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ADAMNANI
VITA S. COLUMBAE

EDITED FROM DR. REEVES'S TEXT

WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON EARLY IRISH
CHURCH HISTORY
NOTES AND A GLOSSARY

BY

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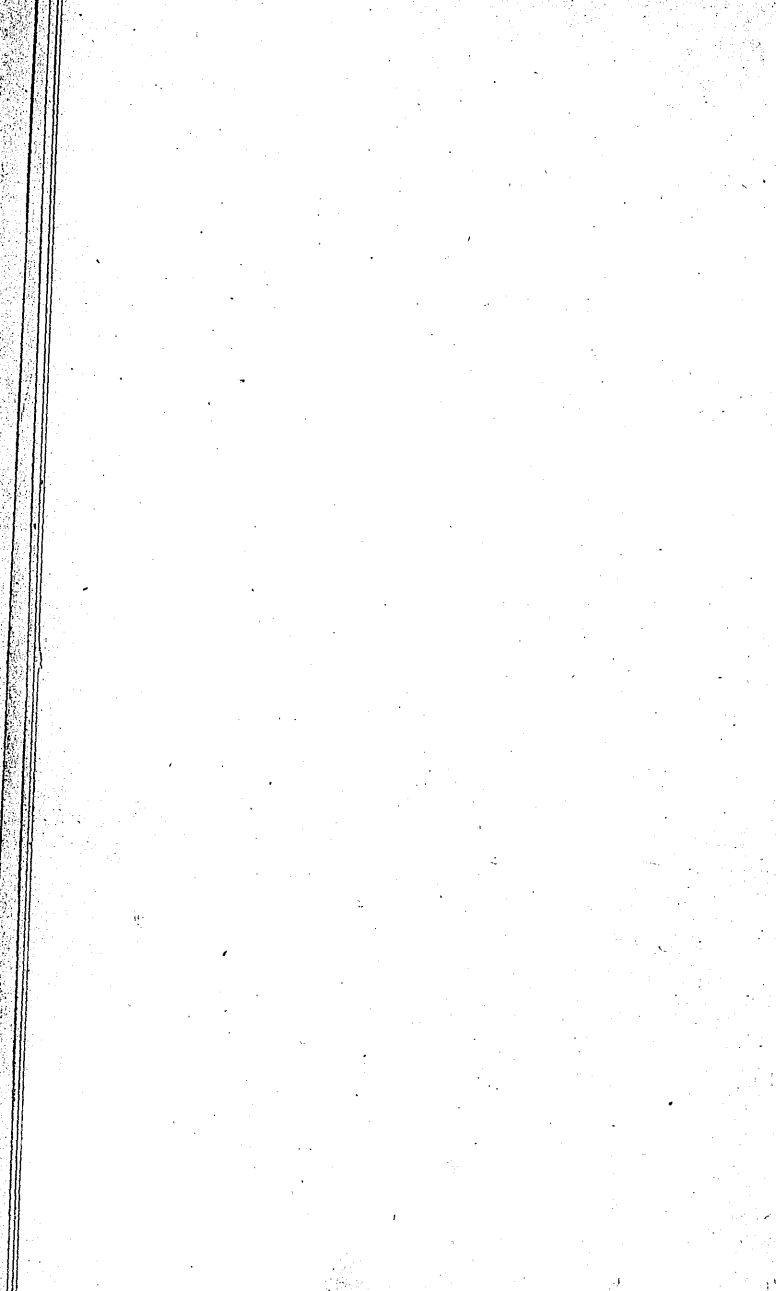
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PREFACE

ADAMNAN'S *Life of St. Columba* has long been thought worthy to rank with such works as Jonas's *Life of Columbanus*, Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert*, and Eddius's *Life of St. Wilfrid*, as one of the most interesting and valuable early biographies extant. Yet it is not a 'Life' in the ordinary sense, but rather, as described in the colophon, *virtutum libelli Columbae*, three books recording respectively the prophecies, the miracles, and the angelic visions of the saint. The last book concludes with a beautiful account of his last hours, reminding us of what we are told of Cuthbert and of Bede, and we would gladly have had the whole of Columba's life in the same form. That, however, was not the plan of the author. He aimed at hagiology, not at biography or history. Nevertheless his work is full of allusions throwing great light on early Celtic monasticism, and on the introduction of Christianity into the western and northern parts of what is now called Scotland. Dr. Reeves has collected hundreds of references to passages bearing upon the constitution, the discipline, the buildings, and the officers of St. Columba's monastery at Iona and upon the topography of that most interesting little island. Attention will be directed to many of these in the present edition, which is intended principally for the use of junior students in our Universities or elsewhere, to

whom the well-nigh exhaustive work of the late Bishop Reeves is scarcely accessible in either of the forms in which it has appeared. His notes, introductions, &c. have furnished much of the information here given, though by no means the whole of it. A brief sketch of the history of the Irish Church and of the Columban mission down to the death of Adamnan is prefixed, and a glossary is appended.

There are two recensions of the text, the longer or original Life, and the shorter, which is abridged from it.

The following are the seven MSS. which furnished Dr. Reeves with his collection of various readings, the most important of which will be given in these pages.

A*. Beginning of eighth century, formerly at the monastery of Reichenau, now in the public library at Schaffhausen. Attributed in the colophon to Dorbhene, who is identified by Reeves with Dorbhene, abbot of Iona, who died 713, only nine years after the death of Adamnan. Facsimiles in Reeves (1857), Plates 1, 2, 3. The basis of Reeves's text, in which, however, the original spelling has not been followed, as being 'barbarous, or at least provincial.' Its characteristics may be gathered from Reeves (1857), xvii-xix, and from the various readings given by him. There is a great similarity between this MS. and that of the so-called 'Antiphonary' of Bangor (A.D. 680-691) recently published in facsimile by the Henry Bradshaw Society. See Warren's Introduction to it, p. xxvi.

B*. Middle of fifteenth century. Brit. Mus. *Bibl. Reg.* 8 D. ix.

C†. The Windberg or Rebdorf MS., from which Canisius took his text.

D†. Thirteenth century. In the so-called 'Book of Kilkenny,' in Primate Marsh's Library, Dublin, v. 3. 4.

F†. Tenth century; formerly belonged to the Church of Freising; was numbered 141, and is now in the Royal Library of Munich, 6341. Facsimile in Reeves (1857), Pl. 4.

St. Early ninth century, in Library of St. Gall, No. 555.

* The full recension.

† The short recension.

Facsimile of writing in Reeves (1857), Pl. 4, and of figure of St. Columba (with the Roman tonsure), Pl. 5.

Cott.* Cottonianus. Late twelfth century. Brit. Mus. *Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, D.* iii. Much damaged in the fire of 1731, being 'burnt to a crust,' but restored as far as possible by the separation, flattening, and inlaying of the consolidated leaves, under the direction of Sir Frederick Madden, c. 1852.

Five others were reported to exist; see Reeves.

The printed editions that have appeared are the following:—

- I. In the *Antiquae Lectiones* of Canisius, Ingolst. 1604. See MS. C. An unsatisfactory text.
- II. In *Surii Vitae SS.* 1617, Jun. 9.
- III. In the *Florilegium* of Thomas Messingham, who reprinted the Canisian text. Parisiis, 1624.
- IV. In the *Trias Thaumaturga* of John Colgan, from Cod. A. Lovanii, 1647.
- V. In the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, also from Cod. A, but less faithfully given. *Acta SS. Junii*, tom. ii, Jun. 9.
- VI. In Basnage's *Thesaurus*, as a reprint of the defective text of Canisius. Amstelaedami, 1725 (some copies have *Antverpiae*).
- VII. In Pinkerton's *Vitae Antiquae Sanctorum*, Lond. 1789 (100 copies only).
- VIII. For the first time in a separate form, as 'The Life of St. Columba, founder of Hy, written by Adamnan, ninth abbot of that monastery . . . (with notes and dissertations) by William Reeves, D.D., M.R.I.A. . . . Dublin: printed at the University Press, for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1857.' Founded upon Codex A. Two maps, five plates of facsimiles, two genealogical tables. 4to, pp. lxxx and 497.
- IX. The same, somewhat abridged and re-arranged, with some topographical notes by Dr. W. F. Skene, and a translation superintended by the late Bishop Forbes. In the series of *Historians of Scotland*, of which it forms Vol. vi. Edinburgh,

Edmonston and Douglas, ? 1871, re-issue 1874. One map, one genealogical table. 8vo, pp. clxxxiv and 385.

- X. In the re-issue of Pinkerton's *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, edited by W. M. Metcalfe. Paisley, 1889 (220 copies only).
- XI. The present edition, in which Dr. Reeves's text has been adopted, with only slight variations, as *famen* for *tamen*, p. 132, *caelum* for *cœlum*, &c., and in the punctuation. In words the spelling of which varies, that recommended by Brambach (*Hilfsbüchlein für Lateinische Rechtschreibung*, Leipzig, 1884) has been adopted.

Dr. Reeves gives a list of seven other Lives of St. Columba, the most important of which are:—

- I. The Life by Cummene or Cummian referred to by Adamnan in Book iii. c. 5 (where see note), which Life forms the basis of this third book, and of some chapters in Books i, ii. In this edition the passages taken from Cummian are printed in italics. Cummian's Life has been printed by Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* 321-324; by d'Achery and Mabillon, *Acta SS. Bened.* i. 342-349; Venet. 1733, and in the two editions of Pinkerton above mentioned¹.
- II. The first part of Colgan's *Vita Secunda* (*Tr. Th.* 325-327), wrongly attributed by him to Cummian, which contains some particulars that are in the old Irish Life, but are not recorded by Adamnan. Colgan's *Vita Secunda* was taken by him from the MS. now printed as *Acta SS. Hiberniæ ex Codice Salmanticensi*. Edinb. et Lond. 1888.
- III. An ancient Irish memoir, probably of the tenth century, being a discourse for St. Columba's day on the text *Exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua*, &c. Frequently referred to by Reeves, and in the present edition, as 'the old Irish Life.' Translation by Hennessy in Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 467-507.
- IV. An expansion of Adamnan and of the old Irish Life, written in Irish by Manus O'Donnell in 1532. The com-

¹ It has been supposed that the text of Cummian, as printed, cannot have been used by Adamnan,

but is an abridgement of his Life. See Hardy, *Desc. Catal.* p. 167.

piller has worked in a number of historical allusions from Adamnan's other works, some alleged prophecies, and other legendary matter. Colgan has summarized it, omitting 'disedifying' passages, in *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 389-446.

In addition to these may be mentioned a Life by John of Tynemouth (fl. 1366) pirated by Capgrave, the Office in the Aberdeen Breviary, and a Life printed by Benedict Gonon (Lugduni, 1625), all compiled or abridged from Adamnan. See further in Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. relating to British History*, i. 166-174.

Modern Lives will be found in Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, Bk. ix, and in Alban Butler and Baring-Gould under June 9 (the latter condensed from Montalembert); Reeves's *Adamnan* (1857), lxxviii-lxxx; the same (1874), xxxiii-xli; Healy's *Insula Sanctorum*, 291-331; Dictionaries of Christian Biography and of National Biography; and in the Rev. E. A. Cooke's *Life and Work of St. Columba*, London and Derby, 1888. A short account, moreover, is included in the Introduction to the present work. The Life by Dr. John Smith, Edinb. 1798, is not of much value.

I cannot conclude this preface without again saying how much I am indebted to Dr. Reeves's original edition of Adamnan, a truly monumental work, which has been of the greatest service to all writers on St. Columba from Montalembert downward. In this connexion I would refer to the interesting Life of Dr. Reeves by Lady Ferguson, just published, which includes a complete list of his numerous printed works and articles in various publications. Nor can I forego the pleasure of expressing my best thanks to all who have helped me by their friendly counsel during my editorial labours. Among these I feel especially indebted to our greatest historical scholar, the Bishop of Oxford, to my near kinsman Dr. Fowler, President of Corpus Christi

College, Oxford, and to my old friend Dr. Sanday, sometime Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham, and now Ireland Professor of Exegesis and Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. I would also mention my friends Dr. Robertson, the present Principal of Hatfield, at whose suggestion this work was undertaken, and Dr. G. T. Stokes, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Trinity College, Dublin, whose good offices were of great service to me during a visit to Ireland in 1893, and whose complete restoration to his former health is now most sincerely to be desired. My thanks are also due to the Rev. Archibald Macmillan, Parish Minister at Iona, who gave me the benefit of his sympathetic companionship and of his great local knowledge when I last visited St. Columba's isle, to the Rev. Charles Plummer, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who has kindly helped me to explain some Irish words, and to the Rev. E. S. Wilson, F.S.A., Vicar of Winterton, who has most carefully revised the Index.

BISHOP HATFIELD'S HALL,

June 9, 1894.

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INTRODUCTION

I. PRE-PATRICIAN PERIOD.

§ 1. We know comparatively little of Christianity in Ireland before the fifth century, in Scotland before the sixth, or in England before the ^{Early} Christianity. seventh. But from the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland c. 432, of St. Columba in Scotland in 563, of St. Augustine in Kent in 597, and of St. Aidan at Lindisfarne in 635, we have fairly consecutive accounts of the progress of the Church in these islands. In Wales and in Cornwall, and indeed at Glastonbury, the ancient British Christianity was still living on when the tide of Anglo-Saxon Christianity reached thus far westward. The work of St. Ninian and others had left some fruit in parts of Scotland when Irish Christianity began to spread from Iona, as from a new centre, into all parts of northern Britain.

§ 2. But it is with Ireland that we are mainly concerned in connexion with St. Columba, for he was born ^{In Ireland.} in Ireland, and he lived in Ireland until, at the age of forty-two, he went out from his own country and from his father's house, to end his life's work in another land. In order to understand his life and mission, we ought to know something of the early history of his country, of the traditions in which he was brought up. We propose

then, first to state some of the peculiar circumstances in which the first Christian missionaries in Ireland found themselves, and then to give a brief sketch of Irish Church history to the death of Adamnan.

§ 3. One great difference between Britain and Ireland in the earlier centuries after the Christian era was this, that while Britain was an integral portion of the great Roman Empire, Ireland was not. Hence in early Christian times the decrees of Emperors and Councils did not run in Ireland, nor was it materially affected, if at all, by Roman civilization. Britain and Ireland were distinguished in the fifth century, and doubtless long before, as 'the Roman island' and 'the barbarous island'. Britain, indeed, became very largely influenced, first by Roman, and then by Teutonic occupation and institutions, while Ireland remained, during the period with which we are concerned, purely Celtic. And in her missionary work the Church moulded her organizations as far as possible on those which she found already existing. In England, for example, where the dioceses and parishes are founded on the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and on their minor subdivisions, our system has been from the first essentially territorial. In Ireland the early monastic and missionary system was almost from the first a part of the ancient clan system, to which it readily adapted itself.

§ 4. It was necessary at the very first that the life of the converts should be in some sort coenobitic; they could hardly have lived otherwise in a pagan and half-savage land. And these earliest Christian communities were in many cases the beginnings of societies which afterwards became more strictly monastic, importations in fact, through Gaul, of Egyptian and Syrian monachism into the clan system that had prevailed for centuries in Ireland, the spirit of which

¹ Prosper of Aquitaine, *Contra Collatorem*, in Augustini Opp. ed. Bened. 1700, t. x. App. col. 132; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* tom. li.

pervaded the ancient Irish Church throughout the whole period of its independent existence. Many of the earliest converts were persons who had been redeemed from servitude by the missionaries, who were supplied from abroad with funds for the purpose. But the evangelization of Ireland was not quite that earliest Christian work of all, in which 'not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, were called!.' The Celtic missionaries aimed at the conversion of the petty kings or chieftains at the heads of the clans, and of their Druids and Bards, knowing that if once these could be secured, the clansmen would follow their leaders in religion as in all else². Their old religion had no great hold on the common people, and in many cases, no doubt, the new doctrine would have as little. Nevertheless, the pagan life of the country was transformed into a Christian life, with comparatively little organic change.

§ 5. The Christian hierarchy, in which the bishops, though always felt to be absolutely essential, held a very subordinate rank, in some sort succeeded to the Druids and the Brehons; the pagan Bards became Christian Bards, and the main peculiarities in the Irish monastic tenure of land, arose out of the ancient relations between chieftains and clansmen. When land was granted to any ecclesiastic by its original owner, the rights of chieftainry were transferred to the ecclesiastical landlord, and descended, as before, in hereditary succession. The comarb or co-arb (says Dr. Todd)³ that is to say, the heir or successor of the original saint who was the founder of the religious society, whether bishop or abbot, became the inheritor of his spiritual and official influence in

¹ 1 Cor. i. 26.

² 'To a clannish people it is not merely a habit, but a matter of necessity, to follow a guide—to be led by a superior and unquestionable authority. They care not for arguments, proofs, or reasons. They ask only to receive a com-

mand from a chieftain, whose right to command nobody can dream of questioning. It is not too much to say that this spirit of clanship is the key to Irish history.'—Todd's *St. Patrick*, 1864, p. 227.

³ *St. Patrick*, p. 149.

religious matters. The descendants in blood, or 'founder's kin,' were inheritors of the temporal rights of property and chieftainship, although bound to exercise those rights in subjection or subordination to the ecclesiastical co-arb, that is, to the successor inheriting the lands that had been granted to the first in the series of abbots or bishops, heir also to his ecclesiastical status and temporal rights.

§ 6. Previous to the introduction of Christianity¹, there were three classes of learned men among the Celtic tribes of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland, namely, the Druids, the Bards, and the Brehons. It seems probable that these were the result of a gradual subdivision of labour, the Bards being first distinguished from the Druids, and afterwards the Brehons from the Bards. These orders, if indeed they were distinct orders, were not hereditary²; they corresponded in the main with what are called 'the professional classes' among ourselves.

§ 7. Caesar, who had abundant opportunity of knowing about the Druids of Gaul, tells us a great deal about them, but how far his account would apply to those of Ireland we do not know. Those of Gaul were at any rate concerned with religion and sacrifices, with legal decisions, and also in the instruction of youth. Their system was found in Britain, and was thought to have been brought thence into Gaul. They were excused from military service and from tribute, and accordingly many youths sought admission into the order. They taught the immortality and transmigration of souls, and thus excited men to deeds of valour and disregard of death. They offered human sacrifices, sometimes having huge images woven of osiers, the limbs of which they filled with living men to be burnt alive, criminals if to be had, but if not,

¹ On Pre-Christian Ireland see Olden, *Church of Ireland*, ch. i.

² In later ages the legal profes-

sion tended to become hereditary in certain families. Joyce, *Hist.*

innocent persons¹. Pliny gives a minute account of the ceremonies with which they cut the mistletoe from the sacred oak, and of the virtues which they attributed to it, calling it by a name which meant 'All-heal.' From their great reverence for oak groves, and their association of these with sacred rites, he thinks the name 'Druid' may be derived, the name of the oak being *δρῦς* in Greek²; it is however Celtic³. He tells also of their ceremonial gathering of the herbs *selago* and *samolus*⁴, and gives a not very intelligible and to some extent clearly fabulous account of their doings with the *anguinum* or snake's egg, not apparently an actual egg, but some sort of a concretion⁵. Also, after speaking of magical arts in Gaul, he says that they continued within living memory, but that the rule of Tiberius abolished their Druids and all that race of soothsayers and medicine-men⁶. Tacitus refers to their vain and superstitious songs⁷, and describes a momentary panic among the Roman soldiers invading Mona (Anglesea) caused by women rushing about with torches, and Druids with hands upraised to heaven, putting up dire supplications⁸. It is remarkable how little there is, almost nothing, about Druids in the writings of the early Christian fathers; but in early Irish poems and legends, and in lives of Irish Saints, they are frequently referred to⁹, mostly as magicians or sorcerers, also as worshipping idols, paying idolatrous worship to springs of water, making use of the yew, the rowan-tree,

¹ *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 13, 14, 16. The whole account is most interesting, and should be consulted.

² *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 44, § 95.

³ Irish *draoi*, *druidh*, augur, magician. The Druids are often called *magi* both in classical and in Christian writings. In connexion with Druidical groves, it is remarkable how many of the earliest Irish Christian settlements, as Derry, Durrow, and Kildare, began at groves of oak, and took their names from them, *daire*

being the old Irish word for oak.

⁴ *H. N.* xxiv. 11, §§ 62, 63. The plants referred to are the *Lycopodium Selago* or Fir Club-moss, and the *Samolus Valerandi* or Water Pimpernel. See Elton, *Origins of Eng. Hist.* (1890), 253.

⁵ *H. N.* xxix. 3, § 12.

⁶ *H. N.* xxx. 1, § 4.

⁷ *Hist.* iv. 54.

⁸ *Ann.* xiv. 29, 30.

⁹ E.g. in the present work. See Index, s. v. *Magi*; Colg. A. SS. 149, 15.

and the blackthorn in the ordeal by fire, &c. But there seems to be some doubt whether they were, in Ireland at any rate, a distinct order. They were often engaged in teaching, and kings and chiefs, as well as learned men, were frequently Druids. There appears to be no ground for regarding them as priests of any special worship, nor any for imputing human sacrifice, or the worship of fire, or of the heavenly bodies, to those of Ireland¹. All reference to the Druids was carefully expunged from the ancient laws of Ireland when they were revised in early Christian times. They continued, however, to live on, perhaps as little more than mere conjurors and wizards, in some remote districts, long after Ireland had become generally Christian, and it is thought that their influence long survived in the Celtic church, and even survives to this day in some of the superstitions of the peasantry². That idolatry was by no means extinct when the Stowe Missal was drawn up (ninth or tenth century) might at first sight appear from a petition for the founder of some church, that he and all the people might be delivered 'ab idolorum cultura³.' The form, however, may be very much earlier.

§ 8. The Bards⁴ (*carminatores*) were the poets and chroniclers, who related events and legendary or historical stories, probably, as a rule, in verse and with musical recitation and accompaniment, as Diodorus says they did in Gaul⁵. They eulogized the friends

¹ For a very full *catena* of references to Druids in ancient Irish writings see O'Curry, *Manners, &c.*, ii. 179-228, and for a summary, Joyce, *Hist.* 137-139.

² For instance, Carleton, in his *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, 1860, vol. i. p. 152 n., says, 'I have no hesitation in asserting that the bulk of the uneducated peasantry really believe that the priests have this power,' i.e. of translating the Protestants into asses, or of making people go mad, diseased

in body, &c., the very powers that had been attributed to the Druids.

³ Warren, pp. 236, 26c.

⁴ Old Celtic *bardo-s*, whence *βάρδος*, *bardus*, a minstrel poet.

⁵ *Hist.* lib. v. 31. A passage from the Life of St. Kieran in Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.* 460 a, well illustrates this statement. 'Ipse rex Mumeniae Aengussius cytharistas habuit optimos, qui dulciter coram eo acta heroum in carmine citharizantes canebant,' &c. See also Giraldus, *Topog. Hib.* Dist. iii. 11, 12.

and satirized¹ the foes of their chief and clan, and always looked for rewards. There was no essential antagonism to Christianity in their order, nor was it broken up in any way thereby. They simply became Christian instead of pagan, and 'when once blessed and transformed, their songs became so sweet that the angels of God leaned down from heaven to listen to them².' In St. Columba's time they had become very unpopular by reason of their grasping importunity and their overwhelming numbers. They had free quarters wherever they went, and were envied on account of this and other privileges. About A. D. 575 a famous convention³ was held at Drumceatt, one main object of which was the abolition of the bards. St. Columba, who, it has been thought, may have been himself of their number, was a relation of King Aedh, and one of the most influential persons in the kingdom. He favoured reform, not abolition; he defended the order while condemning abuses. He called attention to their valuable services in preserving the national records and traditions, and finally carried the assembly with him. The Bards were saved, but reformed. Their privileges were curtailed, and their numbers⁴ diminished. Their retainers⁵, who had always been a great burden on the public, were either abolished, or at any rate maintained by their masters, who now had certain lands assigned to them in lieu of their former privileges. Thus they became shorn of much of their early importance. Nevertheless the chief bard, Dallan Forghaill, in gratitude to Columba, composed a poem in his honour called the *Amhra Coluimcille*, still extant, in very ancient and obscure Irish. In the Middle Ages, every district had its Bard and its Brehon, and the office of Bard was hereditary. In the Book of Mac Firbis (A. D. 1650) is a list

¹ Cp. O'Curry, *Manners, &c.*, ii. 70, 217.

² Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, Engl. ed. 1861, ii. 392. See also the quotation from Keble below, in a note on cap. xlv. p. 121.

³ Mentioned by Adamnan, pp. 61, 77.

⁴ Amounting, it is said, to about a third of the population.

⁵ Thirty for an *Ollamh* or chief bard, fifteen for an *Anrot*, one of the second class.

of those who had flourished within the last 600 years, with the districts to which they belonged¹. The Christian bards continued to live on through century after century of gradual decadence, until, in the present reign, their last representatives were reduced, in the general ruin of the national literature of Ireland, to a chair by the kitchen fire in winter, and a meal on the doorstep in summer².

§ 9. The Brehons³ or judges were an order which grew out of that of the Bards. At first the laws were in Brehons. the form of rhythmical maxims transmitted orally, but afterwards committed to writing. Those who had the charge and administration of these laws formed a distinct order, but sometimes the same man was both Bard and Brehon. A Christian redaction of the ancient laws of Ireland has been preserved under the names of *Senchus Mòr* (Great Antiquity), *Cain Patraic* (Patrick's Law) and *Noi-fis* (Knowledge of Nine). In the *Senchus* itself it is stated that its 'authors,' i. e. redactors, in St. Patrick's time were three kings, three ecclesiastics, and three men of science⁴,

Laeghaire, Corc, Dairi, the hardy,
Patrick, Benen, Cairnee, the just,
Rossa, Dubhthach, Ferghus, with science,
These were the nine pillars of the *Senchus Mòr*.

The laws thus laid down and revised from time to time, with the old Irish commentaries upon them, have been published with introductions and translations⁵, and enable us to see what sort of enactments the Brehons administered. They continued the exercise of judicial functions beyond the

¹ See Petrie on the Book of Mac Firbis, Trans. R. I. A., vol. xviii, *Antiquities*, p. 5.

² Dict. of National Biography, Art. *Columba*, p. 411; cp. O'Curry, *Manners*, &c., iii. 406.

³ From the Old Irish *brithem*, a judge.

⁴ It may be noted that the ancient Roman laws were made

conformable to Christian doctrine and morality, and issued as the 'Theodosian Code,' only a few years previously (A. D. 438). The Salic law was a similar revision of the pagan laws of the Franks, made early in the same century.

⁵ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vols. i-iv. Brehon Law Commission Office, Dublin, 1865-1879.

limits of the English pale, until the reign of Elizabeth, when the power of the native chieftains was finally broken, and English law was established throughout the kingdom.

§ 10. Now the Druids, Bards, Brehons, were all flourishing at the time of the effectual introduction of Christianity into Ireland, and all were affected by it, as we have seen. The Druids could not, of course, become Christians without effacing themselves as Druids, but there was no reason why the other two orders should not go on as Christian poets, judges, lawyers, and men of letters, as in fact they did, retaining their ancient titles, and little changed in anything but their religion¹. Some of the authority of the Druids naturally passed on to the abbots and bishops, who from the first would find that they had to deal with men of cultivated minds, sharpened by study, capable of taking in new ideas, often quick to recognize the beauty and value of Christian teaching, and prepared to accept it in preference to their ancient mythology, venerable as that must have been in their eyes².

§ 11. That there were some Christians in Ireland, or of Irish birth, before the coming of St. Patrick, appears from various passages in Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils*, &c.³, in which they are mentioned. The British Church of the fourth century, as Dr. G. T. Stokes observes, 'proved its interest in theological questions by the most vigorous and satisfactory of proofs. It produced a heretic⁴.' Pelagius, the founder of the Pelagian heresy, was a Briton named Morgan, a contempla-

¹ Sedulius, the Christian poet, author of the well-known hymns *A solis ortus cardine* and *Hostis Herodes impie*, has been claimed as an early Christian bard of Ireland by some who have confounded him with an Irish theologian of the same name who lived in the eighth century (*Dict. of Hymnology*, 1037; Haddan and

Stubbs, ii, 291 n.).

² See O'Curry, *Manners*, &c. ii. 73.

³ Vol. II, Part ii, pp. 289-291. It is to be observed that in writings of this period the Irish are denoted by the term *Scoti*. See p. 5, note 7.

⁴ *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, 1888, p. 12.

tive student, hating controversy. But his chief friend and companion was Caelestius, a 'Scot' or Irishman, a lawyer, and a 'born agitator.' He was the great champion of Pelagianism at Rome, at Constantinople, at Mopsuestia. He is believed to be referred to by St. Jerome as 'indoctus calumniator . . . stolidissimus, et Scotorum pultribus prae-gravatus¹.' The last we hear of Caelestius is that at the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, he supported the Patriarch Nestorius against the Pope. Caelestius was clearly a thorn in the side of orthodoxy, and this fact may have directed the Pope's attention to the land of his nativity. Prosper of Aquitaine says², 'ad Scotos (the Irish) in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Caelestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur,' and elsewhere³ praises Caelestine for the same, and for his endeavours to keep the Roman island Catholic, and to make the barbarous island Christian. We hear nothing further of this mission of Palladius until we are told in the Life of St. Patrick by Muirchu Maccumactheni⁴, c. A.D. 700 or later, that it proved altogether abortive⁵.

