narrow inclosure, *in arcti inclusorii ergastulo clausus* ; but it is not mentioned whether it was a tower or not. Harris imagined, that all the Irish anchorets lived in the round towers. For this he had no foundation whatsoever. Many of them lived in huts or caves in unfrequented places. We have met with several of them at Armagh ; but their habitations are constantly called *cells* not *towers*.

(130) I do not find, that those, who think that the Round towers were built for anchorets, have given us any explanation of the use of the four windows. Dr Milner assigns one or two reasons for the division into floors or stories ; and I know that they were requisite for enabling a person to ascend to the top by means of ladders ; but I confess that I cannot see the necessity for making so many stories, or, what comes to the same point, for raising the towers so high, if they were originally intended merely for anchorets. He does not say what Harris strives to maintain, *viz.* that they were divided into stories or lofts in imitation of the pillars of the Eastern Stylites, such as St. Symeon, St. Daniel. &c. ; for, let Harris say what he will, the only means of ascent to the tops of those pillars was from without, there being none inside.

(131) This is the account given by Smith (*History of the county, &c. of Cork, Vol. 2. p. 408.*) from, he says, some Irish MSS. If we could rely on this reference, it should be admitted, that the Round towers were applied to that purpose. As an additional proof, he states, that the Irish name for a penance is *turris*

the Latin name for a tower. I doubt much, whether it had that acceptation in Irish; at least I cannot find it in any Irish dictionary. Ledwich (*Antiq. &c.* p. 298) charges Smith with inconsistency, as if he had said elsewhere, that those towers were belfries. Now the fact is, that Smith merely said, that the one of Ardmore had been used as a belfrey; but he did not assert, that such was the general use of all of them. (See above *Not.* 126.) I wish Smith had given us the title of the *MS.* or *MSS.* to which he referred.

§. XVI. Yet after all, notwithstanding it cannot be denied that they were applied in Christian times to some ecclesiastical or religious purposes, some as belfries, others perhaps as retreats for anchorets, others as habitations for penitents, or, as may also be conjectured, of some persons connected with the service of neighbouring churches, the question still remains, whence the singular style of architecture, in which they universally appear, was derived to Ireland. There are no towers of a similar construction to be found in any part of continental Europe. To suppose, as some have thought, that they were erected by the Danes or Ostmen, is evidently a great mistake; for, were they of Danish architecture, how could it have happened, that neither in the Scandinavian countries whence those people came, nor in England, where they ruled more or less for a great number of years, nor in Normandy or other parts of Europe, which they occupied, is there a vestige of such buildings or any tradition concerning them to be met with? (132) Round towers or the remains of them are found in every part of Ireland, and very many of them in places, which were never possessed by the Danes. (133) On the contrary, there neither were nor are any of them in some of the chief seats of the Danes, such as, Waterford and Wexford. The peculiarity of these towers consists not in their being merely round; for round buildings were common enough, and the pillars, not

towers, of the Eastern Stylites are said to have been round; but where do we find in other countries towers of a conical form, having the entrance into them many feet above the ground, with at the top four windows facing the four cardinal points, roofed &c. ? Now it is exceedingly remarkable, that towers of an exactly similar construction exist at this day in Hindostan. Lord Valentia saw two of them near Bhaugulpore, of which he has given a drawing. The door or entrance into them is, as appears from the drawing, about twelve feet above the ground; there are four windows at the top, just as in the Irish towers, and they are covered with a small roundish roof. Of them he writes thus; “ I was
 “ much pleased with the sight of two very singular
 “ round towers about a mile N. W. of the town.
 “ They much resemble those buildings in Ireland,
 “ which have hitherto puzzled the antiquaries of the
 “ sister kingdoms, excepting that they are more or-
 “ namented. It is singular, that there is no tra-
 “ dition concerning them, nor are they held in any
 “ respect *by the Hindoos of this country*. The
 “ Rajah of Jyenagur *considers them as holy*, and
 “ has erected a small building to shelter the great
 “ number of his subjects, who annually *come to*
 “ *worship here*. I have given an engraving of them,
 “ as I think them curious.” (134) These towers were undoubtedly erected by a people, who professed a religion different from that of the majority of the modern Hindoos.