¹ *Com. in Jerem.* Prolog. (c. A.D. 416). This allusion to Irish 'stirabout' is well illustrated by a remarkable passage in the *Senchus Mór* (*Ancient Laws*, ii. 149), in which the various kinds of stir-about suitable for the children in various grades of society are described.

² *Chron.* in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* tom. li. an. 431, col. 595.

³ *Contra Collatorem*, cap. xxi, in Migne ut supra, col. 271.

⁴ In the *Book of Armagh*; printed in Stokes's ed. of the *Tripartite Life*, and in *Analecta Bollandiana*.

⁵ Dr. F. Loofs, now Professor at Halle, in his learned essay *Antiquae Britonum Scotorumque ecclesiae*, Lips. et Lond. 1882, comes to two conclusions, (1) that St. Patrick probably did visit Italy and had some kind of connexion *cum*

Romanis, p. 50, (2) that Patrick and Palladius were probably one and the same person, p. 51. Mr. Olden maintains, with much learning and ingenuity, that the true St. Patrick was the Sen Patrick or Patrick senior of Irish records, that he preceded Palladius, labouring in Ireland and never leaving the country, that his name dropped out of memory owing to its being impossible to connect him with a Roman mission, and that in the ninth century, by the blending of the acts of Palladius, and some employment of fiction, the St. Patrick of popular belief, the missionary of Caelestine I, the Archbishop and Apostle of Ireland, came into existence. *Church of Ireland*, 1892, ch. ii and Appendix A.

II. ST. PATRICK.

§ 1. The connected history of the Church in Ireland begins with what is known of St. Patrick, but with regard to him all critical writers have found it most difficult to extract what may safely be regarded as historically true, or indeed to know what is truth amid so much that is manifest fable. *Legendæ sunt lugendæ*¹, the lamentation of a learned Jesuit, is particularly applicable to the case of St. Patrick. The primary authorities are his own 'Confession,' a sort of *Apologia pro vita sua*, and his Epistle 'to' or rather 'on' or 'concerning' Coroticus or Caredig, a Welsh prince. The Confession is found in the *Book of Armagh*, a composite volume written c. A.D. 807, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin². The copy of the Confession professes to be taken from one in St. Patrick's own writing, and it certainly shows many signs of authenticity. Its Latin is rude and semibarbarous in grammar and spelling, its Scripture quotations are from the ante-Hieronymian Latin, which, however, was used in Ireland concurrently with the Vulgate long after his time, it speaks of Britain in the plural number (*Britanniae*)³, it refers to married clergy engaged in secular pursuits, one, a deacon, being also a Roman *decurio*, it contains no miracles, nor any mention of St. Patrick's having been in Rome or even in Gaul, mentions certain simple incidents in a remarkably naïve and truth-like manner, and is altogether just what

Authorities
for life of
St. Patrick.

¹ Quoted from the Abbé Feller, in Kenelm Digby's *Morus*, p. 40.

² The documents relating to St. Patrick contained in the *Book of Armagh* are printed in *Analecta Bollandiana*, i. 530-585, ii. 35-68, and in Stokes's *Tripartite Life*, 269-375. Both of these works contain minute descriptions of this famous MS., and the latter has a complete

index to all the events there related of St. Patrick. The *Confessio*, *Epistola*, &c. are in Haddan and Stubbs, II, ii. pp. 296 sq. English translations of the *Confessio*, &c. have been published in Olden's *Epistles and Hymn of St. Patrick* (Dublin, 1876) and in Wright's *Writings of St. Patrick* (Rel. Tract Soc.).

³ See below, p. 6 n.

might be expected in a genuine composition of St. Patrick. Being mainly autobiographic, it is most valuable for our purpose. The Epistle on Coroticus is a strong remonstrance against that prince and his soldiers, who had slain some of the newly baptized converts, and carried others captive, and relates that when a holy presbyter and clerks were sent with a letter to intercede for them, and ask for a return of some of the plunder, they were repulsed with laughter. The style is exactly that of the Confession, and it gives some additional particulars about St. Patrick. It is not in the *Book of Armagh*, but is referred to in a MS. of the tenth century supplementing the last part of that compilation, found at Brussels¹. The earliest historical mention of St. Patrick, after his own times, is in Cummian's letter to Seghine on the Easter question, in 634; he is there called 'Patricius, Papa noster.'
 4 The silence of Bede is accounted for by his small intercourse with Ireland, and by his great dislike to the Celtic party; it may be compared with the silence of Josephus about the Christians². In the *Book of Armagh* are notes on the life of St. Patrick by Tirechan³, a disciple of St. Ultan (d. A.D. 656), and the life already mentioned, written about the end of the seventh century by Muirchu Maccumachtheni. The writings of St. Patrick himself appear to be the only documents on which we can place much reliance.
 5 The two last-named, however, though full of doubtful and legendary matters, probably give the substance of documents and traditions reaching back to St. Patrick's time, and stand on quite a different footing from the *Tripartite Life*, the Life by Jocelin, and other mediaeval compilations, on which, directly or indirectly, the traditional fame of St. Patrick so largely rests⁴.

¹ G. T. Stokes, *Celtic Ch.* 28 n.; *Anal. Boll.* i. 539. W. Stokes, *Tripartite*, 375. On the Hymn of St. Sechnall, &c., see below, § 5.

² Adamnan makes only one allusion to St. Patrick, and that

quite incidental. 'See Praef. ii. p. 4 n. But the nature of his works hardly required any such reference.

³ Stokes, *Tripart.* 302.

⁴ There is a mass for the feast

§ 2. We gather from the *Confessio* that Patrick was born 'in Britanniis¹.' His father was Calpurnius, a deacon, farmer, and *decurio* or 'town-councilor'; his grandfather Potitus, a presbyter. Calpurnius resided in his own *villula*, 'in vico Bannauem Taberniae².' The *Hymn of St. Fiacc*³ says he was born in Nemthur, and gives his names as Patraicc, Succat, and Cothraige. When sixteen years old he was carried captive by Irish pirates, perhaps led by King Niall 'of the Nine Hostages,' into Antrim, where he spent six years in tending cattle, as the slave of one Milchu, probably in the valley of the Braid, near the hill of Slemish. According to his own account, during his boyhood he 'knew not the true God,' that is to say, he was an average boy, with no very serious thoughts or sense of personal relation with God. He must have been well instructed in his religion, and its vital truths came home to him when he was in trouble. Some sin which he had committed when about fifteen weighed heavily on his conscience; his hardships and his sorrows sent him to God, and the fear and love of God increased in him day by day. His own most interesting account of his experiences at this time and subsequently is too long to quote here; it should be read in the Confession itself. At last he heard in a dream a voice saying that he should soon return to his native land, and then another voice that told him his ship was ready. Having served for six years

of St. Patrick in the Sarum Missal, but there are no Proper Lessons in any of the old English Breviaries; in that of Aberdeen however are nine lessons recounting some of what were the most popular legends, including that of his going to Rome to receive consecration from Pope Caelestine. In the Roman Breviary (Norwich, 1830) are three lessons mostly based on the Confession and therefore historical, but the

Caelestine legend is introduced. Colgan gives seven offices of St. Patrick and one of the Transl. of SS. Patrick, Columba, and Bridget.

¹ 'Old Kilpatrick,' near Dumbarton, probably preserves the memory of the place, and the date appears to be about 375.

² Not identified under that name.

³ Not earlier than the latter part of the sixth cent. See Had- dan and Stubbs, II. ii. 360 n.

he took to flight, God guided him to the ship, and, after being at first refused a passage, he was taken by the shipmen. They landed in three days, and for twenty-eight days wandered through a wilderness, possibly in North Britain, the *patria* of his dreams¹. After some strange but not improbable experiences, he escaped from the men, who seem to have held him in a sort of captivity, and so again 'after a few years,' apparently those of his six years' captivity and his escape, he was once more in his father's house, received as a son, and implored, after so many tribulations, never to leave it.

§ 3. But he longed to carry the Gospel to the people among whom it had first come home with power to his own soul, whose language he had learned, to whose ways he had become accustomed. In His mission: difficulties in the chronology. the visions of the night he saw a man of Ireland, who called him to go over and help them. Sooner or later, he obeyed this call, and was consecrated bishop. He is said to have gone into Gaul and to have studied with St. Germanus of Auxerre and with St. Martin of Tours, and to have gone to Rome to obtain consecration and mission from Pope Caelestine I. There is however no evidence for these statements in St. Patrick's own writings or in the hymn of St. Sechnall (c. 448). In St. Fiacc's hymn (c. 590) we have the Germanus story, in Tirechan's Collections (c. 650?)² the Caelestine legend is added, but in Muirchu's memoir (c. 690) we are told, without any mention of Caelestine, that he studied with St. Germanus, and that he afterwards went to St. Martin, who died eighteen

¹ Mr. Olden infers from the mention of dogs in the *Confessio* that the sailors were engaged in the exporting of Celtic dogs into Gaul, that they would be glad to have Patrick with them as one who spoke Latin, and that the scene of the wanderings was somewhere near the Loire, which

would explain his alleged sojourn in Gaul with St. Martin. The whole argument should be seen in Olden's *Church of Ireland*, 1892, pp. 16-19, 420.

² In the sentence immediately preceding is mentioned an event that occurred in 877. *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 205 a.

years before Germanus became bishop of Auxerre, so that all this story is very suspicious. In the later lives, the man Victoricus, who appeared to St. Patrick in a dream, develops into his guardian angel Victor, and, as usual, the later we come down, the more particulars we find. Dr. Todd regards the whole story of St. Patrick's connexion with St. Germanus and mission from St. Caelestine as transferred from a lost history of Palladius, who was also named Patricius, to the more famous St. Patrick¹. With regard to St. Patrick's ordination, we learn from his own Confession that he confessed the boyish sin above mentioned before he was a deacon, but that it was brought up against him when he was to be made a bishop. The difficulty was overcome; we have no information, however, as to where or by whom the consecration was effected.

§ 4. The more or less doubtful particulars of St. Patrick's life, as gathered from Tirechan, Muirchu, and others, have been woven into consecutive narratives by many writers during the last few years, and we must do no more here than refer

His landing
in Ireland
to his
death and
burial.

our readers to some of these, merely mentioning that he is said to have landed in Wicklow harbour about A. D. 432, to have met with a hostile reception, and then to have sailed northward with his companions, touching at St. Patrick's Isle, and landing on the shores of Strangford Lough. Here they made a convert of one Dichu, who gave St. Patrick a barn for his first church, now represented by that of Saul (*Sabhall*, barn); that St. Patrick next sought out his old master Milchu, who, warned by his Druids, set fire to his house and goods, and perished in the flames rather than risk being converted, or witness the triumphs of Patrick; that he next went to Tara at the great annual convention, and that many of the chief men were converted, King

¹ St. Patrick, 314-321. It has been supposed that there were two Patricks as well as Palladius,

whose acts have been blended. See Petrie, in *Trans. R. I. A.* vol. xviii, *Antiquities*, pp. 115-118.

Laeghaire (Leary) himself being baptized, though continuing pagan at heart, and at last buried with pagan rites at his own request. Next, he repaired to the neighbouring station of Teltown, where a brother of Laeghaire was converted, and the present church of Donaghpatrick founded. He then laboured in Connaught and Ulster, and obtained a grant of land for the church of Armagh, whence arose the primacy which that see still enjoys. Afterwards he laboured in Munster, and took part in the revision of the Brehon laws. Finally, in his old age, his heart turned to the scenes of his earliest successes as a missionary, and he died at Saul, the barn-church. It is said that there was a contention between the men of Armagh and the men of Down as to which should shelter his body, and one point among others in which he was said to resemble Moses was that no one knew where his body lay until St. Columba pointed out the true resting-place at Saul, by which is probably meant Downpatrick, about two miles S.W. The weight of evidence however seems to be in favour of Armagh¹.

§ 5. Whatever may be the amount of truth in what is commonly stated about St. Patrick, there is no doubt that he exercised a great influence on the local 'kings' or chieftains, who were, as we have seen, commonly followed by their clans, and he may rightly be venerated as 'the Apostle' of Ireland, although many of the people remained unconverted, and continued to regard him with hostility. In the Confession, written towards the close of his life, he says that he was in daily expectation of being put to death² or driven back to slavery, and a partial apostasy appears to have taken place during the

¹ See Olden, in *Proc. R. I. A.* third ser., ii. 655.

² When in the twelfth century it was objected by a Roman ecclesiastic that the Irish Church had never produced a single martyr,

the retort made by Maurice, abp. of Cashel, was that, however barbarous the Irish might have been, they had never laid violent hands on the saints of God. Giraldus, *Topog. Hib.* Dist. iii. cap. 32.

two centuries following his death¹. He left behind him, in addition to the Confession and Letter on Coroticus, a hymn in Irish called his *Lorica* or religious armour, which he is said to have sung at Tara². Bishop Healy tells us that even to this day it is chanted in Irish by the peasantry in the South and West, and 'regarded as a strong shield against all evils natural and supernatural³.' Of his own period is a Latin alphabetical hymn in his praise, written by his nephew St. Sechnall or Secundinus⁴, who also wrote the hymn *Sancti, venite*, now so well known in the Church of England as 'Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord⁵.' Some canons attributed to St. Patrick on insufficient grounds, and extracts from the *Senchus Mòr* relating to the Church, are printed in Haddan and Stubbs⁶. In the Book of Armagh are some traditional *Dicta Patritii*⁷, some of which may be genuine. One has become famous through being often quoted thus, 'O Church of the Scots (Irish), nay of the Romans, as ye are Christians, be ye also Romans⁸.' The original is 'Aecclesia Scotorum, immo Romanorum, ut Christiani, ita ut Romani sitis, ut decantetur vobiscum oportet omni hora orationis vox illa laudabilis *Curie lesson, Christe lesson. Omnis aecclesia quae sequitur me cantet Curie lesson, Christe lesson, Deo gratias.*' It will be seen that the opening words have a somewhat different complexion when taken with what follows, but even then the sentiment is hardly what we should expect from St. Patrick, judging by his undoubtedly genuine writings. In connexion with the saying *Deo gratias*, Muirchu gives a curious story of his being

¹ Stokes, *Tripartite*, cxliii; Skene, *Celtic Sc.* ii. 39.

² Printed, with translation, in Haddan and Stubbs, II. ii. 320, and elsewhere previously. See note, *ib.*, p. 323.

³ *Insula Sanctorum*, p. 77. Mrs. Alexander's translation of this fine hymn was sung in procession in York Minster on St. Patrick's Day, 1891, at the enthronement

of Archbishop Magee.

⁴ Also in Haddan and Stubbs, II. ii. p. 324; see notes, *ib.*, p. 327; translation in Olden's *Epistles, &c. of St. Patrick*, p. 110.

⁵ *Hymns A. and M.* No. 313. See below, p. 78 n.

⁶ Vol. II. pt. ii. 328 sq.

⁷ Stokes, *Tripart.* 301; Wright, *Writings, &c.* 76.

⁸ E. g. in Healy, p. 87.

reported to say *Grasacham* (*gratias agamus*)¹, both when he received a present and when it was taken from him. (Cp. 1 Thess. v. 18.)

§ 6. Before taking our leave of St. Patrick, we must briefly touch upon some of the principal legends on which his fame so largely rests. One is, his driving all the demons, serpents, toads, &c., out of Ireland with his pastoral staff. This appears first in the Life by Jocelin of Furness, written in the twelfth century, and subsequently in various Breviaries and Missals. The germ of the legend is the probably historical circumstance related by Tirechan, that, while Patrick was fasting during Lent alone on a mountain, he was much troubled by flocks of birds, which darkened the air (Stokes, *Trip.* 322). In the *Tripartite* the birds have become demons in the shape of black birds, and Patrick drives them away with his bell (*Ib.* 115). Jocelin says that he drove all the venomous creatures into the sea with the 'staff of Jesus,' and that from that time to his time they have altogether ceased to infest Ireland (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 102, 103)².

¹ Wright, 78, where see reff.

² Ireland has enjoyed an immunity from snakes and some other reptiles from time immemorial. This fact is referred to by Solinus in the third cent. (*Polyhist.* xxii), by Bede in the eighth (*E.H.* i. 1), and by many other writers. The subject is fully discussed, with catenae of quotations from earlier writers, in Messingham, *Florileg. Insulae SS.* (1624) pp. 127-134, and in Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 255. The credit usually assigned to St. Patrick was given by some to Joseph of Arimathaea (Ussher, *Wks.* vi. 300). According to Thompson (*Nat. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iv. pp. 61-68), the following reptiles are now found in Ireland: the common lizard, *lacerta agilis*, is common in suitable localities; the harmless snake, *natrix torquata*, has often been introduced, but has no chance

against the prejudice of the Irish, or their jealousy for the credit of St. Patrick; the common frog, *rana temporaria*, was introduced by Dr. Guithers in 1699, by putting frog-spawn from England into a ditch in Trinity College Park, from which the frogs spread into many parts of Ireland, where they are now common. There is a jocular similitude in Swift's '*Considerations about maintaining the Poor*,' where he says that 'society-marks' (badges of insurance offices on houses) 'spread faster and farther than the colony of frogs.' (*Wks.* 1880, vol. ii. p. 132; see note.) Giraldus has a chapter on a frog which was exhibited to vast numbers of people near Waterford c. 1179, and terribly alarmed the King of Ossory, who regarded it as a most sure sign of coming calamities.

St. Patrick's crosier, which may have been a genuine relic, has a wonderful story connected with it which culminates in its being given him by Christ Himself, in Lerins¹ or some other island in the Tyrrhene sea; to this crosier also belongs the legend of its having been used to drive away the reptiles. It was preserved at Armagh until after the Norman Conquest, when it was transferred to Dublin. There it remained until it was destroyed by Archbishop Browne in 1538. The story of St. Patrick's purgatory, first published by Henry of Saltrey in the twelfth century, is connected with a cave in an island in Lough Derg in Donegal, whither Irish pilgrims still resort. This one has perhaps been set up as a rival to an earlier St. Patrick's Purgatory on the top of the mountain Croagh Patrick, co. Mayo². Perhaps the best known legend of all is that of St. Patrick's illustrating the doctrine of the Trinity by the leaf of the shamrock. The use of the trefoil as an emblem in Ireland is very ancient, but probably of pagan origin. None of the early or mediaeval Lives however connect it with St. Patrick, and the legend seems not to be found earlier than A.D. 1600³. It is not mentioned by Colgan, who wrote in 1647.

Frogs have been seen in the island of Achill in modern times; the natterjack toad, *bufo calamita*, is said to be indigenous in Kerry; at least two kinds of water-newt, *lissotriton punctatus* and *palmipes*, are found in some localities; the blindworm, viper, great crested newt, and common toad, are not yet found in a wild state. The probable explanation of the former immunity of Ireland from reptiles is, that these creatures migrated westward, and that before our islands were separated from the Continent a certain number had travelled as far as England, and a smaller number, perhaps only the lizards, as far as Ireland, and that, when the con-

tinuity of the land was broken, their further progress was stopped. There are now twenty-two species in Belgium, eleven in England, and five in Ireland. (Ramsay, *Physical Geology*, fifth ed., p. 483.)

¹ There is no mention of Lerins in any of the earlier lives, not even in the *Tripartite*. Modern writers have been misled by the Bollandists, who thought that *Aralanensis*, of Arles (Tirechán in Stokes's *Trip.* 302), might refer to Lerins. *Acta SS.* Mar. 17, p. 528.

² There is a large amount of information about the Purgatory in *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. i. pp. 139-155, with Kelly's notes.

³ For these legends see *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 205, and works there

III. SAINTS OF THE PATRICIAN PERIOD, AND THE 'THREE ORDERS' OF IRISH SAINTS.

§ 1. Three of the principal of St. Patrick's contemporaries or immediate successors may now be very briefly referred to. Benignus, or Benen, was an early follower and life-long companion of St. Patrick, and there is a very pretty legend, possibly founded on facts, about his 'call'. He is spoken of as the Psalm-singer, and became bishop at Armagh. He died in 468, and was accounted the Apostle and Patron of Connaught.

Brigida, Bridget, or Bride, 'the Mary of Ireland,' was and is scarcely less popular than St. Patrick himself. Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga* consists of acts of Patrick, Columba, and Bridget, the 'three common patrons' of Ireland, according to the title. Like many other Celtic saints, she was of royal descent, but a child of shame. Received and baptized, along with her mother, by the disciples of St. Patrick, in after years she lived to be foundress and first abbess of Kildare. This house had affiliated houses of monks and of nuns all over the country and she was abbess above all other abbesses; hence her domestic bishop and his successors long had pre-eminence among the bishops of Ireland, who were, as we know², not uncommonly in the position of domestic chaplains subject to abbots, or even to abbesses. As in the case of St. Patrick, her fame was to a great extent the result of the legends that gathered round her memory, many of the incidents in which can be referred to paganism. (Elton, 270.) The one that most concerns us is that she prophesied of the birth of St. Columba, and of his becoming as a great tree whose top should reach over Erin

cited; on St. Patrick's Purgatory, Cusack, 621-640; Olden, 263-267; for a striking account of Lough Derg and of a pilgrimage in 1817, Carleton, *Traits and Stories*, 1860, i.

236-270.

¹ See Newell, *St. Patrick*, 81, 82.

² Reeves, 1857, 339-341; 1874, civ, cv; Stokes, *Celtic Ch.* 104.

and Albania (Scotland). She was much associated with St. Patrick, and is said to have made his winding sheet. She died about 523¹.

Maucteus or Mochta is mentioned by Adamnan as a British stranger, a holy man, a disciple of St. Patrick, who prophesied of St. Columba². He Mochta. is said to have come over to Ireland with twelve disciples and to have evangelized the county Louth; also to have founded monastic schools, first one at Kilmore (*Cella magna*) and afterwards a more famous one at Louth. He died 535. Four other monastic schools of the fifth century are treated on in Healy, ch. vi.

§ 2. It may be well now to say a few words on the 'Three Orders' of Irish saints. Our knowledge of this The Three Orders. ancient classification is derived from a document of the middle of the eighth century³, in which the Irish saints are divided into three distinct classes or orders, who may be severally described as secular, monastic, and eremitical. The saints of the first order, which continued for about a century after St. Patrick, were all bishops, 350 in number, founders of churches. They had one head, Christ, and one leader, Patrick⁴. They had one mass, one celebration, one tonsure from ear to ear, one Easter, on the fourteenth moon after the vernal equinox, and what one church excommunicated all did. They did not refuse the services and society of women (or according to another MS., either laymen or women), because, founded on Christ the Rock, they feared not temptation⁵. All these were sprung from the Romans, Franks, Britons, and Scots (Irish).

¹ St. Bridget of Ireland is not to be confounded with St. Bridget of Sweden, famous for her 'revelations,' and as the foundress of the Brigittine Order of nuns, who died July 23, 1373.

² See Pref. 2, p. 4.

³ Printed by Ussher and others, e. g. in *Acta SS. Hiberniæ ex Cod. Salmani.* 161-164; see Reeves, 1857,

334, 1874, 233.

⁴ Not even in so late a document as this, have we either here or in the account of the second order, a word about the Pope.

⁵ There were women in their ecclesiastical societies or households; the stricter monastic rule had not yet come in.

The second order consisted of few bishops and many presbyters, 300 in all. They had one head, our Lord; they celebrated different masses and had different rules; their Easter and tonsure were as in the first order, but they refused the services of women, separating them from their monasteries. This order has lasted, says the document, for four reigns from the cessation of the first order. They received a mass from bishop David, and Gillas (*al.* Gildas), and Docus, the Britons¹.

The third order consisted of presbyters and a few bishops, 100 in all; they dwelt in deserts, and lived on herbs and water, and on alms; they despised private property; they had various rules, masses, tonsures, and Easters, differing among themselves. They lived during four reigns, and continued till the great mortality (A. D. 666).

The first order was *sanctissimus*, the second *sanctior*, the third *sanctus*; they were as the sun, the moon, and the stars. It seems inconceivable that these three orders should have begun and ended exactly as stated. If we accept the document as on the whole historical, we must nevertheless suppose that there must have been some considerable overlapping, though each order may very well represent the predominant character of the period to which it is assigned. The succession of the first and second orders evidently marks a transition from the missionary church of St. Patrick² to the monastic church of the sixth century, while the third order represents an increase in the number of hermits or solitaries of various schools. It will be with the second order, to which St. Columba belonged, that we shall now be especially concerned.

¹ Some perhaps used the mass of the first order, others this imported one; hence 'different masses.' So also in the third order. Warren remarks that the admixture of passages from the Ambrosian, Gallican, and Mozarabic rites with the Roman Canon in the Stowe Missal (ninth

century) is suggestive of a period when these diversities had not ceased to exist. *Celtic Liturgy*, 204.

² On the enormous preponderance of bishops in St. Patrick's system, and on the early Irish chorepiscopi, see Reeves, *Eccl. Ant. of Down and Connor*, App. A.

IV. IRISH MONASTICISM.

§ 1. The Irish monasticism of the sixth century was the outcome of the spirit and the work of the second order of Saints. It was very different from mediaeval monasticism, and an Irish monastery of that date, and for long after, was not in the least like those monasteries of the middle ages whose ruins are still existing in most parts of Ireland, as well as elsewhere. Celtic monachism was the transition from the hermit life to that of the religious orders of the middle ages. This transition soon took place in the East. The first monks were, as the word *μοναχός* implies, solitaries. This earliest monasticism is supposed to have arisen in Egypt and Syria, whither numbers of Christians were driven by the Decian persecution in the middle of the third, and that of Diocletian at the beginning of the fourth century. Many of these exiles are believed to have betaken themselves to a hermit life, possibly influenced not only by Christian, but by Manichaean, Jewish, Buddhist, and even pagan ideas. They soon divided themselves into two classes. Some continued the original hermit life, which was in later times practised by the third order of Irish saints, and by the comparatively few hermits or anchorites of the middle and even later ages. Others united themselves in communities each under the rule of a 'father' or abbot¹, and lived as coenobites. Through constant communication between Alexandria and Marseilles, Egyptian monachism soon spread into Gaul, and then from Gaul into Ireland².

§ 2. Such being the case, it is interesting to know, by existing remains and early accounts, that the primitive Irish monasteries were of the same type as those of Egypt and Syria, consisting of

¹ From the Syriac *Abba*, i.e. father. a prominent part. (Sozomen, *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 14.) On the influence of John Cassian and others, see Stokes, *Celt. Ch.* Lecture ix.

² In the obscure beginnings of monastic life in Europe, St. Martin of Tours undoubtedly plays

scattered huts or cells grouped around a church or oratory of humble character, and surrounded by a stone wall (cashel), or by an earthen rampart (rath, dun, or lis), with a ditch¹, and on the top a palisade and quick hedge for seclusive enclosure, and for defence against robbers and wild beasts. And it may probably have been safety as well as solitude that so often recommended islands to the Celtic monks as sites for monasteries.

In Ireland the cells were often wooden or wattled huts, but not uncommonly of stone, and of 'bee-hive' form, made by laying each course a little within the one below, until the top was covered in. The earliest stone buildings are dry-walled, and some were built with clay used as mortar before the use of lime became universal. The little churches or oratories were invariably oblong, without chancels; when of stone they were at first roofed on the same principle as the bee-hive cells, the construction of the arch not being understood till much later. And the descriptions of early Irish monasteries would serve for those of Egypt and Syria. There are found the same bee-hive cells, the same stone-roofed oratories, the same outer defences. In Ireland the cells in some cases have doorways so low that a man has to creep through, and inside is a set-off, forming a stone bench on which the monk could sit or lie². There is, however, no reason for supposing that all the buildings in Ireland were directly copied from those in the East. It was rather that the same mode of life required similar buildings, and a similar stage in civilization developed the same methods of construction. The first Christian architecture in Ireland was certainly in some respects, and probably in most, a continua-

¹ Water still remains in some of these. Joyce, *Geography of the Counties of Ireland*, 1883, p. 31.

² See on this subject Warren, ch. ii. § 1, and Lecture ix, 'Ireland and the East,' in Prof. Stokes's *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, and

the end of Lect. xi. For illustrations and ground-plans, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, by Margaret Stokes, 1887, part ii, ch. ii, and ref. p. 82; Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Lecture iii; Lord Dunraven, *Irish Architecture*.

tion of the pagan work. When the local kings or chieftains became Christian, their raths or cashels, or new ones built in imitation of them, protected the earliest oratories and bee-hive cells, which latter were simply the old pagan dwellings, now serving as monastic cells adapted to that stage in the monastic idea which had then been reached. But, as Dr. Anderson says, 'there is no pagan structure which, in Scotland or in Ireland, assumes either the form or character of a Christian church, however early or however rude'.¹ Whence then came the idea of the little oblong church or oratory? Most probably from the East, where, as we have seen, similar churches existed.² With respect to burial-grounds, the pagan practice was to enclose them within a stone circle, but in the primitive Irish Church the enclosure was oblong in form, like the oratory, and fenced by pillar-stones set close together, each marked with a cross. Some of the early stone buildings are in very good preservation to this day. But the largest apartments, as well as some churches, and the greater number of the cells, were no doubt constructed of much less durable materials, such as wood, wattles, and clay, and so have perished ages ago. Hence it is that not a trace of St. Columba's monastery is to be seen at Iona. There must have been rooms with plenty of light, for illuminations such as those in the *Book of Kells* or the *Book of Durrow* could not have been executed in places in the least like bee-hive cells.³ The great hall at Tara, where national assemblies were held, appears from existing indications to have measured 759 feet by 90, and, according to Petrie, must have been constructed of wood and clay. And there is no reason why there may not have been similar buildings connected with the monasteries, of any size that might be required. Many of the churches, indeed, appear to have been of this kind, especially in the east and north-east of Ireland, where stone was less plentiful. But

¹ Scotland, &c. 79, 80.

Architecture, 1874, ii. 915, 925.

² See Fergusson's *History of* ³ Possibly, however, out of doors.

they were always small, 20 to 40 feet in length, rarely 60 (oratories about 10½ feet), never having aisles or apse, or anything approaching the basilica form, nor has any round church been found, nor indeed anything of Roman type. The churches, however, often had a 'side-house' or sacristy (Erdamh, exedra, or exedriola), as in many existing buildings¹. We find mention also of the kitchen, and of the 'great-house' or refectory. At Armagh, according to the *Tripartite Life*, the kitchen was 17 feet long, and the great-house was 27. There was also a guest-house for strangers, and there were storehouses, drying-kilns, and mills, as well as workshops, and perhaps rooms solely for writing and study. The famous 'Round Towers' are invariably connected with ecclesiastical foundations, and mostly belong to the ninth and tenth centuries; some may be earlier, and others may be the successors of earlier ones. It is supposed that there may be a reference to one in Adamnan, iii. 15, which is founded on Cummian, x. See note p. 144. They were used as bell-towers, and as places of temporary refuge during attacks upon monasteries, probably also as beacons and lighthouses. (See Dr. Petrie on *Round Towers*, and Miss Stokes's *Christian Art*, Part ii. 48.)

§ 3. With regard to discipline, each monastery, with its dependent houses, appears to have had a rule of its own. These rules had a general resemblance in the most important points. The Abbot was the head of each monastic family, including the daughter-houses, which were governed by local heads under the abbot. Sometimes the abbot was a bishop, but usually a priest, with one or more bishops subject to him as members of the community, but performing episcopal functions, and treated with honour and deference, as bishops. Even abbesses had such episcopal chaplains subject to their authority. The system was one of monastic territorial jurisdiction rather than one of diocesan

¹ The Great Gospel of Colum- was stolen out of the Erdamh at
cille, known as the *Book of Kells*, Kells in 1005. *Chron. Scotorum*, 245.

episcopacy, though episcopacy was always held to be essential to the very being of a church. Poverty, celibacy, and obedience were all essential to the monastic life. There were married *secular* clergy, as for example St. Patrick's father and grandfather, and, when St. Patrick wanted a bishop for the men of Leinster, he asked for 'a man of one wife.' Such marriages were perhaps regarded by later monastic writers as no marriages at all, and clerks' wives may be referred to as 'mulieres,' or even 'meretrices.' Nevertheless, such marriages went on in Ireland until the fifteenth century, the Roman canon law notwithstanding. The Brehon laws assume the existence of married as well as of unmarried clergy. Some writers have been driven to great straits in order to conceal these and kindred facts. (Olden, 121, 289; Warren's *Celtic Liturgy*, 13, 14.)

§ 4. Hospitality was shown to strangers, in honour of whom the regular fasts were relaxed, according to the means at the command of the house, Hospitality. but the usual fare of the 'family' was very plain and simple.

§ 5. The ordinary dress was a coarse woollen wrapper or cowl, probably with a cord or strap round the loins, over a tunic or under-garment. The old Dress. Irish *casail*, often rendered *casula*, and 'chasuble,' was the ordinary outer garment worn not only by ecclesiastics, but by Druids and women. It is supposed to be referred to in the famous old Irish rime about St. Patrick¹ in the words rendered by Muirchu 'et sua *domu* capite perforato,' *domus* being regarded as equivalent to *casa*, of which *casula* is the diminutive. The monk slept in his clothes on a straw mat or something of the kind in his cell, and with probably a rug or skin over him.

§ 6. The tonsure was made by shaving off all the hair in front of a line drawn from ear to ear, and is called Tonsure. the frontal, 'St. John's,' or Celtic tonsure, to distinguish it from the coronal, 'St. Peter's,' or Roman; and the

¹ Printed in Stokes's *Tripartite*, 274; Todd's *St. Patrick*, 411.

total, 'St. Paul's,' or Greek tonsure. The Roman party nicknamed it Simon Magus's tonsure, probably with reference to some tonsure which the *magi* or Irish Druids had¹. There was also a slaves' tonsure, which is said in the *Tripartite* to have been exchanged by St. Patrick for that of a monk. (Stokes, 25.) It would seem that in 1300 the Irish generally 'half-shaved their heads.'—*Cambrensis Eversus*, i. 194 n.

§ 7. The life of St. Columba contains many references to Church the days and hours of Divine Service, and we Services. need hardly doubt that the Columban usages were much the same as what had long prevailed in Irish monasteries. The solemn days were Sundays and Saints' days (*natales*), and were observed with celebration of the Eucharist (which does not appear to have taken place daily) in addition to the Offices for the Hours sung on all days, rest from labour², and an allowance of better food. All the usual Hours appear to have been observed at Iona, except that there is no mention of Compline, which was evolved from the informal prayers at bedtime in the sixth century, and seems not to have been adopted by the Celtic Church until a later period, if at all. The terms for Vespers (including Lauds) were *Vespertinalis missa*³, and *Vespertinales laudes*. The Holy Eucharist was called *sacra Eucharistiae ministeria*, *sacra mysteria*, *sacrae oblationis mysteria* or *obsequia*. Wine, water, and bread were provided, and the priest stood *ante altare*. The terms for consecration were *sacra Eucharistiae consecrare* (vel con-

¹ See Todd, 455 n., 456; Stokes, *Trip.* 509 n. The term applied to a Christian missionary in ancient Irish writings is *taicend*. This is said by Dr. Reeves (1857) to be rendered in the *Book of Armagh*, fo. 2 v. by *Asciciput*, 'Adzehead,' and it is so rendered in Dr. Whitley Stokes's ed. of the *Tripartite* (1887), p. 35. But Dr. Todd (1864) says (411 n.) that the word is *Lasciciput*, which he connects with *lascivium* (*licivium*) barber's soap. The reading *Asciciput*

is confirmed in *Anal. Boll.* i. 556. In the MS. the *l* is put in the margin, as if the scribe had been uncertain which was the right word.

² Sunday was so observed, according to Muirehu and the *Tripartite*, by St. Patrick (ed. Stokes, 147, 193, 289; *Anal. Boll.* i. 571); see also *Cal. Oengus*, ed. Stokes, lxiv, cxlvii; Bede, *Vit. S. Cuthb.* cap. 27; Olden, p. 114.

³ See notes on *missarum*, iii. 11, p. 141, and *vespertinalem missam*, iii. 23, p. 158.

ficere) *mysteria, sacram oblationem consecrare, Christi corpus conficere*. Concelebration might be practised by two (or more ?) priests, but a bishop celebrated alone. The brethren communicated. On extraordinary occasions, even in the dead of night, as well, probably, as for the ordinary church services and for meals, the abbot or bishop called the brethren together by the sound of a hand-bell, which seems to have been in his own possession for life, and to have passed on to his successor.

§ 8. These bells were of the rudest construction, and all which have been preserved have a strong family Ecclesiastical likeness. That of St. Patrick ¹ is the oldest and most authentic relic of metal work of the Christian period that has come down to us ; it has an unbroken history of 1,400 years. It is formed of two plates of sheet iron bent over and riveted together in a quadrilateral form with rounded angles, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, about $3\frac{3}{4}$ diameter at the base, and a little less at the top. After being riveted, it has been dipped into melted bronze, which has both coated it and run into the joints. The handle is an iron loop let into holes on the top of the bell, and further secured outside by bronze attachments. It is, indeed, made in the same way as bells for camels, cattle, and sheep still are, and have been from the earliest times. The ordinary representation of St. Antony with a bell, in his hand has perhaps originated in some conception of him as the head of a monastic house, bearing the bell as a recognized symbol of monastic rule. And possibly the use of hand-bells may have come into Ireland from the East. Whether they had been used in pagan Ireland appears to be uncertain.

§ 9. In course of time the bell of any famous saint came to be regarded as a most sacred relic, and, rude as it was itself both in material and in workmanship, it was enclosed in a shrine, made in its own form, and covered with the most elaborate patterns in metal-work,

¹ In the collection of the Royal Irish Academy.

resplendent with gold and precious stones, and having rings at the sides for suspension round the neck. These magnificent shrines, however, formed no part of the equipment of an Irish monastery of the time with which we are concerned; they are supposed to have been made about 400 or 500 years after the deaths of the saints whose bells they enclose. They were preserved from generation to generation in the families that represented the original founders of the monasteries; hence the survival of so many, between fifty and sixty in Ireland alone¹.

§ 10. Sacred books, as missals and Gospels, and crosiers, Books and were regarded with like veneration, and in their course of time enshrined and preserved by shrines. hereditary custodians in the same way as the bells. The most venerable of these are the *Domhnach Airgid*, a Latin MS. of the Gospels which may have belonged to St. Patrick, and the famous *Cathach* or Battle-book, a Psalter possibly in St. Columba's handwriting². Many of these shrines or outer cases are described in Miss Stokes's admirable South Kensington Handbook, referred to p. xxxviii n.

To return now to the usages of Iona, as illustrating those of the still earlier Irish Church.

§ 11. The chief festival was Easter, and the *Paschales dies*, Easter and from Easter Day to Whitsunday, were marked the Paschal by greater indulgence than other times. Sunday controversy. of course was kept as 'an Easter Day in every week,' and as a day of rest from work and travelling (Olden, 114, 115), as, e. g., by St. Cuthbert (Bede, *Vit. S. C.* xxvii; *Metrical Life*, 2870-77). And in the *Tripartite* (c. A. D. 1000) we find St. Patrick rebuking the heathen for digging a rath on a Sunday (Stokes, 233). In the story of the expedition

¹ For accounts and illustrations of Celtic bells and shrines, see Miss Stokes, 1887, ch. iv; pt. i, Anderson, Lecture v; Ellacombe, *Bells of the Church*, ch. vii; Warren, *Celtic Liturgy*, 92, and authorities cited. Giraldus appears to have

been much interested in Celtic bells and crosiers; *Topog. Hib.* *Distinctio* iii. 33, 34.

² See O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, Lect. xv, and below, vi. § 6. More recent opinion is less favourable to the genuineness of both these MSS.

of the sons of Ua Corra they are represented as finding a man on an island digging with a fiery spade as a punishment for digging on Sundays when on earth, and on another island a man riding a horse of fire, he having taken his brother's horse and ridden it on a Sunday (O'Curry, *MS. Mater.* 293). As to the time of keeping Easter, there had been and still were great differences in the Church, as there is still between the East and the West¹. The churches of Asia long kept Easter Day on the same day as the Jews' Passover, viz. the fourteenth day of Nisan or Abib, which month began with the new moon next to the vernal equinox, so that the fourteenth day was the day of the Paschal full moon; hence those who kept Easter on this day, which might be any day of the week, were called 'Quartodecimans.' The Western churches kept Easter Day on the Sunday following, and this rule was confirmed by the Council of Nicaea. But the time of the year in which the vernal equinox fell was a matter of astronomical calculation, and depended on what 'cycle' was adopted. During the fourth, and first half of the fifth, century the Alexandrian church used a nineteen-year cycle, while the Roman used the old Jewish eighty-four-year cycle. But in 463 Rome adopted a new cycle of 532 years. Now the Irish church had received with St. Patrick and its first teachers, not the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen years, which might conceivably have come to them through Marseilles and Gaul, but the old Roman and Jewish eighty-four-year cycle, which had prevailed all over Europe; indeed so little had the Irish clergy to do with Rome during the earlier centuries of its life, that they knew nothing of the new Roman cycle and consequent alteration in the time of Easter, and, when attempts were made to bring in this Roman Easter

¹ The present difference however is, that in Russia and Greece and throughout the East the rectification of the Calendar made by Pope Gregory XIII, in 1582, is

still rejected, and the 'Old Style' tenaciously adhered to, as was the case in the British dominions until Jan. 1, 1752.

and the Roman tonsure, they resisted with a vehemence altogether inconsistent with the alleged saying of St. Patrick, to the effect that the Irish should sing *kyrie eleeson* that they might be indeed Roman¹, or with any such dependence on Rome as might have been inferred had St. Patrick really sought consecration and mission from the Pope. As a matter of fact, the Roman Easter and tonsure were not accepted by the Celtic church until A. D. 716².

§ 12. The only other great festival mentioned by Adamnan Holy Days is the *Natalitium Domini*, or Christmas. Wednesdays and Fridays, except during the *Paschales dies*, were fast-days, and Lent was strictly kept as a preparation for Easter, while some kept the forty days before Christmas in a similar way. We find baptism administered to children, and to an old man at the point of death, as well as to adult converts. Holy orders were conferred by a bishop only. It is not certain whether one bishop consecrating another usually had, as later, at least two others with him as co-consecrators. Lanfranc and Anselm both complained that consecration by single bishops was practised in Ireland, and there are two or three known instances of it. Bishops and abbots had crosiers; see pp. xxxiii, xliv. Confession was made *coram omnibus*, and the abbot enjoined penance and gave absolution. But there was also a system of personal direction, and the director was called one's *anmchara*, *animæ carus*, or soul-friend. The saying 'a man without a soul-friend is a body without a head' may belong, however, to the mediæval period, though attributed in legend to the time of St. Bridget. (See Stokes, *Calendar of Oengus*, xlvi, cxxix.) The sign of the cross for the averting of evil or enduing with virtue was in constant use, and in St. Columba's time objects which he had blessed were regarded and used as charms. The Burial of the Dead was a religious office

¹ See above, p. xxxi.

² How entirely independent of one another and indeed mutually antagonistic on these points the

Celtic and Roman churches were is fully shown in the Introduction to Warren's *Celtic Liturgy*, § 4, pp. 29-46.

following upon the *exequiae*, which commonly lasted till the third day after death; hence saints' days are often on the third day after their death, the *depositio* or burial being in these cases commemorated rather than the *natalis* or birthday to the future life.

§ 13. The employments of the communities, apart from the church services and private devotion, were reading, writing, and labour. Holy Scripture was a principal subject of study; the Psalms were commonly learnt by heart. Latin was still a living language in the monasteries; Greek and even Hebrew received some attention. Lives of the saints were both written and read, and perhaps some of the Latin Fathers were studied as time went on. Adamnan, like other Celtic writers, was much given to the use of Greek words turned into Latin forms either by himself or others, and sometimes quoted Greek words, and put Latin words into Greek letters. And, in the last page of Codex A of his Life of St. Columba, is the Lord's Prayer in the semi-uncial Greek characters adopted by the Irish scribes¹, and exhibiting their usual confusion between ϵ and η , with other clerical errors which show that the scribe did not always understand the words, but that Greek was felt to be at least a matter of interest and curiosity². Writing formed a large part of the occupation of monks and scholars, some of whom probably worked at little else. We find mention of waxed tablets³, styles, skins, and inkhorns⁴. Most of the books

¹ A good deal of this writing is found in the *Book of Armagh*. See Warren, note on p. 157; Reeves, 1857, p. xxi; below, p. 1, n.

² On the whole subject of Greek in Gaul and western Europe down to 700, and the knowledge of Greek in Ireland between 500 and 900, see Dr. G. T. Stokes, in *Proc. R. I. A.* third ser., vol. ii. pp. 177-202.

³ 'Cuius mihi formam in tabula cerata ipse depinxit.' *De Loc.*

Sanctis, i. 2. 'Mihi Adamnано... primo in tabulas describenti;... dictavit quae nunc in membranis brevi textu scribuntur.' *Ib. Prolog.* On pre-Christian Irish tablets, see O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 465, 470, and on waxen and other tablets, Maunde Thompson, *Palaeography*, 1893, p. 18.

⁴ Reeves (on i. 25) refers to Keller, *Bilder*, &c., p. 92, pl. vii (Zürich, 1851).

Herzspanic?

used in the churches, as ordinary missals, psalters, lectionaries, hymn-books; or for study, as the Scriptures, Fathers, Saints' lives, chronicles, &c., would be but little ornamented. Among the 'school-books' in use were educational poems forming class-books to be learnt by heart, and commented on or explained by the teachers¹. The art of illumination doubtless grew by degrees, but such magnificent specimens as the *Book of Kells* and the *Book of Durrow*, both of which have been attributed to St. Columba himself, are now considered to be of the seventh century, not of the sixth. The colophon of the *Book of Durrow* refers to the writer, Columba, but Columba was a very common name, and the colophon, moreover, appears to be copied from some other earlier one, and to contain, as do other parts of the MS., errors which St. Columba would hardly have committed². But whoever the scribe and illuminator may have been, they have produced one of the finest extant works of its kind. Except at the beginning of each Gospel, the only attempts at ornament are the red dots round the capital letters, and the filling in of blank portions of lines with a sort of chain ornament. But the first letter in each Gospel is a fine specimen of Celtic illumination, and before each Gospel is an Evangelistic symbol, and a page occupied by interlaced and other Celtic patterns. The 'Man' of St. Matthew has been described as an 'ecclesiastic' with the Irish tonsure. The hair is parted in the middle, and the front part of the head certainly has some appearance of being shaven. The text is 'a tolerably pure Vulgate.' Much finer still is the *Book of Kells*, the text of which is the Vulgate modified by additions, &c., from the Old Latin. It is impossible to give any idea of the splendour and elaboration of its ornamental pages and letters, or of the extreme minuteness of the work, which often requires a lens to trace it, 'yet these minute lines are as firm as if drawn by a machine, and as free as if they

¹ Joyce, *Hist.* 160.

² See p. 165, note 5.

were the growth of nature.' 'But,' as Mr. Madan observes, 'the limitations of excellence are also obvious. When the human figure or historical scenes are attempted, the effect is poor and often barbarous, and even trees and flowers were avoided by Irish artists; so that our judgement on the Irish school must be that it exhibits, not the highest form of art, but the highest development of that particular grade of art in which regularity and minuteness hold a more important place than free drawing from nature.' Oriental and mediæval MSS. depend largely on the free use of gold for the glory of their illuminations, but in this and other Celtic works no gold is employed, and the characteristic polychrome is obtained solely by the use of pigments which produced richness rather than brilliancy of effect¹. Books, being so highly prized, as well they might be, were kept in satchels of embossed leather (*polairi*) into which they would just fit; these had long straps by which they could be hung upon walls, or round the neck, under one arm. Such are the satchels of the *Book of Armagh* (made for a larger book), of the Corpus missal at Oxford, and of St. Moedoc's reliquary. Curzon found the books in the library of an Abyssinian monastery kept exactly in the same way², and the Corpus satchel is very like an Ethiopic one at St. John's College. The Irish had also larger satchels (*tiagha*) to hold a number of books³. The principal manual labours of the Irish monks (beside writing, &c.) were the various branches of agriculture, including cow-keeping, and the preparation of food. Adamnan gives us many details concerning the constitution

¹ On the *Books of Kells* and *Durrow* and on others of the same class, see Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Lecture iv; Miss Stokes's *Handbook*, cc. ii, iii (list of reff. p. 52); *The Book of Trinity College, Dublin*, pp. 159-166; Madan, *MS. Books*, ch. v, and below, vi. § 5. The oft-quoted description by Giraldus Cambrensis of the Kil-

dare Gospels, now lost, might have been written for the *Book of Kells*, and in its way it cannot be surpassed. (*Topog. Hib.* ii. 38.)

² *Monasteries of the Levant*, 93.

³ See Reeves's notes, ed. 1857, pp. 115, 116; Miss Stokes's *Handbook*, p. 50; *Archæologia*, xliii. 136; Bp. Wordsworth, *Old Latin Texts*, ii. p. xiv; Petrie, *R. T.* 336-340.

of the monastery at Iona, its officers, the household, the discipline, the religious offices and holy days, the ordinary occupations of the brethren, their buildings, and their jurisdiction¹.

V. MONASTIC SCHOOLS.

§ 1. We must now go back to the latter end of the fifth century, and give a short account of those great monastic schools in Ireland, with more than one of which St. Columba was connected as a learner if not as a teacher. It is probable that the men of the Second Order derived their monastic discipline, as we have seen that they derived a Liturgy, not from St. Patrick and the Saints of the First Order, but from those great Welsh schools which were springing up during the years of the missionary work of St. Patrick's later disciples.

§ 2. The earliest of the Irish schools, and the one regarded as the 'Nursery' of the Saints of the Second Order, was that founded by St. Enda at Aran, the greatest of three islands off Galway bay. Passing by the legendary account of the earlier life of St. Enda, which tells of his crossing from another island in a stone boat², it does appear that he founded his first monastery at Killeany (church of Enda or Enna), and that men were attracted to it from all parts. Among these were the famous St. Brendan of Clonfert, said to have made a seven years' voyage in search of the Fortunate Isles, St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, St. Finnian of Moville, and St. Columba himself; indeed there were hardly any of the great saints of the Second Order who did not spend some time in Aran with St. Enda. The saint was of noble and royal descent, and, before his conversion,

¹ See Dr. Reeves's most complete collection of reff. on all points connected with the life in Iona; ed. 1857, pp. 339-369; ed. 1874, pp. civ-cxxvii.

² A stone in size and form re-

sembling a *curroc* bottom upwards is still shown by the side of the little harbour, but some of the islanders now say it was 'St. Columcille' who came in it.

the head of the tribe of the Oriels, in Ulster. When he came to Aran, he was at first opposed by the pagan chief, who however soon withdrew in his favour. The islands are still full of most interesting ruins of pagan forts and Christian churches¹; the former, with their bee-hive cells, &c. were no doubt made use of by the Christian settlers. As so many came to Aran for a while and then left it in order to set up monasteries of their own, it was by no means a monastery pure and simple as the term is now commonly understood, but rather, like those which succeeded it, a monastery undertaking a great educational work.

§ 3. The School of St. Finnian at Clonard became the most famous of all the great schools of the sixth century. Its founder was known as the Clonard. Tutor of Erin's Saints, and twelve of his disciples were called the twelve apostles of Ireland, the monastic schools which they founded becoming the greatest centres of 'sound learning and religious instruction' in Ireland. Finnian had been under the training of St. David and other Welsh saints, and seems to have founded his school at Clonard about 520. He is said to have had no less than 100 bishops and 3000 students in his college or monastery, though not all, we may presume, at the same time. Bishop Healy, however, thinks that there were as many as 3000² at a time³, and that the instruction was generally given in the open air, the pupils being so seated on the grassy slopes that thousands could hear at a time. They built their own huts, he says, and lived like an encampment of soldiers, sowed and ground their own corn, fished in the rivers, and had milk in abundance from the cows that grazed in the monastic pastures. At

¹ See the first eight plates and plates xxxvi-xlv, with the descriptions, in Lord Dunraven's magnificent work entitled *Notes on Irish Architecture*, 2 vols., large 4to, 1875 and 1877, and Miss Stokes's *Early Chr. Archit.* cc. i, ii.

² This was a favourite tradi-

tionary figure (Montalembert, iii. 93, 94), and it would be safer to say, in the words of Ussher (*Works* vi. 586), that from Clonard 'tantum ex equo Trojano innumeri doctrina et pietate praestantes viri prodierunt.'

³ *Insula Sanctorum*, 201.

Clonard it was the custom that each one of twelve, apparently those mentioned above, should in turn procure the daily food of the rest wherever he could, by labour or buying or begging¹. St. Finnian of Clonard, surnamed 'the Wise,' died Dec. 12, about 550, and was buried at Clonard, where there are now no remains of any very ancient buildings.

§ 4. The school of Clonfert, connected with the see and Clonfert. monastery of that name, was founded by St. Brendan 'the Navigator,' pupil of St. Enda and of St. Finnian of Clonard. He was born about 484, and, after a very eventful life, founded Clonfert in 556 or 557; his great fame both as a saint and as a traveller attracted many students, and for many centuries Clonfert was the most frequented and most famous school in the west of Ireland. St. Brendan ruled the house for twenty years, during which time his passion for travel never altogether deserted him. He occasionally left Clonfert to visit other monasteries, and in Adamnan, iii. 17, we find him, in company with three other founders of monasteries, visiting St. Columba on Hinba island, near Iona. He died in 577 in his 94th year, and was buried at Clonfert. His day is May 16².

§ 5. The School of Moville, or Maghbile, at the head of Moville. Strangford Lough in co. Down, was founded by another St. Finnian, who is not to be confounded with St. Finnian of Clonard by the southern border of Meath. Moville is about five miles south of the Irish Bangor, a school which of all others in Ireland acquired a European reputation. The story of Finnian (or Finbar)

¹ See the Life of St. Columba of Tir-da-glas in *Acta SS Hib. ex Coñ. Salmant.* sect. 5, col. 446; *Tr. Th* 457.

² The very unusual dedication of Brancepeth Church, near Durham, to St. Brendan of Clonfert, has probably been suggested by the name of 'Brandon hill,' a conspicuous elevation in the immediate neighbourhood. For, according to the legend, St. Brendan

built an oratory on Brandon Hill on the west coast of Ireland, and there conceived the idea of finding a land of promise beyond the Atlantic. Possibly, however, the name 'Brandon hill' may have been suggested by the dedication of the church at Brancepeth. Dr. Joyce says that two Brandon hills in Ireland are named from this Saint. *Names*, i. 149.

of Moville is that he was a scion of a noble family settled by Strangford Lough, anciently called Lough Cuan, and that he had made great progress in wisdom and piety, when a bishop called Nennio, with certain disciples, came over from the famous house of Candida Casa in Galloway, to visit the monastery and school of Noendrum, an island in the Lough, now called Island Mahee. Candida Casa was founded about 397 by St. Ninian, who had been educated in Rome and at Tours, whence probably arose much of the fame of his monastery. The young Finnian begged to return with the visitors, and remained some time at Candida Casa. Thence he went to Rome for seven years, as is said, and on his return to Ireland founded Moville about 540. Thus the two Finnians represented Welsh and North British traditions respectively, and one of them represented those of Rome as well. The school of St. Finnian of Moville long flourished under himself and his successors, who for about 200 years appear to have been bishops; its fame however was in course of time eclipsed by that of the Irish Bangor. St. Finnian's penitential code is extant, but his rule is not. Adamnan (ii. 1) relates a miracle which happened while St. Columba was studying with Findbarr or Vinnian a bishop in Scotia (Ireland); this and the post-Adamnanic legend of Columba's furtive copy from St. Finnian's psalter, which will be referred to more particularly below, both relate to Finnian of Moville, who is said to have brought over with him from Rome an entire copy of the Vulgate. He died in 589 at a great age, and was buried at Moville. Colgan and others (e.g. Miss Stokes in her interesting work *Six Months in the Apennines*, Lond. 1892), have identified him with Frigidianus or Fridian bp. of Lucca, who may have been an Irishman, but Lanigan, Todd, and Reeves all consider the two names to belong to totally different persons, whose histories are mixed up in mediaeval legend (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* under FRIDIAN). Fridian is said to have died and been buried at Lucca, Finnian at Moville. (Healy, p. 249.)

§ 6. The School of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise was founded in 544 or 548 by Ciaran Mac In Tsair, i.e. 'the Clonmacnoise. Carpenter's son,' the 'beloved disciple' of Ireland. He was baptized in 512, the probable year of his birth, by a deacon named Justus, and was educated first at Clonard, and then at Aran. St. Enda sent him to found a church on the banks of the Shannon, and he founded one at Isell Ciaran and then another on Inis Ainghin, now Hare Island, in Lough Ree. He did not remain long at either place, but journeyed south and settled at Clonmacnoise, on the left bank of the Shannon, with eight companions, on Saturday Jan. 23, 544 or 548? When Ciaran was planting the first post he was helped by Diarmaid the king's son, and in one of the panels of the great cross at Clonmacnoise (A.D. 916) the clean-shaven monk in his long robe and the bearded prince in short tunic are clearly shown in the act of setting up the post, or a tall wooden cross. Diarmaid became a great benefactor to Clonmacnoise, though he appears to have still kept Druids or soothsayers about him. Ciaran lived only four months after this. He was attended in his last hours by St. Kevin of Glendalough, his 'soul-friend,' whom he had known at Clonard, and to whom he now gave his bell as a parting gift. Having been sprinkled with holy water and having received the holy *viaticum* at the hands of St. Kevin, he passed away in peace, 'at the sacred age of thirty-three,' Sept. 9, or 5? 544 or 549? But, although Ciaran did not live to rule the house, he was held in most loving remembrance, and to this day crowds of pilgrims meet at Clonmacnoise on the 9th of September. His personal relics, such as the cow-skin on which he died, were believed to work miracles of healing, and it was thought that Ciaran's prayers would save the souls of all who were buried in his holy ground. Hence it became a famous place of sepulture, and in Dr. Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*¹ are no less than 179 inscriptions from Clonmacnoise alone

¹ Dublin, 1872 and 1878, 2 vols., 4to.

all very short and simple, and nearly all with incised crosses¹. The great sculptured standing cross was set up for King Fland (ob. 916), by the Abbot Colman (ob. 924), as its inscription shows.