(132) Lynch is, as far as I can discover, the first author, who has mentioned the Danes as the builders of the Round towers, and this he gives as only a hearsay. He writes; (*Cambr. Evers. p. 133.*) “ *Exiguas tamen illas orbiculares arctasque turres Dani, Hiberniam Giraldo authore anno Dom. 838 primum ingressi, primi crexisse dicuntur, non ut*” &c. as above *Not. 127.* Peter Walsh copied Lynch, changing his *dicuntur* into *most certain*. This idea was taken up by Molyneux, who has nothing but loose unhistorical

conjectures on the subject, one of which is quite wrong. He says ; “ Had the old native Irish been the authors of this kind of architecture, they surely would have raised such towers as these in several parts of Scotland also, where they have been planted and settled many ages past ; but there we hear of none of them.” Now the fact is, that there are two of them in Scotland, one at Abernethy, and the other at Brechin, as Ledwich himself mentions, (*p.* 294.) who has given a drawing of the latter together with that of the church and the adjoining square belfrey. From this belfrey annexed to the church of Brechin it is clear, that the Round tower at the other side was not one. Ledwich has shamefully imposed on his readers by representing (*p.* 288. *seqq.*) Giraldus Cambrensis as having asserted, that the Round towers were built by the Danes. Now Giraldus says no such thing, nor in the little that he has said relatively to their mode of construction, which is all comprised in the few words quoted above, (*Not.* 128.) does he make any mention of Danes or Ostmen. On the contrary he plainly hints, that the architecture of them was purely Irish, *more patriae*. Besides, from his having looked upon at least some of them as very ancient, (see *ib.*) it is evident, that he could not have imagined, that they were erected by the Danes, whereas he supposed that they existed in Ireland before the arrival of that nation. Ledwich squeezed his misrepresentation of Giraldus out of another of Lynch’s meaning in the above quoted words. Lynch says, that the Round towers are reported to have been first erected by the Danes, whose first arrival in Ireland was, according to Giraldus, in the year 838. The sense of this plain passage is twisted by Ledwich, as if Lynch had stated that Giraldus said, that the Danes not only first came to Ireland in 838, but that they were likewise the first builders of the Round towers. Lynch could not have even thought of attributing such an assertion to Giraldus, whereas his object was to refute the supposition of Giraldus, that there were such towers in Ireland at times much earlier than those of the Danes. Lynch was arguing against what Giraldus has about Round towers being seen in Lough Neagh, (see *ib.*) and strove to refute him by showing, that there were not any such towers in Ireland at the very ancient period alluded to by Giraldus, whereas, he says, they are reported to owe their origin to the Danes, who, according to Giraldus himself, did not come to Ireland until *A. D.* 838.

(By the bye Giraldus was wrong in his date; for, as has been seen elsewhere, there were Danes in Ireland several years earlier.) The reader will now be able to form an opinion of Ledwich's logic and critical rules, and to judge of his fidelity in referring to authorities. I must here touch upon a pitiful argument adduced by Molyneux in confirmation of his hypothesis. He supposed, that *Cloghachd*, a word formed from *Clocteach*, and signifying *Belfrey*, was the original name for a Round tower. In this he was mistaken; and even according to Lynch, whom he seems to have followed, that could not have been the original name; for Lynch says, (see *Not.* 127) that they were not erected for the purpose of being used as belfries. Molyneux then tells us, that *Cloghachd* was taken from a foreign tongue, and derived from *Clugga* a German-Saxon word, that signifies a bell; and that therefore said towers were built by foreigners, that is, by the Ostmen. Now he was quite wrong as to this derivation; whereas *Cloghachd* was formed from the Irish *Cloc* or *Clog* the very ancient name for a bell, and which was used by the Irish long before the German-Saxons had churches or bells. We find it latinized into *Clocca*, and it was used by Columbkil, and generally by the ancient Irish writers, as signifying a bell (See *Not.* 186. to *Chap.* XI. and Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 374.) So that, instead of giving Saxon etymology to *Cloghachd*, the Saxon *Clugga* was most probably derived from the *Cloc* or *Clog* of the Irish teachers of the Saxons.

(133) Ledwich seems to have been aware of this difficulty; for he says (*p.* 289.) that the Irish imitated the Ostmen in the construction of these towers. To make us believe, that the Irish imitated their bitterest enemies, would require more than his bare word.

(134) Lord Valentia's *Voyages and Travels*, Vol. 1. p. 85.