As a monastic school, Clonmacnoise became most of all in Ireland a national rather than a tribal institution. St. Ciaran himself was half northern and half southern, and his successors were chosen from all parts and without any reference to their family connexions. St. Columba visited Clonmacnoise in 585, as we shall see. To one Colchu, *lectorem in Scotia*, usually identified with a head teacher at Clonmacnoise c. 794, the famous Alcuin (Albinus), who had been his pupil, addressed a letter implying the highest respect and deference. He sends alms from King Charles (Charlemagne) and a quantity of (olive) oil, then very scarce in Ireland, to be distributed among the bishops for sacramental purposes².

§ 7. And now that we have passed over in brief review the main points that are known or fairly probable with regard to the great monastic schools of the sixth century³, we shall be better prepared to consider the life of St. Columba in the same way, and shall better understand the nature of his preparation for the great work of his life, namely, the carrying into northern Britain of that Irish Christianity which had itself been derived, in a great measure at any rate, from Britain. St. Patrick himself, as we have seen, was of British extraction, and the Saints of the

Conclusion.

¹ The ordinary formula is simply *Oroit do N.* 'Pray for N.' The stones are now collected together in one of the churches.

² See Ussher's *Works*, iv. 466; Alcuini *Opp.*, Ratisb. 1777, i. 6; *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, ed. Jaffe, pp. 166, 171.

³ On schools of the fifth century, on schools founded by St. Columba in Ireland; viz. Derry, Durrow, and Kells, on Iona, and on the many later schools in Ireland, see Healy's *Insula Sanctorum*. Among these that of Bangor became espe-

cially famous. This Bangor on Belfast Lough is to be distinguished from Bangor in co. Mayo, from Bangor on the Dee, and from Bangor in Carnarvonshire. Its monastery was founded in the sixth century by St. Comgall, the friend of St. Columba, and from it came the famous 'Antiphonary' of Bangor. Beside the monastic schools, there were some carried on at the public expense, and some kept by private individuals, on which see Joyce, *Hist.* part ii. ch. v. p. 155.

Second Order probably derived much more than their Liturgy from Wales. The one St. Finnian was a pupil of St. David, the other had studied with the successors of St. Ninian. The southern Picts, as Bede tells us (*E. H.* iii. 4), had, long before the coming of Columba to Iona, forsaken idolatry, and embraced the truth through the preaching of St. Ninian, but it was reserved for Columba to evangelize the Northern Picts, and this he did, receiving of them the island of Iona, that he might found therein a monastery, which should be a great centre for missionary work.

VI. COLUMBA IN IRELAND.

§ 1. It was not within the scope of the Latin 'Lives' (so called) to say where or when St. Columba was
 Birth and childhood. born¹, but the oldest Irish Life² says at Gartan (little field) on Thursday the day of St. Buite's decease (Dec. 7). The chronology is confused as to the year, but 521 may be the most likely date³. Gartan is a village by a small lake among the hills of Donegal, and the local traditions of St. Columba's birth there are still very strong. He belonged to the clan O'Donnell, which is now represented by Charles J. O'Donel, Esq., and was of royal lineage

¹ Strange stories still enter into the folklore of the peasantry. On Aug. 4, 1893, the editor was told the following by the widow Keelan, aged 74, at Tara: 'St. Columcille never had a father. The way it was was this: St. Bridget was walkin' wid St. Paathrick an' a ball fell from heavin, an' it was that swate she et it all up, an' it made her prignant with Columcille, an' that's what a praste towld me, an' it's thru. St. Bridget, an' St. Paathrick, an' St. Columcille, all lays in one grave in Downpaathrick, so you can put that down.' (Cp. Reeves, 1857, lxxx.) Miraculous conceptions of

a similar kind are not uncommon in mediaeval Irish hagiology. See Stokes's *Calendar of Oengus*, pp. lxi, lxxii, lxxxix, clvi, clxxi.

² This is the primary authority for most things relating to the life of St. Columba that are not recorded by Adamnan. Concerning it see above, *Preface*, p. x.

³ The whole matter has been most fully gone into by Reeves (ed. 1857), lxix, (1874) 225, and now again quite recently by Mr. Alfred Anscombe, who assigns St. Columba's birth to 504, his migration to 546, and his death to 580. *Obit of St. Columba*, 1893, p. 7.

on both sides, his father, Fedhlimidh (Phelim), being great-grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages¹, 'Over-king' in Ireland 379-405², and his mother, Eithne, being also descended from a king of Ireland. Thus the nobility of two races met in the child, and afterwards contributed greatly to the influence which he exercised. He was christened by the presbyter Cruithnechan, and named Colum (dove)³; Irish writers say he had also the name Crimthann (fox). Afterwards he was commonly called Colum-cille 'a cella et Columba' (Bede, *H. E.* v. 9) or, according to the pretty explanation in the *Leabhar Breac*, 'because of the frequency of his coming from the cell in which he read his psalms, to meet the neighbouring children. And what they used to say among themselves was: Has our little Colum come to-day from the cell? i. e. from Tulach-Dubhglaise (Temple Douglas) in Tir-Lughdech in Cinell Conaill.' This would be while he was living as the foster-child of Cruithnechan (*pueri nutritor*, iii. 2, with whom he had been placed, in accordance with the usual custom⁴).

§ 2. When he was old enough to leave his foster-father, he was placed as a pupil with the bishop St. Finnian, in the great school at Moville⁵. Here Education. he studied for some time, and was ordained deacon. Then it was that, according to Adamnan, ii. 1, he turned water into wine. From Moville he travelled southward, and studied with 'Master Gemman,' an aged bard in Leinster, probably with a view to perfect himself in the language and literature of his native land. At this time occurred the incident related

¹ 'Quod nouem regnorum deuictorum obsides acceperit. Ita etiam iv magistri . . . ad an. 379 et 405 . . . et alii innumeri.' *Tr. Th.* 447. They were confined at Tara, where the mound or fort 'of the hostages' is still visible. See further in *Cambr. Ev.* i. 495, and notes; iii. 271.

² See above, ii. § 2.

³ Colum (or Colm) with the diminutive becomes Columan (Colman), and so Colum becomes Columban. With the prefix of endearment and another diminutive it is Mo-cholum-og (Mocholmog). Cp. p. lxxx n.

⁴ See below, p. 130 n.

⁵ See above, v. § 5, p. liii.

by Adamnan, ii. 25. Next, Columba went to the monastic school of St. Finnian of Clonard, on the Boyne¹, where, as we have seen, he became one of the 'Twelve Apostles of Erin².' On his arrival he asked Finnian where he should make his bothy, and Finnian told him to make it at the door of the church. And at supper time each in turn of the 'apostles' used to grind the quern, but an angel ground for Colum-cille³. And as from the former St. Finnian he had acquired Roman traditions through St. Ninian and Candida Casa, so now from his second teacher of the same name he acquired traditions of Wales and of Gaul.

§ 3. St. Finnian of Clonard appears not to have been a bishop. It has been thought that he may have Ordination. wished to have Columba ordained or consecrated as a bishop to serve in his monastery. For it is said that Columba was sent to Etchen bishop of Clonfad to receive ordination, and that Etchen, intending to ordain him bishop *per saltum*, ordained him priest by mistake, whereupon Columba, as if regarding this as a leading of Providence, vowed that he would always continue in priest's orders. The whole story has a very legendary complexion, and was probably imagined in later times in order to account for Columba's remaining a presbyter, which however was the ordinary course among the eminent men or saints of the Second Order. Etchen is said to have been at the plough when Columba came to him; and Dr. Todd points out⁴ that, even if we regard the story as pure fiction, which is not necessary, at any rate it shows that when it was constructed it was thought conceivable that a bishop might work in the fields, that a single bishop might consecrate another, and

¹ See above, v, § 3, p. li.

² Commemorated in a companion stanza to one on the Twelve Apostles of Christ, thus rendered—
Two Finnéns, two chaste Colombs,
Ciarán, Caindeeh, fair Comgall,
Two Brenainns, Ruadan with

splendour,

Nindid, Mobii son of Nattraech.

Stokes, *Cal. of Oengus*, cxviii.

³ Old Irish Life in Skene, *Celt. Sc.* ii. 480.

⁴ *St. Patrick*, 70-87, where the matter is very fully discussed in all its bearings.

that the consecration might be *per saltum* from deacon's orders. However St. Columba was probably ordained priest either while at Clonard or while with St. Mobhi, for we next find him at another monastic school, that of St. Mobhi Clarainech at Glas Naoidhen, now Glasnevin, near Dublin. St. Mobhi is said to have been one of the 'twelve apostles,' and a fellow-student with Columba at Clonard, though perhaps considerably his senior. Here too we find 'bothies,' and here are said to have sojourned other of his companions at Clonard, viz. St. Comgall, St. Ciaran, and St. Cainnech. He was about twenty-five years of age, when Mobhi dispersed his pupils on account of the great pestilence of 543, then devastating the neighbourhood; it prevailed in many parts of Europe, and was known as the yellow plague, and recurred from time to time¹.

§ 4. Columba returned to Ulster, the land of his kindred, and on crossing the Bior (Moyola water) prayed that the plague might not extend beyond it, and it is said that his prayer was heard. According to the *Annals of Ulster*, Columba founded Derry in 545 (546), and O'Donnell further states in his *Life*² that Ainmire, first cousin of Columba, offered him, in the name of his son Aedh, then ten years old, the fortified place in which he dwelt, that he might found there a monastery. This spot was on a rising ground in a bend of the Foyle, protected on the other side by a bog, and on account of its oak grove called Daire Calgaich, now Derry or Londonderry. Columba hesitated because Mobhi had not given him leave to found a monastery, but two messengers came to say that Mobhi had died of the plague³, and that before his death he had sent the required permission, and with it his girdle as a token. So Columba accepted his cousin's gift and founded his first monastery, where his kith and kin rallied round him⁴, and

¹ See ii. 46, notes, p. 125.

² See Preface, p. x.

³ St. Finnian of Clonard died in the same plague in 549.

⁴ According to the Old Irish *Life*, he sent his monks to cut wattles for a church in Derry. Skene, *C. S.* ii. 483.

for which he always retained a deep affection, as he said :

‘The reason why I love Derry is,
For its quietness, for its purity ;
For ’tis full of angels white,
From one end to the other.’

We know however very little of its history in its earliest days, nor are there any existing memorials of them except ‘St. Columb’s Wells.’ While he was at Derry he thought of going to Rome and Jerusalem, and did go to Tours, whence he brought the gospel that had been on Martin’s bosom 100 years in the earth, and he left it in Derry¹.

About 553 he founded a second monastery, which became his principal Irish establishment, namely that of Durrow, in Irish *Dair-Magh*, Oak Plain, and so, like Derry, named from its oak groves. It is not far from the centre of Ireland, on the border of King’s County and Westmeath. The site appears to have been obtained from Aedh, son of Brendan, prince of the territory, and Bede thus refers to the foundation : ‘Fecerat autem, priusquam Britanniam veniret, monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum *Dearmach* lingua Scottorum, hoc est, Campus roborum, cognominatur².’ Adamnan mentions several incidents of Columba’s residence at Durrow, and if the famous *Book of Durrow* had been really the work of St. Columba it would probably have been executed at this time³. There are now no memorials of Columba at Durrow but a well ; the fine sculptured cross is doubtless of much later date.

§ 5. During the fifteen years between 546 and 562, other Columba founded other monasteries, the dates of monasteries. which cannot be fixed⁴. The most famous of these was that of Kells, but it does not seem to have risen

¹ Old Irish Life in Skene, *C. S.* ii. 483.

² *H. E.* iii. 4.

³ See above, iv. § 13, p. xlviij.

⁴ Reeves gives lists of churches which may with more or less

reason be attributed to Columba : ed. 1857, 276–285, and 289–298, 1874, xlix–lxxi. It is now said that there are traces of fifty-five dedications to St. Columba in Scotland, and forty-one in Ireland.

to great eminence during Columba's life, though after the decline of Iona in the ninth century it became the chief monastery of the Columban order. Kells, formerly Kenlis (Head Fort), anciently Cenannus is situated in the north-west portion of the county of Meath, and, according to a traditional story, was made over to Columba by King Diarmait as an atonement for an insult he had received from some 'soldiers of the royal guard,' or whatever the king's retainers may have been. The so-called 'St. Columba's House' at Kells, and 'St. Kevin's Kitchen' at Glendalough, a very similar building altered to form the nave of a church, were supposed by Dr. Petrie to be of this period. Both these, however, as well as the sculptured crosses and round tower, are now believed to be of much later date, and there are no traces of the great church from the sacristy of which the *Book of Kells* or *Great Gospel of Columcille* was stolen in 1006. This famous codex is a larger book than the *Book of Durrow*, which may have been regarded as the *Smaller Gospel of Columcille*. But, if the *Book of Kells* was originally called the *Gospel of Columcille* only as belonging to one of his churches, it nevertheless remains as a splendid example, and indeed the chief existing monument, of Irish skill and taste in the art of illumination.

§ 6. We now come to consider the causes of St. Columba's departure from Ireland, and here we find ourselves in a maze of more or less probable legend. A great battle was fought in 561 at Cooldrevny or Culdreimhne, now Cooladrummon, a ridge about six miles north of Sligo, near the Connaught and Ulster boundary. According to the Irish accounts¹ the contending parties were, on the one side, Diarmait King of Ireland, who had granted Kells to Columba, but afterwards grievously offended him, and, on the other, Columba's kinsmen the Clan Neill, mustered by Columba himself.

Supposed
reasons for
departure
from
Ireland.

¹ See particularly O'Donnell, in English abstract in O'Curry, MS. Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 408 ff., and the *Materials*, 328.

Accounts differ as to which side was taken by the men of Connaught. Columba had two principal grievances, namely, that Diarmait had (1) put to death his clansman the young prince Curnan, who had fled to him for protection after causing the death of a playfellow during the sports at Tara; (2) unjustly decided against him when appealed to about the ownership of a codex which he had at some time or other secretly transcribed from one belonging to St. Finnian (of Moville apparently). Finnian claimed the son-book or copy as having been made without his leave from a book which he had brought from Rome, Columba claimed the copy as being his own handiwork. Diarmait decided that to every book belongs its son-book as to every cow her calf. These and probably other causes led to the battle, during which Finnian is said to have prayed for the South and Columcille for the North¹; the result was that the men of the North were completely victorious². But now we come to two stories which may be regarded as sequels to the above. One is told by Adamnan (iii. 3), and according to this there was a synod at Teltown in Meath (presumably called together at the instance of Diarmait) at which Columba was excommunicated. St. Brendan of Birr however took his part, alleging a miracle in his favour, whereupon the excommunication was withdrawn and Columba treated with reverence and respect. It has been thought, however, that the

¹ The metrical version of Columba's prayer on this occasion contains the singular expression *mo drui . . Mac Dé, My Druid . . the Son of God, Chron. Scotorum* 52, or, as quoted in Reeves's note on *Magi, Is e mo drui Crist mac De* (ed. 1857, p. 74).

² According to the legend of the Cathach or 'Battler,' Columba obtained possession of his 'son-book.' A mutilated Psalter, regarded in the eleventh century as the one copied by Columba as above stated, and then provided with a *cumdach* or silver shrine,

has remained to this day in the hereditary keeping of the O'Donnells, and is at present deposited by them in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. It was carried by the clan to insure victory in battle so lately as 1497, slung round the breast of its hereditary keeper. It is written in a small round hand without much ornament, and has been considered to be quite possibly a genuine autograph of St. Columba. See Anderson, 146-149; Joyce, *Hist.* 19. But see above, iv. § 10, note, p. xlv.

censure which had been expressed, together with some searchings of heart on account of the strife that had been stirred up and the blood that had been shed, may have had something to do with his leaving Ireland. The other story is an Irish legend to the effect that after the battle of Culdreimhne he went to his soul-friend or confessor, St. Laisren or Molaise of Innis-murray, then at Ahamlish, about two miles northward, and that the saint bade him leave Ireland as a penance, and go and win souls for Christ as many as the lives that had been lost in the battle, and never look upon his native land again or set foot upon its soil. The story of St. Columba's life can hardly be told without these legends, but, as Reeves points out, there is no need to look for any other motive than that stated by Adamnan, 'Pro Christo peregrinari volens, enavigavit' (Pref. 2). This statement implies, he thinks¹, that Columba went of his own accord, 'in good spirits,' as the old Irish life says, and the same is thought to be implied in the *Salamanca Acta SS.* col. 847, quoted by Reeves in his note on the above passage², which should be consulted for further references. And moreover the men of the Dalriadan colony were to Columba what the Jews were to St. Paul, his 'kinsmen according to the flesh.' Moreover, his connexion with Ireland was fully kept up. We shall find that he returned more than once, and took a prominent part in Irish affairs. His reputation in Ireland at that time would not greatly suffer if he did show himself to be resentful or vindictive, or take a leading part as a man of war. Public opinion was then but very imperfectly developed on such points, very little leavened by the doctrine of Christ. In the ancient annals of Ireland are numerous entries of faction-fights between different monastic fraternities, and till the time of Adamnan, about 700, the clergy bore weapons to synods, and sometimes fought with them. The tribal organization aggravated ill-feeling,

¹ But the words are quite consistent with either of the traditional explanations.

² *Adamnan*, 1857, p. 9.

and even the women fought, and as fiercely as the men¹. It is no marvel then if Columba, a leading spirit in the great clan of the northern Hy-Neill, considering himself affronted by King Diarmait, incited his kinsmen to fight about matters which would be felt most keenly as closely touching their tribal honour. But at the same time, such a man as he was may very well, upon calm reflection, whether under the direction of a spiritual adviser or not, have considered that his enthusiasm and energies would be more worthily bestowed on missionary work than in maintaining the dignity of his clan. And he would naturally be attracted to that Irish colony which had been planted in North Britain, just over against the north-east coast of Ireland, about the time of his birth. For ruler² and people alike were his family connexions, their Christianity was in peril of extinction, and, if he could bring about a revival of religion among them, he might hope next to convert their near neighbours, the Pagan Picts. They had, moreover, sustained a great reverse in 560, when Brude King of the Picts had attacked them, driven them into the peninsula of Kintyre and other parts most remote from the mainland, and slain their 'King.' These misfortunes would not fail to engage the sympathies of Columba on their behalf.

VII. COLUMBA IN IONA.

§ 1. We are told by Cummian (cap. iv) that 'in those days,' referring to the time when Columba was a young deacon with St. Finnian of Moville, Ireland, he sailed over to Britain with twelve fellow-soldiers, his disciples. But Adamnan, who makes use of this passage in quite a different connexion³, carefully avoids the anachronism, and places Columba's departure after the battle

¹ Women were exempted from military service in 590 and 697, monks not till 804. Reeves, 1857, 255; 1874, xlvi; Stokes, *Celtic*

Ch. 108-110.

² Conall Mac Comghall, sixth lord of British Dalriada.

³ iii. 4, p. 133.

of Cuildremhne¹, in the forty-second year of his age, i. e. A. D. 563, when we find him in Britain with his kinsman Conall, king or lord of British Dalriada², who, according to the Irish Annals, in the same year made to him a donation of the island of Iona. Bede ascribes this donation to the Picts, and places it later³, the whole truth probably being that the Pictish tribe, to whom the island had belonged before the coming of the Irish, still claimed it in some sense, and confirmed Conall's donation after they became Christian, and indeed because they had become Christian, as Bede intimates. It was on the confines of Scotie and Pictish jurisdiction, and formed a most desirable centre for missionary work. There is not the least hint that Columba either sought or obtained papal sanction for this mission, any more than Columbanus did for his mission to the Germans and Swiss.

§ 2. Iona⁴ is a small island about three miles long from

¹ 'Anno secundo post,' Pref. 2. p. 5, 'duobustransactis annis,' i. 7. p. 23. The writer of Colgan's *Vita Secunda* (see note on iii. 5, p. 135) mentions the miracle of the wine, then that of the submerged writing, and then gives this account of the mission to the Picts; 'Postquam vir sanctus ad ea, quae quondammente proposuerat, implenda, ad peregrinationis videlicet propositum, et ad convertendos ad fidem Pictos, opportunum tempus adesse videret, patriam suam reliquit et ad Insulam Ionam, quae in Septentrionali Oceano inter Hiberniam et Britanniam sita est, prospero navigavit cursu, ibique, nobilissimum construens Monasterium, candidos Monachorum greges salutiferis doctrinae alimentis pavit: Pictos quoque ad fidem Christi convertit.' *Tr.Th.* 326a.

² i. 7. p. 23.

³ *H. E.* iii. 3.

⁴ The usual name 'Iona' has been suggested by a misreading

of the adjective 'Ioua,' confirmed by an imaginary connexion with 'Iona,' the Hebrew equivalent of the Latin 'Columba.' Adamnan's practice is to put the names of islands as adjectives agreeing with *insula*. The root of *Ioua* is *Iou* or *Eo*, and Codex A always has *Ioua*, thus,

Ioua

which reading prevails also in Codd. C, F, S. Colgan took 'Iona' from an inaccurate transcript of Cod. A, and saw that it was an adjective, though not aware of its true form. In Irish writings the name occurs as *Ia*, *hIe*, *hI*, *Eo*, *I*, often with the addition of 'Coluimcille.' In Latin we find *Hii*, *Eo*, *Hu*, *Hy*, *Hya*, *Hi*, *I*, *Iona*, and the adjectives *Ioua*, *Euea*, *Hiiensis*, and *Ionensis*. The Saxon Chronicles have *Ii* and *Hii*. Scottish forms are *Yi*, *Hii-coluimchille*, *Hy*, *Iona*, *Yona*, *I*, *Hii*. On the

NE. to SW., and varying in breadth from one mile to a mile and a half. It is separated from the Ross of Iona. Mull by a sound or strait about a mile across. The surface is very uneven, the rocky bones protruding through the skin of turf in almost every part. The most prominent object is Dunii, the highest hill, which has an elevation of 330 feet. None of the other hills are over 200 feet. The rocks are mostly Laurentian gneiss, but there is some marble and other limestone. There are also many ice-borne masses of granite lying about, one of which is six feet out of the ground, eleven paces long, and four or five across at the ends, but broader in the middle. The soil, where not peat, of which it consists in the boggy hollows among the rocky hills, is calcareous sand, consisting entirely of the comminuted shells of two or three species of land snails which live and die in such countless numbers on the sheep-nibbled pastures near the sea, that the beds of sand, which drift like snow, are in some places twenty to thirty feet thick. These pastures are formed by the accumulation of sand and growth of grass, clover, thyme, &c. in what would otherwise be bays girded in by the rocks on the original coast-line. The principal of these is the Machar or western plain. The eastern or sheltered side of the island presents slopes of soil well fitted for ancient husbandry, at a time when drainage was unknown. The lake or morass called the Lochan Mor, which once afforded enough water to turn the abbey mill, is now drained, and the bed of the stream leading from it, at present about twelve feet deep, was quite dry in June 1893, though sometimes full enough to turn a mill. Indications of ancient ploughing may still be seen on hill sides now de-

monuments in the island Y is the prevailing form, but 'Iona' seems to be the true reading of the monument of the Prioress Anna, 1543, at the Nunnery church. Icolmkill, Yeolmkill, and Ecolmkill are the regular forms in legal documents, and Ee-

choluim-cille is at present the recognized vernacular. On a gravestone of 1790 is I-Colm-kill. See further in Reeves, 1857, 258; 1874, cxxvii. 'Iona,' although an incorrect form, has now become thoroughly established, and may therefore be used, under protest.

voted to pasturage, but much of the land at present under the plough has probably been so cultivated ever since the time of St. Columba. And not only did the little island afford a good proportion of pasture and corn land; the sound or *fretum* was and is, like some of the rivers of Columba's native Erin, *valde piscosum*¹. The local features alluded to by Adamnan are the following; *Munitio Magna*, ii. 4; *Mons qui monasterio eminus supereminet*, i. 30; *Monticellus monasterio supereminens*, iii. 23; *Monticellus qui occidentali supereminet campulo*, iii. 16; *Colliculus Angelorum*, ii. 44, iii. 16; *Cuil-Eilne*, i. 37; *Campulus occidentalis*, i. 37, ii. 28, iii. 16; *Portus insulae*, i. 45, ii. 15, ii. 45. Beside these may be mentioned *Port-na-Churaich*, at the southern end of the island, where Columba is said first to have landed, and, hard by, the hill crowned by the cairn *Cul ri Erin*. These places are identified, as far as possible, in the notes and index. The site of the ancient monastery was supposed by Dr. Skene to have been about four hundred yards to the north of the mediaeval ruins, but nothing can be traced except some earthworks on the west side, which may be prehistoric. He also considered that the great flat boulder stone above mentioned marks the site of the refectory, and that it is the 'stone that was in the *Recles* or monastery,' mentioned as used for a table in the preface to a hymn attributed to St. Columba (*Liber Hymnorum*, pt. ii. p. 220)². On the whole, there seems to be no sufficient reason to doubt that the present ruins are, as might be expected, on the original site. Any description of them would be outside the purpose of the present work.

§ 3. The old Irish Life is to the same effect as Adamnan's with regard to Columba's reasons, namely, that, His coming having made the circuit of all Erin, he desired to to Iona.

¹ 'The large flounders of the Sound of Iona are still an important item in the diet of its people. The rocks and islets all around swarmed with seals, and their flesh seems to have been

a favourite article of food.' (Duke of Argyll, *Iona*, 93.)

² On the topography of Iona, see Reeves, 1857, 413-433; *Iona* by the Duke of Argyll, 1889, ch. ii; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 95-101.

preach the word of God to the men of Alba, and to the Britons, and to the Saxons; that his age was forty-two when he went on his voyage, and that he lived thirty-four years in Alba. O'Donnell's Life (1532) contains the later traditions concerning the saint, and here we have the popular story of his voyage, a sequel to that of the penance enjoined by St. Molaise, namely, that he first landed on the island of Colonsay and climbed the highest hill, when, finding that Ireland was visible from that point, he would not remain, but sailed on to Iona, where he again climbed the most likely hill, and, being satisfied that Ireland was no longer in sight, founded his church on the island he had now reached. On each of the hills his point of observation is marked by a cairn called *Cul ri Erin* (Back upon Ireland). According to Irish Annals¹ he arrived on the night (eve) of Pentecost, May 12 in 563, and an old Irish quatrain states the number of his company thus, apparently including the twelve special disciples:

Illustrious the army that was in Hii,
Thrice fifty in monastic rule;
With their *Curachs*, along the sea
For rowing were three score men².

On Columba's arrival in Iona, two bishops attempted to conduct him out of the island, but when he told them what he knew about them they left the island to him. They were probably members of one of the Patrician 'colleges' or fraternities of seven bishops, ministering to the Dalriadan colonists, but O'Donnell supposes that they were Druids in disguise. The first thing which Columba and his companions would do would be to occupy any available buildings that they could find on the island, and then to supplement these by others, until they had established

¹ See the *Chronicon Hyense* in Reeves, 1857, 370; 1874, 334.

² Another quatrain quoted in the old Irish Life (Skene's *Celtic Sc.* ii. 491) really relates to the Convention of Drumceatt (*ib.* 123).

'Quinquagesima' (*ib.* 491) there means Pentecost, the time named in the Latin annals. (*Prima nox ejus in Albain in Pentecosten.*) So in the *Stowe Missal* (Warren, *Celtic Liturgy*, p. 235).

a fully developed Celtic monastery, with church, cashel, and all complete. Adamnan indicates that their first buildings were of wood and wattles, and we find no mention of any stone buildings in Iona of Columba's time, unless, perhaps, the kiln. The church is called 'oratorium,' which term is the ordinary equivalent of *Duirthech*, oak building? while 'ecclesia' represents *Damhliag*, stone church. But in the small island called Eilean na Naoimh (Isle of Saints) there still remain some beehive cells¹ and other stone buildings of the first monastery that Columba founded after that of Iona. The many particulars that can be gathered from Adamnan respecting Iona have been most admirably classified by Bishop Reeves². The Columban church there first planted afterwards embraced the whole region north of the firths of Forth and of Clyde, and gave to the Angles of Northumbria, through St. Aidan, Celtic Christianity and Celtic ecclesiastical art. The Lindisfarne Gospels, and many sculptured crosses and other works of the Celtic school, remain as abiding monuments of the source whence we first of all derived the Christianity of the North of England.

Columba appears to have laboured among the Irish settlers in the neighbourhood of Iona for about two years, and then to have journeyed through Glen More nan Albin, that mighty chasm which divides Scotland obliquely between Oban and Inverness, and so to the court of King Brude, in the immediate neighbourhood of the site now occupied by the latter town³.

His mission to the Picts.

¹ Any of these early buildings may be of Columba's time. In Iona, in a valley between Dunii and Dunbhuirg, are the foundations of a cell measuring about 16 feet by 14, called the Culdees' Cell, and; on the higher ground above Port Laithrichean, a better preserved one, about 6 or 7 feet by 9, retaining the sideposts of its doorway.

² *Adamnan*, 1857, 357-362; 1874, cxix-cxxii; see also Skene's *Celtic*

Sc. ii. 95-101, and above, p. xxxvii.

³ Dr. Reeves thought that Brude's residence was at Craig Phadrick, where there is a vitrified fort. (*Adamn.* 1857, 151 n.; 1874, 277.) But Dr. Skene considers that a ridge called Torvean, a part of which is encircled by ditches and ramparts, suits Adamnan's narrative better than the hill-fort does. (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. 105 n.)

And just as St. Patrick had attacked Irish paganism at the court of King Laoghaire on the hill of Tara, so now St. Columba attacked Pictish paganism at the court of King Brude on the river Ness. Adamnan tells us that at first the king would not open his gates to the strangers, but that, when Columba made the sign of the cross and knocked, the bolts flew back and the gates were opened. We learn from the life of St. Comgall that Columba's companions were himself and St. Canice, who, being Irish Picts, were the better able to confer with the Picts of Britain. Like King Laoghaire at Tara, King Brude was at first influenced by his Druids to oppose the missionaries, but, as in the former case, his hostility was soon disarmed, and his conversion effected. Nor were his people long before they followed their leader, and the number of churches dedicated to St. Columba in that neighbourhood still bears witness to the mark which he made. During the nine years which followed Brude's conversion, Columba laboured diligently among the Picts, perfected himself in their language, and frequently visited the king, who granted or confirmed to him the possession of Iona. Sometimes, no doubt, he visited his monastery there, for he retained the headship as long as he lived, one of the brethren taking his place during his absences. All the lives of Columba refer to his meeting with opposition from the Druids. There was one in particular, named Broichan, who had been the king's foster-father and tutor, and who was greatly disconcerted, as was natural, by the conversion of Brude and his people. There is a story of Broichan and his Druids trying to stop Columba and his monks when they came forth from the enclosure of the king's residence to chant their evensong. The people were attracted by this new singing, and, when Columba lifted up his ringing voice in the words *Eruclavit cor meum verbum bonum : dico ego opera mea regi*, the Druids were afraid, and, we may suppose, retired. Broichan is said at another time to have raised an adverse storm just as Columba

was embarking on Loch Ness, but the saint sailed away against the wind. Another story is that Broichan had an Irish captive maid whom he would not set free when Columba asked him to do so. The saint prophesied that the Druid's death would soon follow his refusal, and it was not long before his messengers came to say he was now dying, and willing to set the captive free. Columba blessed a pebble and told them to put it in water and give the water to Broichan to drink, and that he would then soon recover, provided that he gave the maiden her liberty. These directions were followed with the desired results, and the pebble was long preserved in the royal treasury. But, when King Brude required its aid, it could not be found, and so he died¹. It was in 584, twenty years after his conversion, that his death took place, and he was succeeded by a Christian king, Gartnaidh son of Domelch, under whom the new-born Pictish Church continued to prosper.

§ 4. To go back now to the recorded events of St. Columba's life. In 573 he instituted a festival at Iona in commemoration of his friend St. Brendan of Birr, who died in that year. At various unknown dates he founded churches in the neighbourhood of Iona; Adamnan mentions *Ethica* (insula), *Elena*, *Hinba*, and *Scia*. In 574 died Conall, lord of the British Dalriads, and his cousin Aedhan was inaugurated by St. Columba at Iona². In the following year (575) Columba and Aedhan both attended the famous convention of Drumceatt, a long mound now called the Mullagh, or Daisy Hill, in the county of Londonderry, near Newtownlimavaddy. It was afterwards thought necessary to reconcile this and other visits to Ireland with the terms of the penance enjoined on Columba by St.

Other
recorded
events.

¹ Dr. Stokes says that a belief in pebbles as charms against diseases of man and beast still prevails among the Irish peasantry, and gives some references to articles on the subject. *Ireland*

and *Celtic Ch.* 124 n. Reeves, on ii. 33, refers to Martin's *Western Islands*, 134, 166, 183, 246, and to Ussher, *Works*, iii. 442.

² Columba appears to have been *anncara* or soul-friend to Aedhan.

Molaise¹, and so there grew up a legendary story that he came with a sod of Alba under his feet, and with a cere-cloth, woollen cap, and cowl over his eyes². The convention was called by Aedh son of Ainmire, King of Ireland, in 575, and consisted, says Skene³, 'of all the petty kings and heads of tribes and of the principal clergy in Ireland,' as well as a large ecclesiastical contingent brought by Columba. The bard Dallan Forgaill, in the *Amhra* or panegyric referred to above (i. § 8), states their number thus:

' His company was forty priests,
Twenty bishops of noble worth ;
For the psalm-singing, without dispute,
Thirty deacons, fifty youths' (*lit.* 'sons').

This retinue probably included representative men from Derry and other Columban monasteries in Ireland, together with some from Iona and perhaps from other places thereabout. The *Amhra* mentions three causes for which Columba came, viz., the liberation of Scanlann, a state prisoner, the protection of the Bards, and pacification between Erin and Alba with respect to Dalriada. He did not effect the first object. What he did for the Bards has been related above (i. § 8). He and Aedhan together obtained for Dalriada that it should pay no more tribute to the King of Ireland, but should join in military, though not in maritime expeditions when called upon. Thus Dalriada became an allied, though not a subject state, and it is supposed that on his return Columba obtained from King Brude a recognition of Aedhan as independent king over the British Dalriads. It was at this convention that the influence of Columba procured a decree exempting women from military service⁴.

Many of the circumstances related by Adamnan belong to Columba's life in Iona, e.g. the foundations of Campus Lunge and Archain existing in Tiree, a monastery, seemingly connected with penitential discipline, in Hinba insula, and

¹ See above, p. lxiii.

² Reeves, 1857, 322; 1874,

³ *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 123.

⁴ Stokes, *Celtic Church*, 109.

a hermitage at Muirbulemar¹. We read also that four founders of monasteries came from Ireland to visit Columba in Hinba, viz. Comgall of Bangor and Cainnech of Aghaboe, who had gone with him to King Brude, Brendan of Clonfert, and Cormac the founder of some monastery unknown, for whom Columba, through King Brude, sought the protection of the chieftain of the Orkneys when he (Cormac) went in search of a solitary island for a hermitage. This must have been before 577, when St. Brendan of Clonfert died. About 579 there was some disputed point, probably connected with jurisdiction, about a church near Coleraine, on which St. Columba and St. Comgall could not agree. Hence resulted the battle of Coleraine, on the debatable ground between the Dal-Araidhe, the kinsmen of St. Comgall, and the Hy-Neill, those of St. Columba. It does not appear which side came off victorious, or how far the ecclesiastical chiefs were responsible for the fighting. Some time about 585 Columba was in Ireland for some months on business connected with his new foundation of Durrow, and at this time he visited Clonmacnoise². In 587 was fought the battle of Cuilfedha near Clonard, in which again St. Columba is said to have been concerned. A Preface to his hymn *Altus Prosator* attributes its composition to a desire for 'forgiveness for the three battles he had caused in Erin³.' He was *anmcara*, soul-friend, or spiritual director to at least one saint and two kings (Warren, p. 148), and doubtless to many others. In 593, the thirtieth year of his life at Iona, he thought he was going to die, but, after a vision of angels, he foretold that his departure would be delayed for four years⁴. At the end of this period, just after the midnight between June 8 and 9, 597, he was found lying before the altar in a dying state, and very shortly after, having given his blessing to the monks who had gathered

¹ For these places and the ref. see Index.

² Adamnan, i. 3, p. 18.

³ *Liber Hymnorum*, 224; Reeves,

1857, 253; 1874, xlvi. On the earlier battle see p. lxi.

⁴ Adamnan, iii. 22. p. 153.

together, he passed to the Lord as he lay in the arms of Diormit, his attendant¹. The long chapter which describes the closing scenes of St. Columba's life is to a great extent Cumman's, but Adamnan introduces some beautiful and touching incidents, e. g. that of the old white horse weeping with its head on the saint's bosom, as foreseeing his death. The last thing Columba did before going into the church for the last time was transcribing the Psalter, and the last verse he wrote was *Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient omni bono*. And here, he said, I must stop, let Baithene write the rest. The whole narrative is most interesting, and may be compared with Bede's account of the death of Boisil², and with the letter of Cuthbert abbot of Jarrow on the death of Bede³.

§ 5. In the latter part of his second Preface, Adamnan's summary gives a short but expressive summary of St. Columba's characteristics both of body and mind. One was that he could not bear to be idle even for an hour, he must always be doing something, which rather reminds us of Eddius's graphic touch about St. Wilfrid, that he was 'a quick walker.' It is of men like Columba and Wilfrid of whom it may be said with a special significance, that 'their works do follow them.' There are some life-like touches in Colgan's *Vita Secunda* (*Tr. Th.* 327 a) where he speaks of St. Columba taking off the brethren's shoes, after their labours, and washing their feet in warm water, like St. Cuthbert:

he walde come forthe, and þaim mete,
And with hate water wesche þair fete.

Metr. Life, 226r: Bede, *Vit. S. C.* xviii.

¹ Adamn. iii. 23. p. 159. He was buried at Iona after the usual exequies, p. 162. Adamnan speaks of his body as being there when he wrote, p. 164. So again Bede, *H. E.* iii. 4. The Annals of Tighernach and of Ulster record a series of enshrinings which took place in Ireland in the eighth

century. See Reeves, 1857, 312-318. It is impossible to know what became of his relics at last; many places, including Durham, claimed to have portions of them.

² *Vit. S. Cuthb.* viii.

³ Symeon, *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* i. 15.

Often would he carry a bag of flour on his shoulders from the mill to the kitchen. In fastings, vigils, prayers, meditations, preachings, and other works of charity, he was unwearied beyond belief. He used a stone for a pillow, and would lie on the ground, with only a leather hide under him. And, notwithstanding all his austerities, he was worthy to be admired by all for his handsome face, his ruddy cheeks, and his well-nourished appearance. The mortifications become still more severe in O'Donnell's Life (*Tr. Th.* 437).

§ 6. It has been already mentioned that Columba was a poet, and in all probability a member of the Order of the Bards. Three Latin hymns are attributed to him, viz. *Altus Prosator* and its complement *In te Christe*, with a third beginning *Noli Pater*. There are also two Irish poems, viz. the *Farewell to Aran*, and a poem on the occasion of his flight from King Diarmait, as well as several others which have less claim to be considered genuine. Dr. Reeves prints two of these, which are at any rate very ancient, with translations. Each of the Latin hymns has a preface describing the occasion of its composition¹.

The so-called *Rule of St. Columba*, printed in Irish and English in Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 119, Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 508 (English only), and elsewhere, is not a Rule at all corresponding to St. Benedict's, but rather a collection of maxims for a solitary who was to live in a cell contiguous to a monastery². Colgan, who lived before the dispersion of Irish MSS., knew of no other Rule

¹ On the Latin Hymns see Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, 1869, 201-263; *Diet. of Hymnology*, art. *Altus Prosator*; on these and the Irish poems Reeves, *Adamn.* 1857. lxxviii, 264; 1874, xl; Healy, 326. For a remarkable legend concerning the *Altus*, see O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 76.

² There are foundations which may be those of a *Disert* or hermit's cell, eight paces long by four across

inside, at *Cladh an Disert* (cemetery of the *Disert*) two or three fields to the NE. of St. Mary's at Iona. Here was found a fragment of a cross with figure on it, and near it the boulder stone with a cross on it called St. Columba's pillow. On such cells see Reeves, 1857, 366, 418; 1874, cxxiv, cxxxvi; O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 374.

of St. Columba, and to this one he attached very little importance¹.

§ 7. A few words may be said about the religion of St.

Columba and of the Scotie Church in his time.

His religious opinions. It was certainly neither 'Roman' nor 'Protestant,' in the ordinary sense of those terms; the

modern system that comes nearest to it is that of the Churches of the Anglican Communion as understood by the school which has arisen out of the Tractarian movement. We find evidence of Confession, public however rather than private, optional rather than compulsory, and absolution was usually deferred till the penance had been performed²; of Invocation of Saints³ and confidence in their protection; of belief in the Real Presence; of the practices of fasting⁴ and penance, of prayers for the departed, and of the sign of the Cross. But we find no indication of the 'worship' now offered to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, nor of Unction of the sick in any form, nor the least allusion to any supremacy in the See of Rome, or indeed to any connexion therewith. The atmosphere of miracle, in which Adamnan lived when he wrote, was that of the times, and is very similar to what we find in Bede. Everything was thought possible or even probable when related as a miracle. Adamnan told the stories as they were told to him or to Cumman, perhaps with a little unconscious infusion of the miraculous element. Some have found it impossible to explain such narratives without attributing deliberate invention

¹ On this and other Irish Rules see Reeves, *Adamn.* 1857, 336; 1874, ci.

² Warren, p. 148, and see above, iv. § 12. p. xlvi.

³ Invocation of Saints has not been revived in the Church of England.

⁴ Some genuine tradition of St. Columba's asceticism is probably enshrined in the curious story that he resolved to take nettle pottage without any dripping or

fat, and that he became so thin that the impression of his ribs through his woollen tunic was seen in the sandy beach at Iona, where he used to lie at night. And it is said that Diormit his gillie contrived a tubular stick by means of which he secretly introduced butter into the pottage of nettles, whereby he brought upon himself a severe rebuke. (*Tr. Th.* 436; *Mart. Doneg.* 165; *Cal. of Oengus c.*)

to the narrator¹. The 'story of the staff' (ii. 14) has been instanced as a case of this kind. There is no need however to doubt that in Adamnan's mind a very simple matter had assumed a miraculous complexion. If St. Columba sent St. Cainnech's staff after him by some ship which reached Ireland sooner than his own, this would explain the facts, and what was first believed to be providential would very soon be regarded as miraculous, and related as such in all good faith, with 'the exaggerations (and suppressions) of detail which transform the providential into the miraculous,' but without any intention to deceive.

VIII. COLUMBA'S SUCCESSORS, UP TO AND INCLUDING ADAMNAN.

During the eighty-two years that passed between the death of St. Columba and the accession of his biographer Adamnan, the ninth abbot of Iona, seven abbots presided over the house. A short notice of each of these will serve to connect the lives of Columba and Adamnan².

§ 1. Columba was succeeded by his first cousin Baithene, whom he had brought up as his foster-child, Baithene, and who to the last was one of his most intimate associates. Having been a monk in Derry, he came with St. Columba from Ireland, as one of 'the twelve,' and presided over the monastery of Magh-Lunge in Tیره, a penitential house, occasionally visiting and performing duties in Iona and elsewhere. There is a curious story of his seeing three empty chairs in heaven ready for St. Ciaran, St. Columba, and himself. He was sometimes employed in copying manuscripts. He was full of the spirit of prayer; while walking his hands were clasped under his habit; while reaping he prayed as he carried the handfuls of

¹ E.g. the Duke of Argyll, *Iona*, p. 45.

² For further particulars, see the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* under the names, where a

great number of references to earlier works will be found, also the digest of facts under each name in Reeves, 1857, 370-376, 1874, cxlvii-cxlix; Healy, 331-334.

oats, and at his meals he would say *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* between every two morsels of food. Having ruled in Iona for three years, he fainted by the altar on June 4, 600. The brethren wept around him, and Diormit, Columba's old attendant, thinking he was dying, remarked how small an interval would separate the feast days of the two abbots. Baithene opened his eyes, and prayed that he might be taken on the same day as his dear master. His prayer was heard, and he, like Columba, departed on the 9th day of June. Columba used to liken him to John the beloved disciple, and he was afterwards said to have had no equal on this side the Alps in knowledge of Holy Scripture.

§ 2. Baithene was succeeded by Laisren the third abbot, Laisren, whose father, Feradach, was first cousin both 600-605. of himself and of St. Columba. Laisren was a pupil of St. Columba, and was with him and Diormit at Ardnamurchan in 572. He was in charge of Durrow, and superintending building operations there, during St. Columba's life. From the abbacy of Durrow he was raised to that of Iona on the death of St. Baithene.

§ 3. The next abbot was Fergna Brit, said to have been Fergna Brit, a bishop, but Dr. Reeves thinks there could not 605-623. have been a bishop-abbot at Iona so early. He was of noble Irish descent, of the same race as St. Columba, but not so nearly related to him as his predecessors had been. Adamnan calls him Virgnous. His surname may indicate that he was of British descent on the mother's side; cf. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 237a, Colgan, *Acta SS.* 448a. He ruled in Iona from 605 to 623, but no events of his abbacy are recorded on any good authority.

§ 4. Seghine, nephew of Laisren the third abbot, succeeded, Seghine, and during his abbacy he was connected with 623-652. some very important affairs, though of his private life we know very little. He founded a church on Rechra island in 634, and he cherished recollections of St. Columba and his times, which he imparted to those who re-

lated them to Adamnan. He was a leading advocate of the Celtic Easter observance, and hence the letter addressed to him by Cummian in 634. Colgan and some later authorities have identified this Cummian with the seventh abbot of Iona, but it seems hardly likely that one who so strenuously espoused the Roman side in the Paschal controversy would ever have become abbot in the principal Columban monastery in the seventh century. His letter to Seghine was sent in reply to his being charged with being a schismatic, and a forsaker of his country's traditions. In this letter Cummian says ironically: 'Roma errat; Hierosolyma errat; Antiochia errat; totus mundus errat; soli tantum Scoti et Britones rectum sapiunt!' The letter is valuable as showing the position taken up by the advocates of that more correct calculation of Easter which at last prevailed, and the learning with which it could be supported. But Seghine remained unconvinced. In 640 he may have been included as 'Sege-nus presbyter' among the Irish clergy whom John IV, while pope elect, addressed on the same subject. It was during Seghine's abbacy that Oswald king of Northumbria applied to the Scotie Church for a missionary bishop, and that, after the return of one¹ who was unsuccessful, St. Aidan was consecrated, and sent out as first bishop of Lindisfarne. Having ruled for twenty-nine years, Seghine died in 652.

§ 5. He was succeeded by Suibhne, the sixth abbot, son of Cuirtri, of whose genealogy nothing is known. Suibhne,
652-657. Colgan has a short notice of him at Jan. 11, containing nothing of importance.

§ 6. The seventh abbot was Cuimine Ailbhe (surnamed also Fionn or *Albus*, the Fair), nephew of Seghine Cuimine
Ailbhe,
657-669. the fifth abbot. He wrote a book *De virtutibus Sancti Columbae*, which has been transferred by Adamnan into his own pages, and is mentioned by him in the fifth chapter of his third book. He probably went to

¹ Named Cormac, but only on the doubtful authority of Hector Boëthius, c. 1470-1536. See AIDAN, in *Dict. Chr. Biography*.

Iona to be under his uncle Seghine, and on the death of Suibhne the family succession was restored in him. We have seen above, p. lxxix, that he is to be distinguished from the Cummanian who advocated the Roman Easter. He died in 669.

§ 7. The next in the succession was Failbhe, who was Failbhe, great-grandson of Duach, first-cousin of Columba 669-679. and of Baithene. He is twice mentioned by Adamnan, and is said in the Martyrology of Oengus to have twice revisited Ireland. All the annals record a journey in 673 and a return in 676. The Paschal controversy and missionary enterprise have both been suggested as possible reasons for his going into Ireland. St. Maelrubha, abbot of the Irish Bangor, went on a mission to the north-west of Scotland about that time. Failbhe died in 679.

§ 8. Adamnan, the ninth abbot, and author or compiler of the *Life of St. Columba*, was born twenty-seven years after the death of the latter, namely, c. 624, 679-704. and probably in SW. Donegal. His father, Ronan, was great-great-grandson of Sedna, uncle of St. Columba; his mother, Ronnat, was connected with an important race. His name, Adamnan, is a diminutive of Adam, either double, *-an+an*, or a compound with *nán*, 'little' (*nanus*), and appears in various forms¹. Nothing whatever is

¹ The consonants d, m are first aspirated (dh, mh), and then, being thus weakened, are finally lost, so that we have the forms Ownan, Eunan, &c. St. Eunan, the patron of Raphoe, has been wrongly supposed to have been a different person from St. Adamnan. Sir James Ware represents Raphoe as founded by Columba, repaired by Adamnan, and made a cathedral by 'St. Eunan.' Pope Clement XII sanctioned a mass of 'St. Eunan' for Sept. 7, on which day the Bollandists and Alban Butler have notices of this same fictitious saint. The names of Irish saints are sometimes much

disguised by phonetic changes, and by the endearing prefix mo (=my), as we say 'Our Lord' and 'Our Lady,' and the diminutives *-an* and *-og*. Thus from Aedh we have Aedhan (Aidan), and also Mo-aedh-og, or Moedhog, pronounced Mogue. Further, we have the last letter of 'Saint' attracted, as in Tedan for St. Aidan, Tantony for St. Antony, Tooley and Tulus for St. Olaf, and Tobin for St. Aubin. Thus Eunan (Adamnan) appears as Deunan and Thewnan in Scotland. (See Reeves, 1857, lxi. 256; 1874, clxiv, clxix; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 115 n.)

known of his early history. A curious story of his school-boy life, improbable, though not impossible, is told in the life of Finnachta the Festive, subsequently monarch of Ireland¹. The Aberdeen Breviary represents him as admitted to be a monk by St. Columba, and even Baronius in the Roman Martyrology (Jun. 9) makes him contemporary (*aequalis*).

§ 9. He was doubtless brought up in some of the monastic schools, and, when he decided to be a monk, his Education, thoughts would naturally turn to Iona, where &c.

Seghine his kinsman had been abbot during the whole of his life. Seghine lived till Adamnan was twenty-eight. During his time, and that of Suibhne, Cuimine, and Failbhe, we may suppose that Adamnan so progressed in piety, learning, and influence, as to be distinctly marked out among his kinsmen for the chair of St. Columba. Dr. Reeves thinks that there is sufficient evidence to justify Ward (R. C. Dean of Dublin) in the statement, 'Edoctus est omnes liberales, sacras et asceticas disciplinas, linguas etiam Hebraicam et Graecam; et quidquid patria lingua (in qua tum pleraeque scientiae et Druidum quae non fuere damnata dogmata) scriptum esset vel artium, vel legum, vel historiarum².' His works show that he could write Latin, not classical indeed, but good of its kind, quite different from that of St. Patrick for example; also that he had at least an interest in and some slight knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. Bede, Ceolfrid, Alcuin, Fordun, and Irish writers, all bear high testimony to his learning and goodness³. In ii. 45. p. 121, we find him on three occasions out with the sailors when they went to the mainland for timber, &c. In 675 Finnachta, mentioned above, succeeded as monarch, and it is said that Adamnan was his *anmcara* or spiritual director.

§ 10. In 679 Adamnan, being now fifty-five years of age, succeeded to the chair of St. Columba. Bruide, son of Bile, king of the Picts, was now his contemporary, and appears to

¹ Reeves, 1854, xlii; 1847, cxlix. Lovanii, 1662, p. 218.

² Vardaei S. Rumoldi. Acta, &c. ³ Reeves, 1854, lvii; 1847, clxi.

have been his intimate friend. In the Irish Life of Adamnan Succeeds as is a curious story of this king's burial at Iona abbot in in 693. Aldfrith or Ealdfrith, the Northumbrian Iona; his prince who succeeded his brother Ecgrith as life and prince who succeeded his brother Ecgrith as works. king in 685, was at the time of Adamnan's accession (679) a refugee in Ireland, and during his exile was under instruction with Irish monks, for some time at least, according to the author of the early anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert¹, at Iona, which is in accordance with the statement of Bede, 'in insulis Scottorum ob studium literarum exulabat'². The Irish knew Aldfrith as 'Flann Fina mac Ossa,' from Fina his alleged Irish mother and Oswiu his father. It was probably his connexion with Ireland through his mother that determined the place of his retirement and education. He was called the foster-son or *alumnus* of Adamnan, and when he came to the throne he readily restored sixty Irish captives whom his brother's general had carried away from Meath. It was probably with this object, among others, that Adamnan visited the Northumbrian court in the first year of Aldfrith's reign, and perhaps at the instance of King Finnachta. He appears to have kept up frequent communication with Aldfrith, to whom he presented his book *De Locis Sanctis*. While in Northumbria, he came under the influence of men more learned than himself, and changed his earlier convictions with regard to the Roman Easter and other observances. But he was unable to convince the brethren at Iona. In 692, he visited Ireland on political as well as ecclesiastical business, and appears to have been opposed to his old friend King Finnachta, and to have prophesied that his life should soon be cut off by fratricide, for that he had not given the same privileges to the lands of Columcille as were enjoyed by those of Patrick, Finnian, and Ciaran. And Finnachta fell by the hand of his cousin in 695. Adamnan seems to have been far more successful in promoting the new Easter.

¹ Lib. iii. § 6.² *Vit. S. Cuthb.* xxiv.

observance, &c. in Ireland than he had been in Iona. He again visited Ireland, in 697, for legislative purposes, and it is thought that he compiled his *Life of St. Columba* between this visit and the former one. In the *Life* he scarcely alludes to the Paschal controversy, and it has been suggested that he wrote it for the Irish Columbans, who had accepted his later teaching, and not for those of Iona, who held out for the ancient Celtic traditions. This supposition is contradicted by such terms as *nostra insula* (applied to *Iona insula*), *nostrum monasterium*, &c. The Rath of the Synods and the cross of Adamnan at Tara are supposed to be connected with a great convention held there during this second visit¹. The enactments of this synod were called 'Lex Adamnani,' as modern Acts of Parliament are often named after their chief promoters. The main object of this law appears to have been to renew St. Columba's measures for the exemption of women from military service, and the one thing said of Adamnan in the Calendar of Oengus is 'To Adamnan of Iona whose troop is radiant, noble Jesus granted the lasting liberation of the women of the Gael,' with reference to which the *Leabhar Breac* gives the story about Adamnan having seen one woman dragging another by a reaping-hook fastened in her breast². Adamnan seems to have remained in Ireland until 704, in which year he returned to Iona, where he soon after died. He had received the Roman tonsure in Ireland, and, says Mac Firbis,

¹ Tara had been deserted for 134 years, in consequence, as is said, of a curse pronounced upon it by St. Ruadan in 563 (for a picturesque account of which see O'Curry, *Manners*, &c. ii. 336), when the last assembly of the tribes under a king was held. But it has never ceased to be regarded as a great national centre. The Rath of the Synods is so called from synods said to have been held therein by SS. Patrick and Brendan, as well as

this by St. Adamnan. Other memorials at Tara are Adamnan's 'pavilion' (site), 'chair,' mound, and cross. Daniel O'Connell held there what would now be called 'a monster gathering' in 1843. 'There was a million and a half with Dan,' said the widow Keelan (cp. p. lvi, n.). And quite lately a vulgar modern statue of St. Patrick has been set up in the very centre of the central rath.

² Reeves, 1857, 179; Stokes, *Cal. Oeng. cxxxix, cxlvi.*

'it was a great surprise to his congregation to see him with that tonsure.' He appears to have arrived after Easter in 704, and, as Bede points out, he was taken to his eternal rest before another Easter, and thereby delivered from any discord with the brethren on that subject (*H. E.* v. 15). He died on the 23rd of September, but we have no further record of the circumstances of his death or burial. The church of Skreen in co. Sligo is said to derive its name from a shrine of Adamnan preserved there¹.

§ 11. Adamnan may be regarded as a sort of link between an earlier and a later phase in the history of His place in history, &c. the ancient Church of Ireland. He was brought up in the 'old learning,' but he adopted and promoted the Roman Easter and tonsure, to which the Celtic sentiment was so strongly and so long opposed. His undoubted writings are the work *De Locis Sanctis*, taken down on waxed tablets from Arculf's dictation, and then put into literary form, probably about 688, and the *Life of St. Columba*, compiled from earlier memoirs and the traditions of Iona between 692 and 697. This *Life* is described by Pinkerton as 'the most complete piece of such biography that all Europe can boast of, not only at so early a period, but throughout the whole middle ages'; by Dr. Reeves, as 'an inestimable literary relic of the Irish Church: perhaps, with all its defects, the most valuable monument of that institution which has escaped the ravages of time,' and as 'one of the most important pieces of hagiology in existence'; by Bishop A. P. Forbes, as 'the solitary record of the history of the Church of Scotland, and, with the exception of Bede and the Pictish Chronicle, the chief trustworthy monument till we come to the Margaretan reformation'; by Montalembert, as 'un des monuments les plus vivants, les plus attrayants et les plus authentiques de l'histoire chrétienne.' And the Duke of Argyll well says, 'that we find in Columba's *Life*,

¹ On the shrine or shrines of Adamnan, see Reeves, 1857, lxiii; 1874, clxv.

not only the firm foothold of history, but the vivid portraiture of an individual man . . . Not one historical character of the time . . . is in any similar degree known to us. On one spot, and one spot only, of British soil, there shines in this dark time a light, more vivid even than the light of common history—the light of personal anecdote and of domestic narrative. When we land upon Iona, we can feel that we are treading in the very footsteps of a man whom we have known in voice, in gesture, in habits, and in many peculiarities of character; and yet, of a man who walked on the same ground before the Heptarchy, when Roman cities still stood in Britain, and when the ancient Christianized Celts of Britain were maintaining a doubtful contest with Teutonic heathenism¹.

Adamnan is said also to have written a *Life of St. Patrick*, certain poems, a work on Irish history, and an epitome of Irish laws².

Many churches, wells, &c. are dedicated to him both in Ireland and in Scotland, and Reeves points out that the dedications to St. Columba and to St. Adamnan keep very close together³.