§. XVII. The great similarity of these towers in the interior of Hindostan to our Irish Round towers has convinced me, that, as my worthy and learned friend General Vallancey had long endeavoured to establish in various tracts of his, (135) that this mode of architecture was introduced into Ireland in the times of paganism by a people, who came to this country from some far distant part of the East. The pat-

terns, from which the construction of our towers was imitated, were most probably the fire-temples of the Persians and others, who followed the Magian religion as reformed by Zerdusht, or, as he is usually called, Zoroastres. (136) Those temples were usually round, and some of them were raised to a great height. (137) That fire was in pagan times an object of worship, or, at least, great veneration in Ireland, and particularly the sun, which was considered the greatest of all fires, is an indubitable fact. (138) Now the lower part of an Irish Round tower might have answered very well for a temple, that is, a place in which was an altar, on which the sacred fire was preserved, while the middle floors could have served as habitations for the persons employed in watching it. (139) The highest part of the tower was an observatory intended for celestial observations, as, I think, evidently appears from the four windows being placed directly opposite to the four cardinal points. The veneration, in which the pagan Irish held the heavenly bodies and, above all, the sun, must have led them to apply to astronomical pursuits, which were requisite also for determining the length of their years, the solstitial and equinoctial times, and the precise periods of their annual festivals. (140) I find it stated, that the doors of most of these towers face the West. (141) If this be correct, it will add an argument to show, that they contained fire-temples; for the Magians always advanced from the West side to worship the fire. (142) According to this hypothesis the Round towers existed in Ireland before churches were built. I see no reason to deny, that they did; and the particular style of their construction shows, that they are very ancient. (143) But then, it is said, how does it happen, that they are usually found near old churches? In the first place this is not universally true. (144) Secondly it is to be observed, that these towers used to be built in towns or villages of some note, such,

in fact, as required churches in Christian times. Thus, wherever there was a Round tower, a church was afterwards erected; but not *vice versa*, whereas there were thousands of churches in Ireland without any such towers in the vicinity of them. (145) Thirdly, there was a prudential motive for the teachers of Christian faith to build churches near the sites of the Round towers, that they might thereby attract their new converts to worship the true God in the very places, where they had been in the practice of worshipping the sun and fire. (146) It may be, that some of these towers were built after the establishment of christianity in Ireland for penitential purposes, as already alluded to, although I have some doubts about it; (147) but I think it can scarcely be doubted, that the original models, according to which they were constructed, belong to the times of paganism, and that the singular style of architecture, which we observe in them, was brought from the East, between which and this country it is certain that there was an intercourse at a very ancient period of time.

(135) I need refer only to his *Second Essay on the Round Towers of Ireland* in the *Collectanea De Reb. Hib. Vol. 6. part 1.*

(136) This is not the place to enter into the question of the times of Zoroastres, or as some would have it, of divers Zoroastres. But the one, who is called the reformer of the Magian religion, lived, as far as I am able to judge, during the reign of Darius Hystaspides, king of Persia. Ledwich amidst his low and scurrilous observations (*p. 298.*) on Vallancey's system, strives to show by referring to Hyde (*Relig. Vet. Pers.*) that the Persians had no temples. He did not know how to distinguish the times. Let us hear Prideaux, who also referring to Hyde writes (*Connection, &c. Part 1. ch. 4.*); "Another reformation, which he (Zoroastres) made in the Magian religion, was, that he caused fire-temples to be built wherever he came. For whereas hitherto they had erected their altars, on which their sacred fire was kept, on the tops of hills, and high places in the open air, and there per-

“ formed all the offices of their religious worship, where often by
“ rain, tempests and storms, the sacred fire was extinguished, and
“ the holy offices of their religion interrupted and disturbed, for
“ the preventing of this he directed, that, wherever any of those
“ altars were erected, temples should be built over them, that so
“ the sacred fires might be the better preserved, and the public
“ offices of their religion the better performed before them. For
“ all the parts of their public worship were performed before these
“ public sacred fires, as all their private devotions were before pri-
“ vate fires in their own houses; not that they worshipped the fire,
“ (for this they always disowned) but God in the fire.” D’Her-
belot makes mention of these fire-temples or *Pyrcia* (*Biblioth.*
Orient. at Aluand and Parsi); nor is there any one acquainted
with Oriental learning, who denies, that they existed. But what
did Ledwich care about learned men.

(137) Hanway says, (*Travels, Part 2. ch. 43. p. 292.*) that
there are at Sari in the province of Mazanderan four temples of the
Gebres or worshippers of fire, who formerly inhabited that country.
“ It seemed inconsistent” he adds, “ that the Persians suffered
“ these temples to remain unmolested after the abolition of a re-
“ ligion, which they now esteem grossly idolatrous; but they are
“ made of the most durable materials. These edifices are rotund,
“ and above 30 feet diameter, raised in height to a point near 120
“ feet.” It were to be wished, that he had been more particular
in his description of them, and that he had said something about
the entrance, and about the windows, &c. The elevation of these
towers supplies an answer to Dr. Milner’s observation (*Letter 14.*)
on Vallancey’s hypothesis of the Irish Round towers having been
Pyratheia or fire temples. He says, that for that purpose “ there
was no occasion of carrying them up to so great a height;” but we
have now seen, that the temples of Sari are also very high. Mau-
rice states in his *Indian Antiquities*, quoted by Vallancey, that
those fire temples were *always* round. This much is certain, that
such was the shape of a great number of them.