§ 12. After the death of Adamnan there was a schism in Iona between those who at last came over to his later views, and those who did not, and there appear to have been rival abbots. In 717 the Columban monks were expelled from the kingdom of the Picts. In 794 Iona was for the first of many times ravaged by Danish pirates. In 814 to 831 the monastery was rebuilt with stone and the shrine of St. Columba set up therein. In 878 the shrine and relics of St. Columba were taken to Ireland. In 1059-1093 Queen Margaret rebuilt the monastery. But during the eleventh and twelfth centuries Iona shared in the general decadence of the old Celtic Church, and in 1203 were founded a Benedictine abbey and nunnery in I, or Iona, in

¹ *Iona*, 55-57.

² Reeves, 1857, lx; 1874, clxiii.

³ Reeves, 1857, lxi-lxvii; 1874, clxiv-clxix.

honour of God and of St. Columba. The ruins, still standing, are those of the buildings of this foundation, though probably imagined by many tourists to be those of St. Columba's monastery.

§ 13. This Introduction, which has perhaps extended to Conclusion ; an undue length, may fitly close with Dr. Reeves's Adamnan's account of Adamnan's Latin style, from the Latin style. memoir included in the appendix to his preface.

§ 14. 'Of Adamnan's two Latin works, the tract *De Locis* Adamnan's *Sanctis* is the better written and more flowing, but style. it bears a striking resemblance to the other in many particulars of style, and the use of peculiar words and phrases. In the following pages the reader will observe the liberal employment of diminutives¹ so characteristic of Irish composition ; and he will find them, in many cases, used without any grammatical force, and commutable, in the same chapter, with their primitives. The same tendency is also observable among verbs in the use of frequentatives and intensives. He delights in the distributive numerals instead of cardinals, and in the adjective termination *-ax* where admissible². He uses the pluperfect for the perfect, and the nominative instead of the ablative absolute. He occasionally employs Greek, or Greco-Latin words³ ; and in a few instances introduces Irish or Hiberno-Latin expressions. Proper names he sometimes inflects according to the rules of Irish grammar, so that in a Latin narrative they present an anomalous appearance. Above all, the artificial, and often unnatural, interweaving of his words, in long sentences, and the oft-recurring ablative absolute in awkward position, will strike the reader as remarkable features of the style.'

We may note too his habit of giving a Latin equivalent instead of or in addition to a native name, as is also done by

¹ See Glossary, s. v. *Diminutiva*.

² Note also his use of adjectival forms agreeing with *insula* (*Ed.*).

³ And Greek letters: Such uses of Greek are found in other early Irish writings (*Ed.*).

Bede, Giraldus Cambrensis, Colgan, O'Sullivan Bear, and others. Such interpretations are of great value as being many of them given by men to whom the Irish language was the mother tongue, and when the place-names were well understood.

BISHOP HATFIELD'S HALL, DURHAM,

June 9, 1894.



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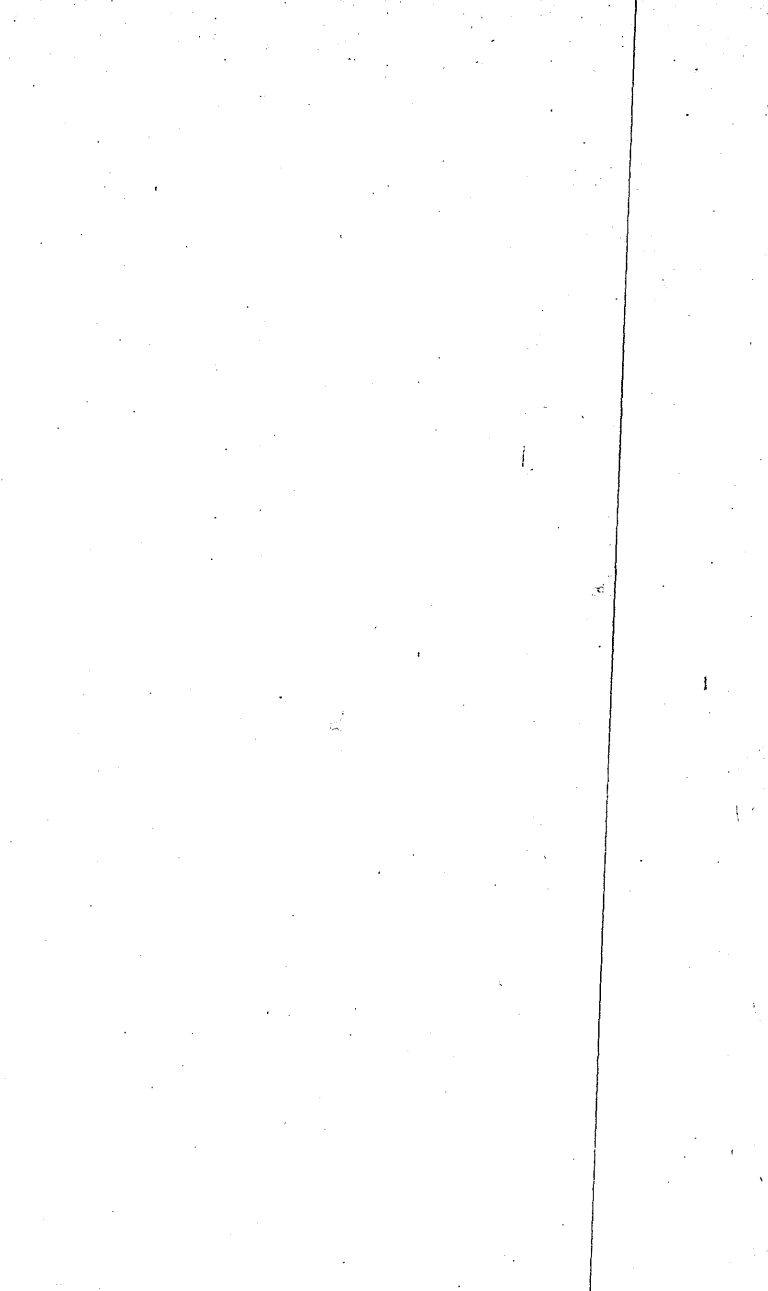
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- Trias Thaumaturga: see Colgan.
- Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, so called from its division into three parts. MS. discovered by O'Curry in the British Museum (*MS. Materials*, p. 345). Colgan gives a Latin translation from three Irish MSS., as the seventh Life of St. Patrick in the *Trias Thaumaturga*. There is an English translation by Hennessy from the original Irish, in pp. 371-502 of the Life of St. Patrick by Miss M. F. Cusack, Lond., &c., 1871. The standard edition is the one in the Rolls Series, edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Indexes, by Dr. Whitley Stokes, in two vols. Lond. 1887. The second volume contains the notes by Muirchu and other early documents relating to St. Patrick. Colgan and O'Curry thought that the Tripartite was a work of the sixth century, Petrie and Todd placed it in the ninth or tenth, but Dr. Stokes concludes that it was probably compiled in the eleventh. See his Introduction, pp. lxii-lxxxix.
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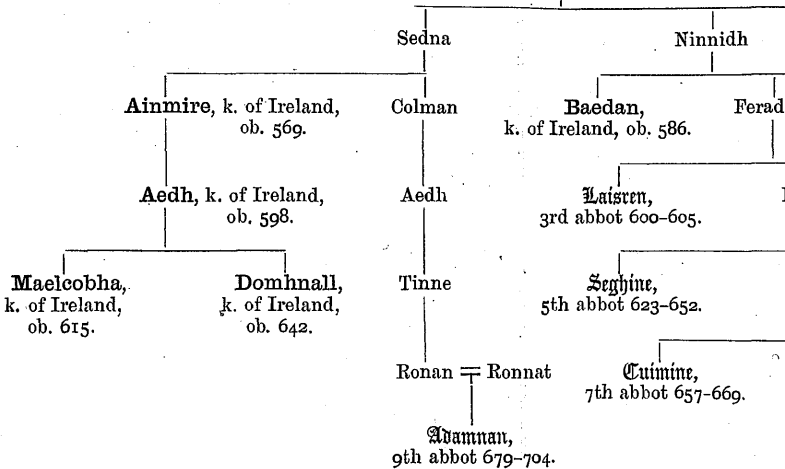
GENEALOGICAL

Niall 'of the Nine Hostages,' Monarch

Laoghaire or Leary, Monarch of Ireland 428-458;
nominally converted by St. Patrick.

Con

Fergus Cennfada = Erca, d. of Loarn Mor



Suibhne, the son of Cuirtri, was the 6th abbot 652-657,

- ¹ According to ancient Irish tradition, Niall was killed by an arrow shot across the
- ² The other race, the Kinel Owen, were descended from Owen Gulban, another
- Niall by another wife; p. 23 n.
- ³ Succeeded by his brother Fergus Mor (2nd king), who was succeeded by his
- kings, &c., who come into Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, and who were
- ⁴ Tenth in descent from Cathair Mor, king of Ireland, A.D. 120.
- ⁵ The genealogy of Fergna Brit may be one generation too long.

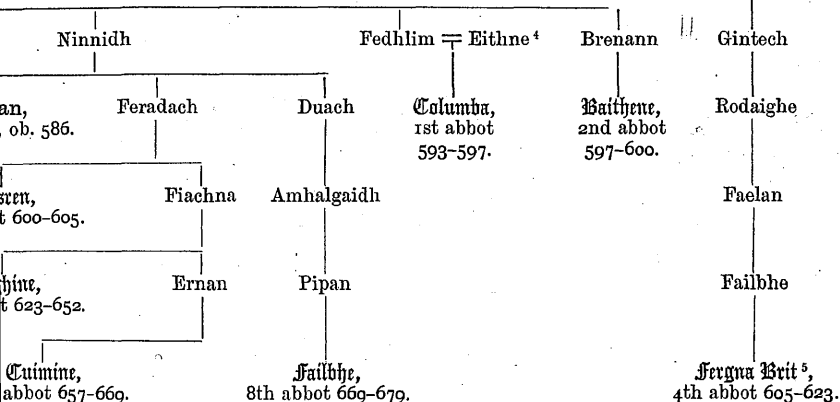
ALOGICAL TABLE.

Hostages,' Monarch of Ireland 379-405¹.

Conall Gulban, Head of one of the two great races of the Northern Hy-Neill, the Kinell Conall²; slain 464.

d. of Loarn Mor, 1st k. of Dalriada, in 503³.

Enna Boghaine



5th abbot 652-657, but nothing is known of his extraction.

arrow shot across the river Loire by Eochaidh, son of the king of Leinster, A. D. 405.
 en Gulban, another son of Niall. The Southern Hy-Neill were the descendants of

succeeded by his son Domhangart (3rd king), from whom were descended several
 mba, and who were all related to him through his grandmother Erea.

p.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

- P. xliv, note 2. Dr. J. H. Bernard thinks that the case did not originally belong to the case, and is of the eighth century. *Trans. of R. Irish Acad.*
- P. 21, note 4, *Add the ref., Acta SS. Hib. ex cod.*
- P. 35, line 21, *read Britones, and in note 4, read*
- P. 39, note 3, *read Marshii.*
- P. 41, note 2, *read Martyrs'.*
- P. 44, line 11, *read transmota; note 2, after*
and in note 5, after ch. 35, add ii. 27, and
s. v.
- P. 46, note 6, *read Nigrum.*
- P. 58, note 1, line 4, *add ref., Acta &c. as on*
end, See Glossary s. v.
- P. 74, line 13, *vita comite should be in Italics.*
- P. 78, note 4, *read tiag (tiaga is plural).*
- P. 82. *Codex B adds to title of ii. 13, 'in vortice*
- P. 83, note 1, *add at end, Acta &c. as on p. 21,*
- P. 84, line 20, *read terram.*
- P. 91, line 2, *read homuncio.*
- P. 137, note 4, *add at the end, 'Tylor, Primitive*
E. Peacock in Archaeological Journal, March
Illustrated London News of Apr. 14, 1894, sa
dalay in Burmah that it is literally reared
fifty persons of both sexes, and of all ages
the purpose, and that four of the victims
throne itself, p. 453.
- P. 160, note 2, *erase comma after Eddii.*

IND ADDITIONS.

thinks that the Domnach Airgid
e case, and is not earlier than the
rish Acad. xxx, pt. 7, pp. 307, 309.
Vib. ex cod. Salm. col. 375.
note 4, read Marshii.

te 2, after Ireland add and Scotland,
. 27, and at end of note, See Glossary

&c. as on p. 21, col. 379, and at the

in Italics. See p. 102, note 2.

l).

n vortice brechain.'

on p. 21, col. 388.

c, *Primitive Culture*, 1871, i. 94-97;
al, March 1894, p. 51, and reff. *The*
4, 1894, says of the palace at Man-
cally reared over the bones of some
of all ages and ranks, sacrificed for
the victims were buried under the

i.

VITA SANCTI COLUMBAE

^a IN NOMINE IESU CHRISTI ORDITUR PRAEFATIO.

BEATI nostri Patroni, Christo suffragante, vitam descripturus, fratrum flagitationibus obsecundare volens, in primis eandem lecturos quosque admonere procurabo ut fidem dictis adhibeant compertis, et res magis quam verba perpendant, quae; ut aestimo, inculta et vilia esse videntur; meminerintque regnum Dei non in eloquentiae exuberantia, sed in fidei florulentia constare¹; et nec ob aliqua Scoticae², vilis videlicet linguae, aut ^b humana onomata³, aut gentium ob-

The origin and character of the work.

^a Incipit prima praefatio apologiae Adomnani abbatis sancti scriptoris in vitam S. Columbae confessoris et abbatis C.—vite sancti Columbae S. Incipit prologus Adamnani abbatis in vita sancti Columbae abbatis et confessoris D. om. F. Codex B acephalus est, hodieque ad -ro pectore verbo in cap. 3 incipit. ^b nomina anomala inepte Boll.

¹ constare] This paraphrase of 1 Cor. iv. 20, 'Non enim in sermone est regnum Dei, sed in virtute,' Vulg., has apparently been suggested by a similar passage in the preface to the *Life of St. Martin* by Sulpicius Severus, quoted by Reeves, who thinks that Adamnan has borrowed other ideas from the same source.

² Scoticae] Irish, so *passim*; see note on *Scotia*, below, p. 5. The Celtic tongues were characterized as barbarous by Gregory, Bede, and others.

³ onomata] This is the first of

many instances in which Adamnan, following the fashion of his time, makes use of Greek loan-words. Latin words were sometimes written in Greek letters, though often incorrectly, and specimens of Greek, as for example the Lord's Prayer in Cod. A. of Adamnan, were written in a peculiar Irish form of the Greek character (Reeves, 1857, 354 and facsimile Pl. 3). Similar instances occur in the *Book of Armagh*, c. A. D. 807. See Intr. iv. § 13. Greek seems to have been cultivated as a matter of

secura locorumve vocabula, quae, ut puto, inter alias exterarum gentium diversas vilescunt linguas, utilium, et non sine divina opitulatione gestarum, despiciant rerum pronuntiationem. Sed et hoc lectorem admonendum putavimus, quod de beatæ memoriæ viro plura, studio brevitatis, etiam memoria digna, a nobis sint prætermissa, et quasi pauca de plurimis ob evitandum fastidium lectorum sint ^a caraxata¹. Et hoc, ut arbitrator, quisque hæc lecturus forte annotabit, quod minima de maximis per populos fama de eodem beato viro divulgata disperserit, ad horum etiam paucorum comparationem, quæ nunc breviter caraxare disponimus. Hinc, post hanc primam præfatiunculam², de nostri vocamine præsulis in exordio secundæ, Deo auxiliante, intimare exordiar.

^b IN NOMINE IESU CHRISTI SECUNDA PRAEFATIO.

VIR erat vitæ venerabilis et beatæ memoriæ, monasteriorum³ pater et fundator, cum Iona propheta homonymum

^a C. D. F. S. craxata A. octies in hac vita, quinque præterea in tractatu *De Locis Sanctis*, hæc forma, verisimiliter Adamnani propria, adhibetur. Stephanus Vitus, cuius apographo Codicis A. usi sunt Colganus et Bollandistæ, exarare hic et atibi substituit; volens, ut ait Baertius, plus quam oportebat sapere. ^b Incipit præfatio secunda C. F. S. Incipit secundus prologus D.

interest and curiosity, but in many cases with very slender knowledge (Reeves, 1857, 158 n.). We find in the Bangor 'Antiphonary' (A.D. 680-691), proto, 5a, Alfa et ω, 11r, agie, 12r, agius, 15v, pantes, ta erga, 15v, zoen, 36v. If we had more liturgical remains of the old national rite, we should probably find survivals of Greek similar to those still remaining in the Roman service-books, which are analogous to the Latin survivals in the English Prayer-book, and carry us back to times when Greek was the principal ecclesiastical language. It may here be mentioned that Greek, written phonetically in Roman letters, was used somewhat extensively in England as late as the eleventh century (*Archæologia*,

xlvi. 389, etc.).

¹ *caraxata*] Caraxare, to write (craxare in Cod. A. and in *De Locis Sanctis*, xraxare in the Irish Cod. Lat. Paris, 12021) is from χαράσσω, to scratch, denoting the action of the stylus on waxed tablets; it had been used by Latin writers as early as Prudentius. Colgan and the Bollandists have adopted Stephen White's improper substitution of *exarare*.

² *præfatiunculam*] On the frequent use of diminutives by Adamnan and other Irish writers, see above, in the conclusion of the Introduction.

³ *monasteriorum*] The number is variously stated at sixty-six (Colgan), one hundred (Jocelin), and three hundred (O'Donnell).

sortitus nomen; nam licet diverso trium diversarum sono linguarum, unam tamen eandemque rem significat hoc, quod Hebraice dicitur IONA¹, Graecitas vero ^a ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ² vocitat, et Latina lingua COLUMBA³ nuncupatur. Tale tantumque vocabulum

Significance of the name Columba.

homini Dei non sine divina inditum providentia creditur. Nam et iuxta Evangeliorum fidem Spiritus Sanctus super Unigenitum aeterni Patris descendisse monstratur in forma illius aviculae quae columba dicitur: unde plerumque in sacrosanctis libris columba mystice Spiritum Sanctum significare dignoscitur. Proinde et Salvator in evangelio suo praecepit discipulis ut columbarum in corde puro insertam simplicitatem continerent; columba etenim simplex et innocens est avis. Hoc itaque vocamine et homo simplex innocensque nuncupari debuit qui in se columbinis meribus Spiritui Sancto hospitium praebuit: cui nomini non inconvenienter congruit illud quod in Proverbiis scriptum est, *Melius est nomen bonum quam divitiae multae*⁴. Hic igitur noster praesul non immerito, non solum^b a diebus infantiae hoc vocabulo, Deo donante, adornatus, proprio ditatus est, sed etiam praemissis multorum cyclis annorum ante suae nativitatis diem cuidam Christi militi, Spiritu revelante Sancto, quasi filius repromissionis mirabili pro-

^a ΠΗΡΙΣΤΗΡΑ A. F. S. ΝΗΠΙΟΤΗΤΑ peristera C. ΠΕΡΙΣΤΗΡΑ Cott.

^b adiebus A. duo verba saepe in cod. A. cohaerent⁵.

¹ Iona] Heb. יוֹנָה, i. a dove, 2. proper name 'Jonah.' Columbanus in the superscription of his epistle to Pope Boniface IV made a similar reference to his name in the same three languages. It no doubt helped to determine the erroneous form 'Iona,' as the name of the island 'Hy' or 'Y.'

² ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ] See the various readings. The confusion of long and short Greek vowels is common in Irish MSS. The reading of Cod. C. is probably an explanatory gloss ('gentleness') possibly a misunderstanding of the Greek capitals.

³ Columba] On St. Columba's Irish names see above, in the Introduction (vi. § 1). There are more than 100 Irish saints called Colum, Colman, Columba, etc. mostly men, but in Continental hagiology Columba is a woman's name. Adamnan uses the forms Columba, Columbanus, Columbus, and Columb.

⁴ *Melius est*, etc.] Prov. xxii. 1, Vulg.

⁵ Such cohesion is common in MSS. of the date of Cod. A., and is a transition towards complete separation of all words.

phetatione nominatus est. Nam quidam proselytus Brito¹, homo sanctus, sancti Patricii² episcopi discipulus, Maucteus nomine, ita de nostro prophetizavit Patrono, sicuti nobis ab antiquis traditum expertis comperit habetur. 'In novissimis,' ait, 'saeculi temporibus filius nasciturus est, cuius nomen Columba per omnes insularum oceani provincias divulgabitur notum; novissimaeque orbis tempora clare illustrabit. Mei et ipsius duorum monasteriorum³ agelluli unius sepisculae intervallo disterminabuntur⁴: homo valde Deo carus, et grandis coram ipso meriti.' Huius igitur nostri Columbae vitam et mores describens, in primis brevi sermonis textu, in quantum valuerit, strictim comprehendam, et ante lectoris oculos sanctam eius conversationem pariter exponam. Sed et de miraculis⁵ eius succincte quaedam, quasi legentibus avide praegustanda, ponam: quae tamen inferius, per tres divisa libros, plenius explicabuntur. Quorum Primus propheticas revelationes⁶; Secundus vero

¹ *proselytus Brito*] A British stranger. St. Mochta of Loughmagh, or Louth, (Aug. 19) is described in his life as 'ortus ex Britannia,' hence his title *proselytus*. He is said to have styled himself in an epistle, 'peccator prespiter, sancti Patricii discipulus,' and to have died in 534 (*Annals of Ulster*). The word *proselytus* is used by St. Patrick in this sense both in his *Confession* and in his *Epistle on Coroticus*. According to a metrical account quoted in the mediaeval notes on the *Calendar of Oengus* (ed. Stokes, cxxxii) St. Mochta had 300 priests, 100 bishops, and 80 psalm-singing noble youths, who did no ploughing, reaping, kiln-drying, nor any work save only reading.

² *Patricii*] The only allusion made by Adamnan to St. Patrick.

³ *monasteriorum*] We can hardly attach any special meaning to the

diminutives here. But see Glossary.

⁴ *disterminabuntur*] This prophecy cannot be shewn to have been fulfilled.

⁵ *de miraculis*] The *promissiuncula* referred to in the opening words of i. 1.

⁶ *propheticas revelationes*] In later times many spurious prophecies, worthy to rank with those of Merlin and Mother Shipton, were attributed to St. Columba and to other saints, who may at first only have been called 'prophets' in the sense of preachers. The Irish have always been disposed to welcome such predictions (O'Curry, *Lect. on MS. Materials*, 382-434). Even the Norman knight John de Courey, c. 1176, kept by him a book of St. Columcille's prophecies, although as they were written in Irish he could not read a word of them (Joyce, *Hist.* 272). On mediaeval prophecies,

divinas per ipsum virtutes effectas; Tertius angelicas apparitiones, ^a continebit, et quasdam super hominem Dei caelestis claritudinis manifestationes. Nemo itaque me de hoc tam praedicabili¹ viro aut mentitum aestimet, aut quasi quaedam dubia vel incerta scripturum: sed ea quae maiorum fideliumque virorum tradita expertorum congrua relatione narraturum, et sine ulla ambiguitate ^b caraturum sciat, et vel ex his quae ante nos inserta paginis reperire potuimus, vel ex his quae auditu ab expertis quibusdam fidelibus antiquis, sine ulla dubitatione narrantibus, diligentius sciscitantes, didicimus.

^c SANCTUS igitur² Columba nobilibus fuerat oriundus genitalibus³, patrem habens Fedilmithum filium Ferguso⁴; matrem Aethneam nomine, cuius pater Latine Filius Nautis dici potest, Scotica vero lingua⁵ Mac Naue. Hic anno secundo post Culedrebinæ bellum⁶, aetatis vero suae xlii., de Scotia⁷ ad Britanniam⁸ pro Christo peregrinari

St.
Columba's
parentage,
mission,
and
character.

^a contenebit A. ^b caraturum A. exaraturum Colg. Boll. ^c Incipit liber primus de prophetiis revelationibus C. S. Explicit secundus prologus in vita sancti Columbe abbatis et confessoris Incipit primus liber in vita sanctissimi Columbe abbatis et confessoris D.

see Döllinger's *Prophecies* (tr. by Dr. Plummer), and on one of the latest productions of this kind, Reeves, 1857, lxxx. 1874, xli.

¹ *praedicabili*] A favourite epithet with Adamnan, frequently applied to St. Columba, in i. 37 to his prophecies, and in *De Locis Sanctis* to Jerusalem, and to a *capsa*. Render, 'famous.'

² *Sanctus igitur*, etc.] Other early biographies begin in this manner after their prefaces, and Codd. C. D. F. S. make this the beginning of ch. i. So also Cumman.

³ *nobilibus*, etc.] See Intr. vi. § 1, and the Genealogical Table.

⁴ *Ferguso*] The regular form of the old Irish genitive, as in *Aido*, i. 10, etc.

⁵ *Scotica*, etc.] In the Irish language. See note on *Scotia*.

⁶ *Culedrebinæ bellum*] The great battle of Cooladrummon, on which see Intr. vi. § 6.

⁷ *Scotia*] Bede writes 'Venit de Hibernia . . . Columba Britanniam' (*H. E.* iii. 4) and Adamnan 'per totam nostram Scotiam, et . . . Britanniam' iii. 23. Many similar passages might be cited, yet the identity of Scotia with Hibernia was long disputed by North British writers. *Scotia*, an ancient name of Ireland, passed on to Alba or North Britain as a consequence of emigrations, as it has now passed on to Nova Scotia in the New World. Scotland had the name of Scotia Minor at first, while the parent country was called Scotia Major, or *Vetus*. This continued to about the eleventh century, when

volens¹, enavigavit. Qui et a puero Christiano deditus tirocinio, et sapientiae studiis integritatem corporis et animae puritatem, Deo donante, custodiens, quamvis in terra positus, caelestibus se aptum moribus ostendebat. Erat enim aspectu angelicus, sermone nitidus, opere sanctus, ingenio optimus, consilio magnus, per annos xxxiv.² insulanus miles conversatus. Nullum etiam unius horae intervallum transire poterat, quo non aut orationi aut lectioni, vel scriptioni, vel etiam alicui operationi, incumberet. Ieiunationum quoque et vigiliarum indefessis laboribus sine ulla intermissione die noctuque ita occupatus, ut supra humanam possibilitatem uniuscuiusque pondus specialis videretur operis. Et inter haec omnibus carus, hilarem semper faciem ostendens sanctam, Spiritus Sancti gaudio intimis laetificabatur praecordiis.

Ireland returned to the other native name Eire, whence 'Eireland,' and 'Scotia' gradually came to be used of North Britain only. 'Erin' is really the dative of Eriu, an earlier form of Eire.

⁸ *Britanniam*] Britain regarded as one. In earlier writings, e. g. the *Confession of St. Patrick*, the plural *Britanniae* is used, denoting the Roman provinces of what is now Great Britain, which varied in number at different times; in the fourth century there were five. The plural form

has been used on our coins since 1817, meaning 'of the British Isles,' including Ireland. It does not occur on Roman coins.

¹ *peregrinari volens*] This passage possibly gives the true or at any rate the chief reason of St. Columba's leaving Ireland. On some alleged reasons, see above, *Intr. vi. § 6.*

² *per annos xxxiv*] Bede says 'circiter triginta et duos' (*H. E. iii. 4*), but Adamnan makes the number amount to 34 again in *iii. 22.*

NUNC PRIMI LIBRI CAPITULATIONES¹
ORDIUNTUR.

- DE virtutum miraculis brevis narratio. (I.)
De sancto Finteno abbate, Tailchani filio, quomodo de ipso
sanctus Columba prophetavit. (II.)
De Erneneo, filio Craseni, prophetia eius. (III.)
De adventu Cainnichi quomodo praenuntiavit. (IV.)
De periculo sancti Colmani gente Mocusailni sancto Columbae
revelato. (V.)
De Cormaco nepote Letha prophetationes eius. (VI.)
De bellis. (VII, VIII.)
De regibus. (IX–XV.)
De duobus pueris secundum verbum eius in fine septimanae
mortuis. (XVI.)
De Colcio filio Aido Draigniche, et de quodam occulto matris
ipsius peccato. (XVII.)
De signo mortis eiusdem viri prophetia sancti Colum-
bae. (XVII².)
De Laisrano hortulano. (XVIII.)
De ceto magno quomodo prophetavit. (XIX.)
De quodam Baitano, qui cum caeteris ad maritimum re-
migavit desertum. (XX.)

¹ *Capitulationes*] These headings appear to be genuine though independent portions of the original work. They do not quite correspond with those of the chapters as we have them (see the numbers appended and notes thereon), and they contain some different forms of names and words, in one in-

stance supplying a proper name not elsewhere mentioned. The Bollandists and some codices omit them, so that the words *supra memorata*, and the like, in their texts, have no meaning.

² This and the preceding title both belong to ch. 17.

- De quodam Nemanio ficto poenitente, qui postea secundum
verbum sancti carnem equae furtivae comedit. (xxi.)
- De illo infelici viro qui cum sua genitrice peccavit. (xxii.)
- De I vocali littera quae una in Psalterio defuit. (xxiii.)
- De libro in hydriam¹ cadente. (xxiv.)
- De corniculo atramenti inclinato. (xxv.)
- De adventu alicuius Aidani qui ieiunium solvit. (xxvi.)
- De aliquo misero viro, qui ad fretum clamitabat, mox mori-
turo. (xxvii.)
- De civitate Romanae partis, super quam ignis de coelo
cecidit. (xxviii.)
- De Laisrano filio Feradaig, quomodo monachos probavit in
labore. (xxix.)
- De Fechno^a Binc. (xxx.)
- De Caitano monacho. (xxxi.)
- De duobus peregrinis. (xxxii.)
- De Artbranano sene, quem in Scia insula baptizavit. (xxxiii.)
- De naviculae transmotatione iuxta stagnum Loch-diae².
(xxxiv.)
- De Gallano filio Fachtni quem daemones rapuere. (xxxv.)
- De Ligidio Claudio. (xxxviii³.)
- De Enano filio Gruth⁴. (xxxix.)
- De presbitero qui erat in Triota. (xl.)
- De Erco furunculo⁵. (xli.)
- De Cronano poeta. (xlii.)
- De Ronano filio Aido filii Colcen, et Colmano Cane filio
Aileni, prophetia Sancti. (xliii⁶.)

^a obscure A.

¹ *hydriam*] 'Aquarium vas' in ch. 24.

² *Loch-diae*] Not mentioned by name in ch. 34. The *Annals of Ulster* s. a. 728 mention *stagnum Loogdae*, but it has not been identified.

³ Chapters 36 and 37 are not mentioned here.

⁴ *Enano filio Gruth*] 'Nemanio filio Gruthriche' in ch. 39.

⁵ *furunculo*] In ch. 41 he is called *fur*, and *valde furax*. In classical Latin *furunculus* is a petty thief, a pilferer; thus Cicero speaks of one who was 'olim furunculus, nunc etiam rapax' (*In Pisonem*, 27. 66). Here the diminutive has no force.

⁶ Chapters 44-50 are not mentioned here.

INCIPIT PRIMI LIBRI TEXTUS,
DE PROPHETICIS REVELATIONIBUS

CAP. I.

DE VIRTUTUM MIRACULIS BREVIS NARRATIO¹.

VIR itaque venerandus qualia virtutum documenta dederit, in huius libelli primordiis, secundum nostram praemissam superius promissiunculam², breviter sunt demonstranda. Diversorum namque infestationes morborum homines, in nomine Domini Iesu Christi, virtute orationum, perpressos sanavit³: daemonumque⁴ infestas, ipse unus homo, et innumeras contra se belligerantes catervas, oculis corporalibus visas, et incipientes mortiferos super eius coenobialem coetum inferre morbos, hac nostra de insula⁵ retrotrusas primaria⁶, Deo auxiliante, repulit⁷. Bestiarum furiosam rabiem, partim mortificatione, partim forti repulsione, Christo adiu-

Summary
of St.
Columba's
miracles.

¹ CAP. I] This chapter may be regarded as a third preface; it is wanting in all the MSS. except A. (B. is imperfect here), and its genuineness has been questioned, probably on insufficient grounds.

² *promissiunculam*] See above, in Pref. 2, p. 4.

³ *sanavit*] See ii. 4, 5, 6, 18, 30, 31, 33, 40, 46.

⁴ *daemonum*] See ii. 11, 16, 17; iii. 8, 13.

⁵ *nostra de insula*] So in ch. 30,

'nostro huic monasterio,' and in ch. 37, 'nostrum monasterium,' confirming the opinion that this Life was written in Iona, and not, as has been thought, in Ireland. See Intr. viii. § 10.

⁶ *primaria*] Bede thus refers to the primacy of Iona: 'In quibus omnibus idem monasterium insulanum, in quo ipse requiescit corpore, principatum teneret,' H. E. iii. 4.

⁷ *repulit*] See iii. 8.

vante compescuit¹. Tumores quoque fluctuum, instar montium aliquando in magna tempestate consurgentium, ipso ocius orante, sedati humiliatique sunt²; navisque ipsius, in qua et ipse casu navigabat, tunc temporis, facta tranquillitate, portum appulsa est optatum. In regione Pictorum³ aliquantibus diebus manens, inde reversus ut magos⁴ confunderet, contra flatus contrarios venti erexit velum, et ita veloci cursu eius navicula enatans festinabat, ac si secundum habuisset ventum⁵. Aliis quoque temporibus, venti navigantibus contrarii in secundos, ipso orante, conversi sunt⁶. In eadem supra memorata regione lapidem de flumine candidum detulit, quem ad aliquas profuturum benedixit sanitates⁷: qui lapis, contra naturam, in aqua intinctus, quasi pomum supernatavit. Hoc divinum miraculum coram Brudeo rege, et familiaribus eius, factum est. In eadem itidem provincia, cuiusdam plebei credentis mortuum puerum suscitavit⁹, quod est maioris miraculi, vivumque et incolumem patri et matri assignavit. Alio in tempore idem vir beatus iuvenis diaconus, in Hibernia¹⁰ apud Findbarrum¹¹ sanctum episcopum commanens, cum

¹ *compescuit*] See ii. 26, 27.

² *humiliati sunt*] See ii. 12, 13.

³ *Pictorum*] The *Picti* were properly the *Picts* or *Caledonians*, who dwelt in the northern parts of what is now called Scotland. But there were also the *Cruithne* or 'Irish Picts,' who inhabited the southern half of Antrim and the greater part of Down.

⁴ *magos*] The term *Magi*, *Druids*, is used in Acts of Irish Saints as equivalent to *Dracoithe*, *Druidh*, as *Dracoithe* is of the 'Magi' in St. Matt. ii. 1, and *Druith* of Jannes and Jambres in 2 Tim. iii. 8.

⁵ *ventum*] See ii. 34.

⁶ *conversi sunt*] See i. 4; ii. 15, 42, 45.

⁷ *sanitates*] See ii. 33.

⁸ *Brudeo rege*] Brude, son of Maelcon, king of the Picts, c. 554 to 584; mentioned also in i. 37; ii. 33, 35; 42.

⁹ *suscitavit*] See ii. 32.

¹⁰ *Hibernia*] The oldest extant form of the native name is *Eriu*, supposed to be from a still older native name *Iberiu*, through an intermediate *Ieriu*. *Hiberio* is the Latin form used in St. Patrick's writings. The 'Hybernia' of Pliny and 'Hibernia' of Solinus may be due to the transcribers. Bede uses 'Hibernia.' See note on *Scotia*, p. 5, and Joyce, ii. 458.

¹¹ *Findbarrum*] *Finbarr*, *Finnio*, *Finnian*, or *Vinnian*, a bishop at *Maghbile* or *Moville*, in Down, St. Columba's former instructor of the same name, not to be confounded with the other *Finnian* of *Cluain-Eraird*, now *Clonard* in Meath. He died Sept. 10 (his day), 579. 'Finnian' is formed from dim. of *finn*, white, *Findbarr* from *finn barr*, white head. Intr. v. § 5.

ad sacrosancta mysteria necessarium defuisset vinum, virtute orationis, aquam puram in verum vertit vinum¹. Sed et caelestis ingens claritudinis lumen, et in noctis tenebris, et in luce diei, super eum, aliquando quibusdam ex fratribus, diversis et separatis vicibus, apparuit effusum². Sanctorum quoque angelorum dulces et suavissimas frequentationes luminosas habere meruit³. Quorumdam iustorum animas crebro ab angelis ad summa caelorum vehi, Sancto revelante Spiritu, videbat⁴. Sed et reproborum alias ad inferna a daemonibus ferri saepenumero aspiciebat⁵. Plurimorum in carne mortali adhuc conversantium futura plerumque praenuntiabat merita, aliorum laeta⁶, aliorum tristia⁷. In bellorumque terrificis fragoribus hoc a Deo virtute orationum impetravit, ut alii reges victi, et alii regnatores efficerentur victores⁸. Hoc tale privilegium non tantum in hac praesenti vita conversanti, sed etiam post eius de carne transitum⁹, quasi cuidam victoriali et fortissimo propugnatori, a Deo omnium sanctorum condonatum est honorificatore. Huius talis honorificentiae viro honorabili ab Omnipotente caelitus collatae etiam unum proferemus exemplum, quod Ossualdo¹⁰ regnatori Saxonico¹¹, St. Oswald's vision. pridie quam contra Catlonem¹² Britonum regem fortissimum praeliaretur, ostensum erat. Nam

¹ *vinum*] See ii. 1. Bede relates how water was thought to taste like wine after St. Cuthbert had blessed it and drank a little of it. *Vit. S. Cuthb.* 35.

² *effusum*] See iii. 17-21.

³ *meruit*] See iii. *passim*.

⁴ *videbat*] See iii. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

⁵ *aspiciebat*] See i. 35, 39; ii. 23.

⁶ *laeta*] See i. 3, 10, 11, 31, 46; ii. 39.

⁷ *tristia*] See i. 16, 21, 22, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 47; ii. 22.

⁸ *victi, victores*] See i. 7, 8, 12.

⁹ *de carne transitum*] See ii. 45, 46.

¹⁰ *Ossualdo*] St. Oswald was king

of Northumbria, 635-642.

¹¹ *Saxonico*] See note on *Saxonia*, below, p. 12.

¹² *Catlonem*] Cadwalla, king of the Strathclyde Welsh. A Christian in name, but a heathen in life and conduct (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 20). After a long struggle against the Saxon domination, he allied himself in 633 with Penda king of Mercia and slew King Edwin in battle at Hatfield in Yorkshire. In 634 he slew Osric king of Deira, and in 635 Eanfrid king of Bernicia. Proceeding to harry Northumberland, he was slain in battle with King Oswald at Denisesburn in the same year (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 20; iii. 1).

cum idem Ossualdus rex esset in *procinctu belli*¹ castra Cummian, *metatus*, quadam die in *suo papillione*² supra pul-
XXV. *villum dormiens*, sanctum Columbam in visu videt forma coruscantem angelica; cuius alta proceritas vertice nubes tangere videbatur. Qui scilicet vir beatus, suum regi proprium revelans nomen, in medio castrorum stans, eadem castra, excepta quadam parva extremitate, sui protegebat fulgida veste; et haec confirmatoria contulit verba, eadem scilicet quae Dominus ad Iesue Ben Nun ante transitum Iordanis, mortuo Moyse, prolocutus est, dicens: *Confortare et age viriliter; ecce ero tecum*³ etc. Sanctus itaque Columba, haec ad regem in visu loquens, addit: 'Hac sequenti nocte de castris ad bellum procede; hac enim vice mihi Dominus donavit ut hostes in fugam vertantur tui, et tuus Catlon inimicus in manus tradatur tuas, et post bellum victor revertaris, et feliciter regnes.' Post haec verba ex-perrectus rex senatui congregato hanc enarrat visionem; qua confortati omnes, totus populus promittit se post revisionem de bello crediturum et baptismum suscepturum: nam usque in id temporis tota illa Saxonia⁴ gentilitatis⁵ et ignorantiae tenebris obscurata erat, excepto ipso rege Ossualdo, cum duodecim viris, qui cum eo Scotos inter exulante baptizati sunt. Quid plura? eadem subsecuta nocte Ossualdus rex, sicuti in visu edoctus fuerat, de castris ad bellum, cum admodum pauciore exercitu, contra millia numerosa progreditur; cui a Domino, sicut ei promissum

¹ *belli*] The reference is to the battle of Denises-burn, supposed to be the same as Devil's Water, a stream which falls into the Tyne at Dilston, formerly Devilston, in Northumberland. Bede (*H. E.* iii. 1, 2) gives some interesting particulars respecting this battle, but does not refer to the appearing of St. Columba. In the *Historia de S. Cuthberto* written by a nameless monk of Durham early in the twelfth century, is a very similar story of St. Cuth-

bert's appearing to King Alfred before the battle of 'Assandun' to encourage him for the conflict.

² *papillione*] Pavilion, Irish *pu-pall*.

³ *tecum*, etc.] Founded on Josh. i. 5, 18, Vulg.

⁴ *Saxonia*] A name given by Adamnan, as by some other writers, to England in general; in iii. 10, 22, he uses *Saxo* (cp. p. 11, n.). The Irish still speak of an Englishman as 'the Saxon.'

⁵ *gentilitatis*] Of heathenism.

est, felix et facilis est concessa victoria, et, rege trucidato Catlone, victor post bellum reversus, postea totius Britanniae imperator¹ a Deo ordinatus est. Hanc mihi² Adamnano³ narrationem meus decessor, noster abbas Failbeus⁴, indubitanter enarravit, qui se ab ore ipsius Ossualdi regis, Segineo⁵ abbati eandem enuntiantis visionem, audisse protestatus est.

Sed et hoc etiam non praetereundum videtur, quod eiusdem beati viri per quaedam Scoticae linguae The virtues of Irish poems in praise of St. Columba. laudum ipsius carmina⁶, et nominis commemorationem, quidam, quamlibet scelerati laicae conversationis homines et sanguinarii, ea nocte qua eadem decantaverant cantica, de manibus inimicorum qui eandem eorumdem cantorum domum circumsteterant sint liberati; qui flammas inter et gladios et lanceas incolumes evasere, mirumque in modum pauci ex ipsis, qui eandem sancti viri commemorationes, quasi parvi pendentis, canere noluerant decantationes, in illo aemulorum impetu soli disperierant. Huius miraculi testes non duo aut tres, iuxta legem⁷, sed etiam centeni, et eo amplius, adhiberi potuere. Non tantum in uno, aut loco, aut tempore, hoc idem contigisse comprobatur, sed etiam diversis locis et temporibus in Scotia et in Britannia, simili tamen et modo et causa liberationis, factum fuisse, sine ulla ambiguitate exploratum est. Haec ab expertis uniuscuiusque regionis, ubicumque res eadem simili contigit miraculo, indubitanter didicimus.

¹ *imperator*] The Bretwalda.

² *Hanc mihi*] Note the way in which Adamnan obtained his information, cp. note on *didicimus*, iii. 23. Cadwalla was slain in 635, when Adamnan was about eleven years old. The author speaks again of himself in the first person in this chapter and in 2, 3, 49; ii. 45, 46; iii. 19, 23.

³ *Adamnano*] The name is an Irish diminutive of Adam. See *Intr.* viii. § 8.

⁴ *Failbeus*] Failbhe, eighth abbot of Iona, 669-679. *Ob.* Mar. 22. See *Intr.* viii. § 7.

⁵ *Segineo*] Segineus or Seghine was fifth abbot, 623-652. *Ob.* Aug. 12. *Intr.* viii. § 4.

⁶ *carmina*] Adamnan is probably referring to the *Amhra Cholumcille* or *Laudes S. Columbae*, referred to in *Intr.* i. § 8, and vii. § 4. Great and supernatural benefits were believed to be obtained by the recital of this and other highly venerated poems, as for example, the *Lorica* of St. Patrick, the *Altus* of Columcille, the *Calendar* of Oengus, and a 'Corslet' ascribed to St. Gildas.

⁷ *legem*] *Deut.* xvii. 6, and *reff.*

Sed, ut ad propositum redeamus, inter ea miracula quae idem vir Domini, in carne mortali conversans; His gifts of Deo donante, perfecerat, ab annis iuvenilibus prophecy, coepit etiam prophetiae spiritu pollere, ventura praedicere, praesentibus absentia nuntiare; quia quamvis absens corpore, praesens tamen spiritu, longe acta pervidere poterat. Nam, iuxta Pauli vocem, *Qui adhaeret Domino unus spiritus est*¹. Unde et idem vir Domini and of dis- sanctus Columba, sicut et ipse quibusdam paucis tant vision. fratribus, de re eadem aliquando percunctantibus, non negavit, in aliquantis dialis gratiae speculationibus totum etiam mundum, veluti uno solis radio collectum, sinu mentis mirabiliter laxato, manifestatum perspiciens speculabatur.

Haec de sancti viri hic ideo enarrata sunt virtutibus, ut avidior lector breviter perscripta, quasi dulciores quasdam praegustet dapes: quae tamen plenius in tribus inferius libris, Domino auxiliante, enarrabuntur. Nunc mihi non indecenter videtur, beati viri, licet praepostero ordine, prophetationes effari, quas de sanctis quibusdam et illustribus viris, diversis prolocutus est temporibus.

CAP. II.

DE SANCTO FINTENO, ABBATE, FILIO TAILCHANI.

SANCTUS Fintenus², qui postea per universas Scotorum ecclesias valde noscibilis habitus est, a puerili St. Fin- aetate integritatem carnis et animae, Deo tan goes adiuvante, custodiens, studiis dialis sophias³ de to Iona.

¹ *Qui adhaeret*] 1 Cor. vi. 17, Vulg.

² *Fintenus*] 'Gente Mocumioie' *infra*; St. Fintan, Munna, Munde, or Mundus (Oct. 21). According to Adamnan and other early authorities he came to be a monk at Iona just too late for St. Columba to receive him (c. 597), but the Aberdeen Breviary represents him as entering during

St. Columba's life. At the synod of Campus Albus he upheld the Irish Easter against St. Laisre of Leighlin, who nevertheless paid the highest possible tribute to his sanctity. *Ob.* Oct. 19, 635, probably buried on the third day, Oct. 21. Abbot in Argyle?

³ *dialis sophias*] Of Divine wisdom. *Dialis* is used by classical as

ditus, hoc propositum, in annis iuventutis conversatus, in corde habuit, ut nostrum sanctum Columbam, Hiberniam deserens, peregrinaturus adiret. Eodem aestuans desiderio, ad quemdam vadit seniore sibi amicum, in sua gente prudentissimum venerandumque clericum, qui Scotice vocitabatur Columb Crag¹, ut ab eo, quasi prudente, aliquid audiret consilium. Cui cum suos tales denudaret cogitatus, hoc ab eo responsum accepit: 'Tuum, ut aestimo, a Deo inspiratum devotumque desiderium quis prohibere potest, ne ad sanctum Columbam transnavigare debeas?' Eadem hora casu duo adveniunt monachi sancti Columbae, qui de sua interrogati ambulatione, 'Nuper,' aiunt, 'de Britannia remigantes, hodie a Roboreto Calgachi² venimus.' 'Sospes anne est,' ait Columb Crag, 'vester Columba sanctus pater?' Qui valde illacrymati, cum magno dixerunt maerore, 'Vere salvus est noster ille patronus, qui his diebus nuper ad Christum commigravit.' Quibus auditis, Fintenus et Columb et omnes qui ibidem inerant, prostratis in terram vultibus, amare flere. Fintenus consequenter percunctatur dicens: 'Quem post se successorem reliquit?' 'Baitheneum'³, aiunt, 'suum alumnum'³. Omnibusque clamitantibus, 'Dignum et debitum;' Columb ad Fintenum inquit: 'Quid ad haec, Fintene, facies?' Qui respondens ait: 'Si Dominus permiserit, ad Baitheneum virum sanctum et sapientem enavi-

well as by later writers, e.g. in the title *Flamen Dialis*. *Sophias* is an unaltered Greek word. In *dialis* we have a curious transference of a word originally used with reference to a Greek or Roman deity, to the God of Christian theology. We find *dialis* in St. Columba's hymn *Altus Prosator*, 'Magni Dei virtutibus appenditur dialibus.'

¹ *Columb Crag*] Colgan conjectures that he may have been Colum, priest of Eanach (Enagh), near Derry; Sept. 22 in calendar.

² *Roboreto Calgachi*] Daire-Calgaich (the oak-wood of Calgach). The old Pagan name of Derry,

which in the tenth or eleventh centuries was superseded by Daire Coluimeille (*Four Masters* s. a. 950). This name continued till the time of James I, whose charter to a company of London merchants imposed the name Londonderry. Calgach is the Galgacus of Tacitus (*Agricola*, c. 29), and is an Irish name found elsewhere, originally an adj. from *calg*, 'sward,' or 'thorn,' denoting 'sharp' or 'angry'; hence, as a proper name, 'fierce warrior.'

³ *Baitheneum . . . alumnum*] *Intr.* viii. § 1.

gabo et, si me susceperit, ipsum abbatem habebo.' Tum deinde supra memoratum Columb osculatus, et ei valedicens, navigationem praeparat, et sine morula ulla transnavigans, Iouam devenit insulam¹. Et necdum, in id temporis usque, nomen eius in his locis erat notum. Unde et imprimis, quasi quidam ignotus hospes hospitaliter susceptus, alia die nuncium ad Baitheneum mittit, eius allocutionem facie ad faciem habere volens. Qui, ut erat affabilis, et peregrinis appetibilis, iubet ad se adduci. Qui statim adductus, primo,

Is received ut conveniebat, flexis genibus in terra se pro-
by St. stravit; iussusque a sancto seniore, surgit, et
Baithene, residens interrogatur a Baitheneo, adhuc inscio,

de gente et provincia, nomineque et conversatione, et pro qua causa inierit navigationis laborem. Qui, ita interrogatus, omnia per ordinem enarrans, ut susciperetur humiliter expostulat. Cui sanctus senior, his ab hospite auditis, simulque hunc esse virum cognoscens de quo pridem aliquando sanctus Columba propheticè vaticinatus est, 'Gratias,' ait, 'Deo meo agere debeo quidem in tuo adventu, fili; sed hoc indubitanter scito quod noster monachus non eris.' Hoc audiens hospes, valde contristatus, inquit: 'Forsitan ego indignus tuus non mereor fieri monachus.' Senior consequenter inquit: 'Non quod, ut dicis, indignus esses hoc dixi; sed quamvis maluissem te apud me retinere, mandatum tamen sancti Columbae mei decessoris profanare non possum; per quem Spiritus Sanctus de te prophetavit. Alia nam-

who relates
St. Co-
lumba's
prophecy
concerning
him,

que die mihi soli seorsim, sic propheticè profatus ore, inter cetera, dixit:—Haec mea, O Baithenee, intentius debes audire verba; statim namque post meum de hoc ad Christum saeculo expectatum et valde desideratum transitum, quidam de Scotia frater, qui nunc, bene iuvenilem bonis moribus regens aetatem, sacrae lectionis studiis satis imbuitur, nomine

¹ *Iouam insulam*] The island of vii. § 2, and note on the forms of Iou, Y, Hy, or Iona. See Intr. the name.

Fintenus, gente Mocumoie¹, cuius pater Tailchanus² vocitatur, ad te, inquam, perveniens, humiliter expostulabit ut ipsum suscipiens inter ceteros adnumereres monachos. Sed hoc ei in Dei praescientia praedestinatum non est ut ipse alicuius abbatis monachus fieret; sed ut monachorum abbas, et animarum dux ad caeleste regnum, olim electus a Deo est. Noles itaque hunc memoratum virum in his nostris apud te retinere insulis, ne et Dei voluntati contraire videaris: sed, haec ei intimans verba, ad Scotiam in pace remittas, ut in Laginensium³ vicinis mari finibus monasterium construat, et ibidem Christi ovinum pascens gregem, innumeras ad patriam animas caelestem perducatur. Haec audiens sanctus iunior,

whereupon
he returns
to Ireland.

¹ *Mocumoie*] A clan-name, probably Mac-Ua-Maan, *filius nepotis Maan*. 'Mac' is son, 'Ua' grandson, later, descendant, now O'. The plural is 'Ui,' (Hy), descendants, as in 'Hy-Neill,' etc.

² *Tailchanus*] Tulchan, mentioned as father of St. Fintan or Munna in Colgan, *Acta SS.* 452 iv, 606 b, n. 3; *Tr. Th.* 373 b, n. 23, 483 a, 50.

³ *Laginensium*] The Laginenses or Lagini were the men of Leinster. The derivations of the names of the Irish provinces are thus given (after Worsaae) by Joyce, vol. i. p. 113. 'The termination *ster* in the names of three of the provinces is the Scandinavian *stadr*, a place, which has been added to the old Irish names. Leinster is the *place* (or province) of *Laignen* or *Layn*; Ulster is contracted from *Ula-ster*, the Irish name *Uladh* being pronounced *Ulla*; and Munster from *Moon-ster*, or *Mounster* (which is the form found in a State Paper of 1515), the first syllable representing the pronunciation of the Irish *Mumhan*.' For the derivation of *Connaught* see note on lib. ii. cap. 39. According to early Irish legends, which may preserve some facts of history, the island was divided, c. A.M. 3266,

by five Firbolg brothers into five provinces answering to the present four, the present Munster then forming two, but in the second century Tuathal king of Ireland formed the province of Midi or Meath by cutting off a portion of each of the adjoining provinces round the hill of Ushnagh in Westmeath, where the point of junction was marked by a large stone called *Ail na mireann* (stone of the portions) and by Giraldus *umbilicus Hiberniae*. According to Keating, the nucleus of this new province was a small territory that had been assigned to one Midhe, a Druid, and he gives this as one reason for its name, together with another derivation from Meidhe, neck, as if it were the neck of each province. (Keating, ed. 1809, i. 12; Reeves, 1857, 207 n.; Joyce, *Hist.* p. 60). Each of the five provinces had a sub-king, hence the Irish Pentarchy, under the Ard-ri or high-king of all Ireland and his deputy. In recent times Meath has disappeared as a province; it anciently included the present counties of Meath and Westmeath, with parts of the adjacent counties. Cp. Stokes, *Celtic Ch.* 192 n., O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 10.

Christo, lacrymas fundens, agit gratias, inquiens: 'Secundum sancti Columbae prophetica fiat mihi et mirabilem praescientiam.' Iisdemque diebus verbis sanctorum obtemperans, et a Baitheneo accipiens benedictionem, in pace ad Scotiam transnavigat¹.

Haec mihi quodam narrante religioso sene presbytero, Christi milite, Oisseneo² nomine, Ernani filio, gente Mocu Neth Corb³, indubitanter didici: qui se eadem supra memorata verba eiusdem ab ore sancti Finteni, filii Tailchani, audisse testatus est, ipsius monachus⁴.

CAP. III.

DE ERNEO FILIO CRASENI SANCTI COLUMBAE PROPHETIA.

ALIO in tempore vir beatus, in mediterranea Hiberniae parte⁵ monasterium, quod Scotice dicitur Dair-mag⁶, divino fundans nutu, per aliquot demoratus menses, libuit animo visitare fratres qui in Clonoensi⁷ sancti Cerani⁸ coenobio

St. commanebant. Auditoque eius accessu, universi Columba's undique ab agellulis⁹ monasterio vicinis cum reception at Clon- his qui ibidem inventi sunt congregati, cum omni macnoise. alacritate suum consequentes abbatem Alitherum¹⁰, sancto Columbae, quasi angelo Domini, obviam, egressi

¹ *transnavigat*] The story is told in the Life of St. Fintan much in the same way. Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 461 a.

² *Oisseneo*] Possibly an abbot of Clonard, who died 654.

³ *Mocu Neth Corb*] Of the clan *Ui-Niadh-corb*.

⁴ *Haec mihi—monachus*] Compare end of ch. i, first paragraph, p. 13, and see note. The present passage is wanting in Codd. C.F.S.

⁵ *mediterranea Hiberniae parte*] Here and in iii. 9, the neighbourhood of Athlone, which is almost exactly in the centre of Ireland. Cod. D. here supplies *midt* (Meath), in Latin *Media*, 'quia in medio est insulae sita' (Giraldus, p. 144).

But see above, note on *Lagmenstum*, p. 17.

⁶ *Dair-mag*] Irish *Dar magh* or *Dear magh*, now Durrow. Bede mentions it as '*Dearmach* lingua Scottorum, hoc est, Campus roborum.' (*H. E.* iii. 4.) Elsewhere Adamnan uses Latin equivalents: see Index, s.v. *Roboreti*.

⁷ *Clonoensi*, etc.] Clonmacnoise, founded 548.

⁸ *Cerani*] St. Ciaran was the founder. See *Intr.* v. § 6.

⁹ *ab agellulis*] Many of the monks appear to have been at work in the fields. Cp. Warren, p. 22.

¹⁰ *Alitherum*] Alitherus was fourth abbot of Clonmacnoise, and died in 599.

vallum¹ monasterii, unanimes pergunt; humiliatisque in terram vultibus eo viso, cum omni reverentia exosculatus ab eis est; hymnisque et laudibus resonantes, honorifice ad ecclesiam perducunt; quamdamque de lignis pyramidem² erga sanctum deambulantes constringentes, a quatuor viris aequae ambulantibus supportari fecerunt: ne videlicet *sanctus senior Columba eiusdem fratrum multitudinis constipatione molestaretur*. Eadem hora *quidam valde despectus vultu et habitu, familiaris, et necdum senioribus placens, retro in quantum valuit se occultans, videlicet vel illius³ amphibali³ fimbriam, quo induebatur, occulte, et si fieri possit ipso nesciente et non sentiente, tangeret⁴*. Sed hoc tamen Sanctum non latuit, nam quod corporalibus oculis retro se actum intueri non potuit, spiritalibus perspexit. Unde subito restitit, et post se extendens manum, cervicem pueri tenet, ipsumque trahens ante faciem suam statuit. Omnibusque qui ibidem circumstabant dicentibus, 'Dimitte, dimitte, quare hunc infelicem et iniuriosum retines puerum?' Sanctus e contra

* amphibali A. F.: sic amphibalo Lib. Armacan. fol. 209 a b.

¹ vallum] The cashel or outer defence. Intr. iv. § 2.

² pyramidem] The word *Pyramis* is used in one passage quoted by Ducange, of the Ciborium or Altar-canopy; in *De Locis Sanctis* ii. 4, 7, of the tombs of David and of Rachel; and in *Acta SS. Boll. Apr. ii. 385 a*, of an enclosing wall or fence round a building. Here it seems to mean a square barrier or perhaps a canopy. These later senses seem to have arisen out of the original sense by gradual extension. The Greek *πυραμῖς* is supposed to be a loan-word from Egypt.