(138) See *Chap. v. §. 5.* and *ib. Not. 43.* There seem to
have been in Ireland, as there were in Persia two sects of fire-
worshippers, one, that lighted their fires in the open air and per-
formed their religious ceremonies on hills and high places, (Com-

pare with *Not. 45. ib.*) and the other, who having received the reformation of Zoroastres kept the sacred fire in temples.

(139) Prideaux, having spoken (*loc cit.*) of the sort of hierarchy of the followers of Zoroastres, *viz.* the inferior clergy, as he calls them, the superintendants, and the Archimagus or High priest, says, that they had three sorts of temples. He then proceeds in these words; "The lowest sort were the parochial churches or oratories, which were served by the inferior clergy—And the duties, which they there performed, were to read the daily offices out of their liturgy, and at stated and solemn times to read some part of their sacred writings to the people. In these churches there were no fire-altars; but the sacred fire, before which they here worshipped, was maintained only in a lamp. Next above these were their fire-temples, in which fire was continually kept burning on a sacred altar. And these were—the churches or temples, where the superintendant resided. In every one of these were also several of the inferior clergy entertained, who—performed all the divine offices under the superintendant, and also took care of the sacred fire, which they constantly watched day and night by four and four in their turns, that it might be always kept burning, and never go out. Thirdly, the highest church above all was the fire-temple, where the *Archimagus* resided," &c. From this statement it appears, that the people at large had access only to what Prideaux calls the lowest sort of churches, and that they were not admitted into the fire-temples strictly understood. The same system is still kept up by the Parsees; for as Anquetil du Perron relates, (*Zend. Avesta, Tom. 2. p. 569.*) the part or chamber of a modern Parsee temple, called *Atesch-gah* (place of fire), is not accessible to any persons except the *Mobeds* and *Herbeds*, *i. e.* their sorts of clergymen, except on some particular occasions, as in case of such clergymen not being present, when a privileged Parsee, who has passed through certain purifications, is allowed to enter it for doing something requisite, keeping at the same time his mouth covered with the *penom* or covering of doubled linen. Hence we may understand, how, notwithstanding the small dimensions of our Round towers, a part of them might have served for a fire-temple, which was entered only by the ministers of religion; and why the entrance into them was placed several feet above the ground,

as it was intended merely for the use of a peculiar and comparatively small class of persons. As the people at large were not admitted into them, they felt no inconvenience from the height of the doors; and the reason for placing them so high was probably to guard against any pollution of the sacred fire, or of the place where it was kept, which might happen, either from the breath of people standing near the tower, or from other causes, if the door were near the ground. For such scrupulous attention was observed on this point, that, as Prideux states, (*ib.*) “the priests themselves never approached this fire but with a cloth (the *penom*) over their mouths, that they might not breath thereon; and this they did, not only when they tended the fire to lay more wood thereon, or do any other service about it, but also when they approached it to read the daily offices of their liturgy before it.” He says likewise, that the priests “fed it only with wood stripped of its bark, and of that sort which they thought most clean, and they never did blow it either with bellows, or with their breath, for fear of polluting it; and to do this either of those ways, or to cast any unclean thing into it, was no less than death by the law of the land, as long as those of that sect reigned in it.”

Dr. Milner, objecting (*Letter cit.*) to the hypothesis of the Irish Round towers having been fire-temples, says, that “they ought rather to have been left open at the top, like our great furnaces, than closed up as they are found to be.” He supposed that the fires contained in them were great blazing masses like bonfires. This is a mistake, whereas those of the fire-temples were small, gentle, and placed on altars. To leave said temples open at the top would have been in direct opposition to the object of Zoroastres, who introduced the fashion of temples for the very purpose of protecting the holy fire against rain, storms, &c. (See above *Not.* 136.) And at this day the *Ateschgah* of the Parsees is a covered room, as Anquetil informs us, (*loc. cit.* p. 571.) who also remarks, (*p.* 569.) that means are contrived for carrying off the smoke. And such might have also been easily contrived in the Round towers with the help of the loop-holes, which we find in them, or of the door; which I mention to guard against an objection that might be made of how those covered temples were kept free from smoke.

(140) See Dr. O’Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scr.* 1. *Proleg.* p. 32, and

Index to Proleg. p. 206. In the former place he quotes passages from Tigernach, and from the Annals of Ulster and of the 4 Masters at A. 995, in which among other buildings destroyed by lightning at Armagh are mentioned *Fiadh-Nemeadh. i. e.* celestial testimonies or indications. They are distinguished from the *Cloicteacha*, or belfries, and might have been, as he conjectures, Round towers used for astronomical purposes. It is well known, that the astronomical studies were cultivated in Ireland, and we have met with several Irishmen, who were well versed in them, such as Cumian, author of the Paschal epistle, St. Virgilius, Dungal, &c.

(141) Smith, *Hist. of Cork, Vol. 2. p.* 408.

(142) Prideaux says (*loc. cit.*) that, “ when they came before these fires to worship, they always approached them on the west side, that having their faces towards them, and also towards the rising sun at the same time, they might direct their worship towards both.”

(143) Dr. Milner, an excellent judge in these matters, touching (*Letter cit.*) on the period, in which they were generally erected, writes; “ It appears to me, that this must be very remote, from the circular arches over the doors of many of them, which proves them to be anterior to the introduction of the pointed arch,” &c. He also remarks, that in the times of Giraldus Cambrensis, as I have already mentioned, they were considered as of great antiquity. The materials, of which they are built, being usually of the best kind, *ex. c.* those of the tower at Cashel. which are much better than those of the adjoining and much more modern cathedral, the excellence and neatness of the workmanship, circumstances noticed by Dr. Milner, the thickness of the walls, generally about three feet, and their conical form, are more than sufficient to account for their durability and for their having been so little injured by time, although some of them may have been erected two thousand years ago.

(144) I mean, if understood of being very near the churches. Those of Kildare and Drumiskin (co. Louth) stand 90 feet, and that of Downpatrick 48 from the respective churches. (*Ledwich. Antiq. p.* 304.)

(145) See Ledwich's list of Round towers, *ib. p.* 300. *seqq.* It is not, however complete. Mr. Dutton (*Statistical Survey of*

the county of Clare, ch. v. sect. 23.) makes mention of some in that county, which are omitted in said list.

(146) I cannot better illustrate this point than by referring to the conduct of Gregory the great in his directions to the missionary Augustin, communicated in a letter to the abbot Mellitus, (*ap. Bed. Eccl. Hist. L. 1. cap. 30.*) not to destroy the temples of the Anglo-Saxons, but, having overturned the idols, to purify these temples and apply them to the worship of the true God, placing altars, &c. in them, that so the people might be induced, by the circumstance of their having been accustomed to resort to those places, to continue to do so for the purpose of acquiring the knowledge of the true God, and adoring him. His words are; “*Dicite ei (Augustino) quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi, videlicet quod fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant; sed ipsa quae in eis sunt idola destruantur, aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiae componantur. Quia, si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu daemonum in obsequi a veri Dei debeant commutari, ut, dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans ad loca, quae consuevit, familiarius concurrat.*” A similar principle seems to have actuated the preachers of christianity in Ireland; but, as the Round towers could not, on account of their narrow dimensions, be changed into churches, they thought it adviseable to erect churches near them.

(147) Smith, who speaks of their having been used as prisons for penitents, (above §. 15. and *Not.* 131.) says, (*ib. p.* 409.) that the tower of Kineth in W. Carbery (county of Cork) was built about the year 1015, for which he refers to an old MS. containing some annals of Munster. But, even supposing the accuracy of his assertion, I may observe, that he represents this tower as differing from all the others he had heard of. The first story is a regular hexagon, each side being 10 feet 4 inches, so that the whole circumference is 62 feet. This is much greater than the usual circumference of the real Round towers, in which no angles appear. Accordingly, although built somewhat in imitation of them, being from the first story upwards quite round, it does not precisely belong to that class of buildings. He does not tell us, whether the entrance into it be several feet above the ground, or whether it

has at the top the four windows facing the cardinal points; two remarkable peculiarities of the Round towers strictly so called. If it be true that it was erected as late as Smith states, it might have been intended for a receptacle for penitents. The strongest argument I meet with for the building of any Round tower, according to the ancient fashion in Christian times, is furnished by that of Brechin in Scotland, which has over one of the two arches on its western front a figure of our Saviour on the Cross, and between both arches two small statues of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John. (See Ledwich, *p.* 294 and 297, and his drawing of that tower, and Gough's *Observations on the Round tower of Brechin*, (*Archaeologia*, *Vol.* 2.) which, together with the drawing, have been followed by Ledwich.) If these figures were placed there at the time of its erection, it is evident that it must be assigned to a Christian period. But might not they have been added long after the original building of the tower, and after it was applied to some Christian purpose?

THE END.

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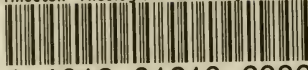
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