³ amphibali] A kind of cowl or outer garment, the same as *birrhus* and *caracalla*. In the Gallican church it was some kind of chasuble (Ducange). Either from ἀμφι-

βολος as if 'wrapper,' or ἀμφιμαλλος, 'woolly on both sides,' which latter is favoured by the Latin forms *Amphimallus* and *Heteromala*, on which see Ducange. The woolly 'Irish cloak,' or shagrug, still in use in the sixteenth century, 'sheltered alike from heat and cold.' (Derricke, ed. 1883. Intr. p. ix., Desc. of Plates I, IV.) It was probably the lineal descendant of the old Irish woolly *casail* or 'chasuble' (Intr. iv. § 5). The legend of the imaginary 'St. Amphibalus,' who had a shrine at St. Albans, and whose dust was venerated at Durham, is supposed to have arisen out of the cloak (amphibalus) mentioned in the fabulous Acts of St. Alban.

⁴ tangeret] Cp. ii. 6, and St. Matt. ix. 20 and xiv. 36.

haec puro pectore verba depromit prophetica, 'Sinite, fratres, sinite modo.' Ad puerum vero valde tremefactum dicit, 'O fili, *aperi os, et porrige linguam.*' Iussus tum puer, cum ingenti tremore aperiens os, linguam porrexit; quam *Sanctus*, sanctam extendens manum, diligenter benedicens, ita propheticè profatur, dicens, '*Hic puer* quamvis *vobis nunc despicibilis* et valde vilis videatur, nemo tamen ipsum ob id despiciat. *Ab hac enim hora* non solum vobis non displicebit, sed valde placebit; *bonisque moribus*, et animae virtutibus paulatim de die in diem crescet: *sapientia* quoque et prudentia magis ac magis in eo ab hac die adaugebitur, et in hac vestra congregatione grandis est futurus profectus; lingua quoque eius salubri et doctrina et afterwards *eloquentia* a Deo donabitur.' Hic erat Erneneus¹, a famous filius Craseni, postea per omnes Scotiae ecclesias Irish saint. famosus et valde notissimus; qui haec omnia suprascripta verba Segineo abbati de se prophetata enarra- verat, meo decessore Failbeo intentius audiente, qui et ipse cum Segineo praesens inerat; cuius revelatione² et ego ipse cognovi haec eadem quae enarravi. Sed et multa alia iisdem diebus quibus in Clonoensi coenobio Sanctus hospitabatur, revelante prophetavit Sancto Spiritu; hoc est, de illa, quae post dies multos ob diversitatem Paschalis festi orta est inter Scotiae ecclesias, discordia³: et de quibusdam angelicis frequentationibus sibi manifestatis, quibus quaedam intra eiusdem coenobii septa ab angelis tunc temporis frequenta- bantur loca.

¹ *Erneneus, fil. Craseni*] St. Ernene, Ernin, or Mernoce, whose day in the Irish calendar is Aug. 18, in the Aberdeen Breviary, Oct. 25; ob. 635. His name is preserved in the two Kilmarnocks and in Inchmarnoc, and the form Mernoc is a contraction of *Mo-Ernin-occ*,

the prefix 'my' and suffix 'little' expressing affectionate familiarity.

² *cuius revelatione*] Compare pp. 13, n. 2, and 18, n. 4.

³ *discordia*] As to the Easter controversies, see Introd. iv. § 11.

CAP. IV.

DE ADVENTU SANCTI CAINNECHI, ABBATIS, DE QUO SANCTUS
COLUMBA PROPHETALITER PRAENUNTIAVIT.

ALIO in tempore cum in Ioua insula, die fragosae tempestatis et intolerabilis undarum magnitudinis, A calm in sedens in domo Sanctus et fratribus praecipiens a tempest for diceret, 'Praeparate ocius hospitium, aquamque the voyage of St. Cain- ad lavandos hospitem pedes exhaurite;' quidam nech. ex ipsis frater consequenter, 'Quis,' ait, 'hac die valde ventosa et nimis periculosa, licet breve¹, fretum prospere transnavigare potest?' Quo audito Sanctus sic profatur: 'Cuidam sancto et electo homini, qui ad nos ante vesperam perveniet, Omnipotens tranquillitatem, quamlibet in tempestate, donavit.' Et ecce, eadem die aliquamdiu a fratribus expectata navis in qua sanctus inerat Cainnechus² iuxta Sancti prophetationem pervenit. Cui Sanctus cum fratribus obviam venit, et ab eo honorifice et hospitaliter susceptus est. Illi vero nautae qui cum Cainnecho inerant, interrogati a fratribus de qualitate navigationis, sic retulerunt sicuti sanctus Columba prius de tempestate et tranquillitate pariter, Deo donante, in eodem mari, et iisdem horis, mirabili a divisione³ praedixerat; et tempestatem eminus visam non sensisse professi sunt⁴.

CAP. V.

DE PERICULO SANCTI COLMANI EPISCOPI, MOCUSAILNI, IN MARI
IUXTA INSULAM QUAE VOCITATUR RECHRU⁵.

ALIA itidem die sanctus Columba, in sua commanens matrice ecclesia, repente in hanc subridens erupit vocem,

^a A. B. C. F. S. visione *syllaba prima erasa* D.

¹ *breve*] The Sound is one English mile across.

² *Cainnechus*] Surnamed Mocu Dalon (Mae Ua Dalann), St. Cainnech, from whom the two Kilkennys derive their name; born 517, died 600; founder of Aghaboe; in Scotland called Kenneth. His day is Oct. 11.

³ *divisione*] The more likely as being the less obvious reading. The reference is to the tempest and the calm just mentioned.

⁴ *professi sunt*] The same account is given in the Brussels Life of St. Cainnech, quoted in Reeves's note (ed. 1857).

⁵ *Rechru*] The L-shaped rocky

dicens: 'Columbanus, filius Beognai¹, ad nos transnavigare incipiens, nunc in undosis Charybdis Bre-cani² aestibus valde periclitatur; ambasque ad caelum, in prora sedens, palmas elevat; turbatum quoque et tam formidabile pelagus benedicit: quem tamen Dominus sic terret, non ut navis naufragio, in qua ipse residet, undis obruatur; sed potius ad orandum intentius suscitetur, ut ad nos, Deo propitio, post transvadatum perveniat periculum.'

St. Columba sees a storm at a distance.

CAP. VI.

DE CORMACO.

ALIO quoque in tempore de Cormaco³, nepote Lethani⁴, viro utique sancto, qui tribus non minus vicibus eremum⁵ in oceano laboriose quaesivit, nec tamen invenit, sanctus Columba ita prophetizans ait: 'Hodie iterum Cormacus, desertum reperire cupiens, enavigare incipit ab illa regione quae, ultra Modam⁶ fluvium sita, Eirros Domno⁷ dicitur; nec

He sees Cormac failing to find a desert island.

island now called Rathlin, about three miles off Fair Head, on the N.E. coast of Ireland, called *Reclurea* in ii. 41. See Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 288.

¹ *Columbanus, fil. Beognai*] In title Colmanus Mocusailni, Colman Ela Mac Ui Seilli, sometimes called Colmanellus, or Columbanus, as in the text. Son of Beogna, born in Tyrone 555, d. 611; day Sept. 25. A presbyter (ii. 15 and Life) but in heading of i. 5, called *episcopus*, seemingly by mistake. Patron of Kilcolmonell and Colmonell.

² *Charybdis Brecani*] Coire Bre-cain, 'Bre-can's Cauldron,' a whirlpool in the channel between Ballycastle and the island of Rathlin. Named from a tradition that Bre-can, grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages, was engulfed in it. Since Adamnan's day the name has been shifted

to Corryvreckan, the tumultuous strait between Scarba and Jura, N.B. See O'Curry, *Lect. MS. Materials*, 257, Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 289, and Joyce, ii. 432.

³ *Cormaco*] Cormac was abbot of Durrow, also a bishop and anchorite, styled 'Cormac Ua Liathain of the sea;' he is referred to in connexion with St. Columba in two ancient Irish poems. It is not known what monastery he founded. (See iii. 17.)

⁴ *nepote Lethani*] Ua Liathain, a clan-name.

⁵ *eremum*] See i. 20; ii. 42; Reeves, 1857, p. 366; Stokes, *Celtic Ch.* 179 n.

⁶ *Modam*] The river *Moda* or *Moy*, in Sligo; Irish *Muaidhe*.

⁷ *Eirros Domno*] In Irish *Iorrus Domhnann*, Erris of the *Damnonii*, supposed to be a section of the Firbolgs. Now Erris in Mayo. *Iorrus* or *Irrus* = promontory.

tamen etiam hac vice quod quaerit inveniet; et non ob aliam eius culpam nisi quod alicuius religiosi abbatis monachum, ipso non permittente¹, discessorem secum non recte comitari, navigio susceperit.²

CAP. VII.

DE BELLORUM FRAGORIBUS LONGE COMMISSORUM BEATI
PROPHETIA VIRI².

Post bellum Cule Drebene³, sicut nobis traditum est, duobus transactis annis, quo tempore vir beatus de Scotia peregrinaturus primitus enavigavit,⁴ He sees the battle of Ondemone, quadam die, hoc est, eadem hora qua in Scotia commissum est bellum quod Scotice dicitur Ondemone⁴, idem homo Dei coram Conallo rege, filio Comgill⁵, in Britannia conversatus, per omnia enarravit, tam de bello commisso, quam etiam de illis regibus quibus Dominus de inimicis victoriam condonavit: quorum propria vocabula Ainmorius filius Setni⁶, et duo filii Maic Erce⁷, Domnallus et Forcus⁸. Sed et de rege Cruithniorum⁹, qui Echodius Laib¹⁰ vocitabatur, quemadmodum victus, curru insidens evaserit, similiter Sanctus prophetizavit.

¹ *permittente*] Reeves says that 'in the Lives of Irish Saints, the formula *accepta licentia* (having taken leave or permission) generally accompanies the mention of a departure from a monastery' (ed. 1857, p. 31).

² This and the following chapter come under '*De bellis*,' p. 7.

³ *bellum Cule Drebene*] Culedrebinae bellum, Pref. 2, where see note, p. 5.

⁴ *bellum . . . Ondemone*] Fought against the Cruithne by the Northern Hy-Neill, in 563. The name *Ondemone* has not been explained.

⁵ *Conallo, etc.*] The king of the Scottish Dalriada who first gave Columba leave to settle in Iona. He died in 574.

⁶ *Ainmorius, etc.*] Irish over-king in 568, cousin of St. Columba.

⁷ *fili Maic Erce*] Sons of Muircertach, whose matronymic was Mac Eirc, as being son of Muiredach by Earca, daughter of Loarn. See Muiredachus in Index.

⁸ *Domnallus et Forcus*] Irish joint-kings in 565.

⁹ *Cruithnii*] The Cruithne, Dal Araidhe, Southern Hy-Neill, or Irish Picts, who occupied the southern half of what is now Antrim, and the greater part of Down; the descendants of the first wife of Niall of the Nine Hostages. See Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 336.

¹⁰ *Echodius Laib*] Echoid Laib, king of the Cruithne or Irish Picts.

CAP. VIII.

DE BELLO MIATHORUM¹.

ALIO in tempore, hoc est post multos a supra memorato Cumman, bello annorum transcursus, cum esset vir sanctus **XXV.** in Ioua insula, subito ad suum dicit ministrato- and that of rem Diormitium², 'Cloccam pulsa³.' Cuius sonitu the Miathi. fratres incitati ad ecclesiam, ipso sancto praesule praeunte, ocius currunt. Ad quos ibidem flexis genibus infit: 'Nunc intente pro hoc populo et Aidano⁴ rege Dominum oremus; hac enim hora ineunt bellum.' Et post modicum intervallum egressus oratorium, respiciens in caelum inquit, 'Nunc barbari in fugam vertuntur; Aidanoque, quamlibet infelix, tamen concessa victoria est.' Sed et de numero de exercitu Aidani interfectorum, trecentorum et trium virorum, vir beatus prophetice enarravit⁵.

CAP. IX.

DE FILIIS AIDANI REGIS SANCTI COLUMBAE PROPHETIA⁶.

ALIO in tempore ante supra dictum bellum Sanctus Aidanum regem⁷ interrogat de regni successore. Illo se re-

¹ *Miathorum*] The Miathi or Maetae were a British tribedwelling by the northern Roman valium, the Caledonians being beyond them.

² *Diormitium*] St. Columba's faithful attendant Diormit is frequently mentioned. See Index.

³ *Cloccam pulsa*] *Clocca* is the old Irish *cloc*, later *clog*, a bell, akin to the English *clock*, and probably of echoic origin. In the sense of 'bell' the A.S. *clucge* occurs once (in Alfred's *Baeda*, iv. 23, referring to a bell at the monastery of Hacanos or Hackness), reappearing in Caxton's *Golden Legend* and then surviving as late as 1715, apparently derived from Old French or Dutch without any historic continuity with the Anglo-

Saxon (N.E.D.). On Irish ecclesiastical bells, see *Intr.* iv. 8, 9. The identical bell used on this occasion is possibly still in existence (Warren, 92).

⁴ *Aidano*] Aedhan (dim. of Aedh) son of Gabhran, king or lord of the Scotch Dalriada; he succeeded in 574, and opposed Aedh son of Ainmire at Drumceatt (see *Aidus rex* in Index).

⁵ *enarravit*] This is very like Bede's story of St. Cuthbert's vision at Carlisle, when he saw King Egfrith slain in battle with the Picts. *Vit. S. C.* cap. 27.

⁶ This and the following six chapters are included above, p. 7, under the heading, '*De regibus*.'

⁷ *regem*] The king mentioned in the last chapter.

spondente nescire quis esset de tribus filiis suis regnaturus, Arturius, an Echodius Find, an Domingartus, Sanctus consequenter hoc profatur modo: 'Nullus ex his tribus erit regnator; nam in bellis cadent ab inimicis trucidandi: sed nunc si alios iuniores habes ad me veniant, et quem ex eis elegerit Dominus regem, subito super meum irruet gremium.' Quibus accitis, secundum verbum Sancti Echodius Buide adveniens in sinu eius recubuit. Statimque Sanctus eum osculatus benedixit, et ad patrem ait: 'Hic est superstes, et rex post te regnaturus, et filii eius post eum regnabunt¹.' Sic omnia post, suis temporibus, plene adimpleta sunt. Nam Arturius et Echodius Find, non longo post temporis intervallo, Miatorum superius memorato in bello, trucidati sunt. Domingartus vero in Saxonia bellica in strage interfectus est: Echodius autem Buide post patrem in regnum successit.

Prophecy
of the suc-
cession.

CAP. X.

DE DOMNALLO FILIO AIDO.

DOMNALLUS² filius Aido³, adhuc puer, ad sanctum Columbanum in Dorso Cete⁴ per nutritores⁵ adductus est: quem intuens percunctatur inquiring, 'Cuius est filius hic quem adduxistis?' Illis respondentibus, 'Hic est Domnallus filius Aido, qui ad te ideo perductus est, ut tua redeat benedictione ditatus.' Quem cum Sanctus benedixisset, continuo ait, 'Hic post super omnes suos fratres superstes erit, et rex valde famosus; nec unquam in manus inimicorum tradetur, sed morte placida, in senectute, et

A similar
prophecy.

¹ *regnabunt*] For Columba's prophecy during the 'ordination' of Aedhan, see iii. 5.

² *Domnallus*] Domhnall, surnamed Breccus, or fil. Aido, king of Ireland, *ob.* 642. Son of king Aedh, *ob.* 598, who was son of king Ainmire or Ainmurech, *ob.* 569.

³ *Aido*] Properly Aedho, the

old Irish genitive of Aedh, as in title of ch. 13. Cp. p. 5 n.

⁴ *Dorso Cete*] In Druim Ceatt, Drumceatt, or Dromocheta, the ridge of Ceatt, a place in Derry, where the famous convention was held in 575. *Intr.* vii. § 4. Ceatt, Cet, or Keth is a man's name.

⁵ *nutritores*] See iii. 2 n.

intra domum suam, coram amicorum familiarium turba, super suum morietur lectum¹. Quae omnia secundum beati vaticinium viri de eo vere adimpleta sunt.

CAP. XI.

DE SCANDLANO FILIO COLMANI.

EODEM tempore Sanctus, et in eodem loco, ad Scandlanum² filium Colmani, apud Aidum regem in He comforts Scandlan in prison. vinculis retentum³, visitare eum cupiens, pergit; ipsumque cum benedixisset, confortans ait: 'Fili, nolis contristari, sed potius laetare et confortare: Aidus enim rex, apud quem vinculatus es, de hoc mundo te praecedet; et, post aliqua exilii tempora, triginta annis in gente tua rex regnaturus es. Iterumque de regno effugaberis, et per aliquot exulabis dies; post quos, a populo reinvitatus, per tria regnabis brevia tempora.' Quae cuncta iuxta vaticinationem Sancti plene expleta sunt. Nam post triginta annos de regno expulsus, per aliquod exulavit spatium temporis: sed post a populo reinvitatus, non, ut putabat, tribus annis, sed ternis regnavit mensibus; post quos continuo obiit.

CAP. XII.

DE DUOBUS ALIIS REGNATORIBUS, QUI DUO NEPOTES MUIREDACHI VOCITABANTUR, BAITANUS FILIUS MAIC ERCE ET ECHODIUS FILIUS DOMNAIL, BEATI PROPHETATIO VIRI.

ALIO in tempore, per asperam et saxosam regionem iter faciens, quae dicitur Artdamuirchol⁴, et suos audiens comites, Laisranum⁵ utique filium Feradachi, et Diormi-

¹ *lectum*] An unusual kind of death for an Irish sovereign at this time.

² *Scandlanum*] Scandlanus, son of Colman. In most Irish authorities called Scanlann Mor, son of Cenfaeladh, but all the MSS. have the reading in the text.

³ *in vinculis retentum*] St. Columba tried to effect the liberation of

Scanlann. Intr. vii. § 4.

⁴ *Artdamuirchol*] Artdaib Muirchol, or Artmuirchol, 'height of the two sea-hazels,' now Ardnamurchan, 'height of the sea-calf,' in Argyle.

⁵ *Laisranum*] Laisran, son of Feradach, was first cousin to St. Columba. Abbot of Iona 600-605, *ob.* Sept. 16. Previously

tium ministratorem, de duobus supra memoratis¹ regibus in via sermocinari, haec ad eos verba depromit: He sees the death of two kings. 'O filioli, quare inaniter de his sic confabulamini? nam illi ambo reges, de quibus nunc sermocinamini, nuper ab inimicis decapitati disperierunt. In hac quoque die aliqui de Scotia² adventantes nautae haec eadem vobis de illis indicabunt regibus.' Quod venerabilis viri vaticinium eadem die de Hibernia navigatores, ad locum qui dicitur Muirbolc Paradisi³ pervenientes, supra scriptis eius binis comitibus, et in eadem navi cum Sancto navigantibus, de iisdem interfectis regibus expletum retulerunt.

CAP. XIII.

DE OINGUSIO FILIO AIDO COMMANI⁴ SANCTI PRÖPHETIA

VIRI.

Hic namque de patria cum aliis duobus fratribus effugatus, ad Sanctum in Britannia peregrinantem exul venit; cuique benedicens, haec de eo prophetizans a future reign. sancto promit de pectore verba: 'Hic iuvenis, defunctis eius ceteris fratribus superstes remanens, multo est regnaturus in patria tempore; et inimici eius coram ipso cadent; nec tamen ipse unquam in manus tradetur inimicorum; sed morte placida, senex, inter amicos morietur.' Quae omnia iuxta Sancti verbum plene sunt adimpleta. Hic est Oingusius cuius cognomentum Bronbachal⁵.

Abbot of Durrow. See Intr. viii. § 2.

¹ *supra memoratis*] This shows that the title is an integral part of the work.

² *Scotia*] Synonymous with *Hibernia* in the next sentence, and again in cap. 17, and *passim*. See note on Pref. 2, p. 5 n.

³ *Muirbolc Paradisi*] Identified by Dr. Skene with Port-na-Murloch, a sheltered harbour in Lismore in Argyle. *Murbolgh* = sea-inlet. Lismore is said to be Gaelic *Lios*, garden, and *mor*, great; hence

perhaps the epithet *Paradisi*. Reeves, 1874, App. 325.

⁴ *De Oingusio fil. Aido Commani*] Aengusurnamed Bronbachal. The Annals of Ulster have, A. C. 648, *Mors Oengusa Bronbachlae regis Ceniuil Coirpri*. The Cenel Cairbre were a tribe, whence Carbury, in north Sligo.

⁵ *Bronbachal*] Interpreted *baculi dolorosi*, and supposed to refer to the pilgrim's staff. This Aengus was also called *an naoimh*, 'the religious.' See Reeves's note.

CAP. XIV.

PROPHETIA BEATI VIRI DE FILIO DERMITI REGIS QUI AIDUS
SLANE¹ LINGUA NOMINATUS EST SCOTICA.

ALIO in tempore, cum vir beatus in Scotia per aliquot
Utters a demoraretur dies, ad supradictum Aidum, ad se
prophetic venientem, sic propheticè locutus ait, 'Praecavere
warning. debes, fili, ne tibi a Deo totius Hiberniae regni
praerogativam monarchiae praedestinatae, parricidali² faci-
ente peccato, amittas: nam, si quandoque illud commiseris,
non toto patris regno, sed eius aliqua parte in gente tua,
brevis frueris tempore.' Quae verba Sancti sic sunt expleta
secundum eius vaticinationem³. Nam post Suibneum⁴
filium Columbani dolo ab eo interfectum, non plus, ut
fertur, quam quatuor annis et tribus mensibus regni con-
cessa potitus est parte.

CAP. XV.

DE REGE RODERCO FILIO TOTHAIL⁵, QUI IN PETRA CLOITHE⁶
REGNAVIT, BEATI VIRI PROPHETIA.

ALIO idem in tempore hic, ut erat sancti viri amicus,
Foretells aliquam ad eum occultam per Lugbeum Mocumin⁷
that a king legationem misit, scire volens si ab inimicis esset
will die in his bed. trucidandus, an non. At vero Lugbeus, a Sancto
interrogatus de eodem rege, et regno, et populo, et re-

¹ *Aidus. Slane*] Aedh Slane, eldest son of Diarmait, king or lord of the Southern Hy-Neill, named from the river Slaine, near which he was born. He consented to the grant of Kells to St. Columba, succeeded his father, and, about 580, granted a site for a church at Lynally at the instance of St. Columba.

² *parricidali*] murderous. 'Auisle parricidio a fratribus suis iugulatus est.' *Ann. Ulst.* 866. This use is amply attested.

³ *vaticinationem*] It was his nephew whom he slew. See the next note.

⁴ *Suibneum*] Suibhne, son of Co-

lumbanus or Colman Mor; he was assassinated in 600 by his uncle Aedh Slane, and his death was avenged by Conall his son, in 604. Hence an Irish rime to this effect:—'Conall slew Aedh Slaine, Aedh Slaine slew Suibhne.'

⁵ *Roderco fil. Tothail*] Rhydderch, son of Tudwal, a British king.

⁶ *Petra Cloithe*] The Alcluith of Bede (*H. E. i. r*) called in the thirteenth century from its British inhabitants Dun-Breatan, now Dumbarton.

⁷ *Lugbeum Mocumin*] This Lugbe and his brother Lugne are frequently mentioned. See Index. Mocumin is their tribe-name.

spondens, quasi misertus, dicit, 'Quid de illo inquiris misero, qui qua hora ab inimicis occidatur, nullo modo scire potest?' Sanctus tum deinde profatur, 'Nunquam in manus tradetur inimicorum, sed in sua, super plumatiunculam¹, morietur domo.' Quod Sancti de rege Roderco vaticinium plene adimpletum est: nam iuxta verbum eius in domo sua morte placida obiit.

CAP. XVI.

DE DUOBUS PUERIS, QUORUM UNUS, IUXTA VERBUM SANCTI,
IN FINE HEBDOMADIS OBIIT, PROPHETIA SANCTI.

ALIO in tempore duo quidam plebei ad Sanctum in Ioua commorantem insula deveniunt; quorum unus, A prophecy Meldanus nomine, de filio suo qui praesens erat regarding Sanctum interrogat, quid ei esset futurum. Cui two boys. Sanctus sic profatur: 'Nonne sabbati dies² hodierna est? filius tuus sexta feria³, in fine morietur septimanae, octavaque die, hoc est, sabbato, hic sepelietur.' Alter proinde plebeus, nomine Glasdercus⁴, et ipse de filio quem ibidem secum habuit nihilominus interrogans, talem Sancti audit responcionem: 'Filius tuus Ernanus suos videbit nepotes et in hac insula senex sepelietur.' Quae omnia, secundum verbum Sancti, de pueris ambobus, suis plene temporibus sunt expleta.

¹ *plumatiuncula*] a feather pillow.

² *sabbati dies*] The ancient application of the term *Sabbatum* to Saturday survives to this day in the Roman service-books, and in modern languages, as Ital. *Sabbato*, Fr. *Samedi* (*sabbati dies*). It was first applied to Sunday in the twelfth century, figuratively, when the observation of the real Sabbath had ceased among Christians. Heylin (*Hist. of Sabbath*, pt. ii. ch. v, 13), asserts that the phrase is first found in Petrus Alfonsus in the twelfth century: 'Dies Dominica... Christianorum

sabbatum est.'

³ *sexta feria*] Friday is *feria sexta*, Sunday being *dies Dominica*, Monday *feria secunda*, and so on to Saturday, or *Sabbatum*. As *octavaque die* refers to the Sabbath in this connexion, it would seem as if Columba reckoned from Saturday to the eighth day from the time of speaking, and that this burial took place on the day after death. *Feria* in classical Latin is a festival, whence 'fair-day,' but in eccl. use it has come to mean a weekday.

⁴ *Glasdercus*] From the Irish *Glas Derg*, Grey-eyed.

CAP. XVII.

DE COLCIO¹, AIDO DRAIGNICHE FILIO, A NEPOTIBUS FECHUREG ORTO; ET DE QUODAM OCCULTO MATRIS EIUS PECCATO, PRŒPHETIA SANCTI.

ALIO in tempore, supramemoratum Colgium, apud se in Ioua commorantem insula, Sanctus de sua inter-
 Concerning the mother of Colca, rogat genitrice, si esset religiosa², an non. Cui ipse inquires ait, 'Bene moratam, et bonae famaе, meam novi matrem.' Sanctus tum sic prophetice profatur, 'Mox, Deo volente, ad Scotiam³ profectus, matrem diligentius de quodam suo pergrandi peccato interroga occulto, quod nulli hominum confiteri vult.' Qui, haec audiens, obsecutus, ad Hiberniam emigravit. Proinde mater, ab eo studiose interrogata, quamlibet primule⁴ infitiens, tamen suum confessa est peccatum⁵, et iuxta Sancti iudicationem, poenitentiam agens, sanata⁶, de se quod Sancto manifestatum est valde mirata est.

Colgius vero⁷, ad Sanctum reversus, per aliquot dies and Colca apud eum commoratus, de fine sui interrogans himself. temporis, hoc a Sancto audit responsum: 'In tua, quam amas, patria primarius⁸ alicuius ecclesiae per multos eris annos; et si forte aliquando tuum videris pincernam⁹ in coena amicorum ludentem, hauritoriumque¹⁰ in gyro per

¹ *Colcius*, Colgius, Colca, or Coleu, an Irish saint (Colgan, Feb. 20, p. 380), de nepotibus Fechureg sive Fechreg (*Ui Fiachrach*), son of Aidus Draigniche, 'of the black-thorn.'

² *religiosa*] religious in the ordinary sense.

³ *Scotiam*] i. e. Hiberniam; see next sentence.

⁴ *primule*] 'in the first instance' (*De Locis Sanctis*, iii. 4).

⁵ *peccatum*] Said in Aengus *de Matribus SS. Hiberniae* to have been adultery (Reeves).

⁶ *sanata*] As there is no mention of any bodily sickness, the word

probably relates here to spiritual healing, as in Ps. cxlvi. (cxlvii.) 3, Jer. iii. 22, viii. 11, etc. Vulg.

⁷ *Colgius vero*] This has a separate heading in the *Capitulationes*, p. 7.

⁸ *primarius*] See Glossary.

⁹ *pincernam*] 'Cellarius' is the usual term for a monastic butler.

¹⁰ *hauritoriumque*, etc.] Dr. Reeves says here (ed. 1854), 'The meaning of this obscure passage seems to be: When you see your butler making merry in a supper of his friends, and twirling the ladle round in the strainer, etc. The difficulty arises from our imper-

collum torquentem, scito te mox in brevi moriturum.' Quid plura? Haec eadem beati viri prophetatio sic per omnia est adimpleta, quemadmodum de Colgio eodem est prophetata.

CAP. XVIII.

DE LAISRANO HORTULANO, HOMINE SANCTO.

VIR beatus quemdam de suis monachum nomine Trenanum, gente Mocuruntir¹, legatum ad Scotiam exire quadam praecipit die. Qui, hominis Dei obsecutus iussioni, navigationem parat festinus; unumque sibi deesse navigatorem coram Sancto queritur. Sanctus haec consequenter, eidem respondens, sacro promittit de pectore verba, dicens, 'Nautam, quem tibi non adhuc suppetisse dicis, nunc invenire non possum. Vade in pace: usquequo ad Hiberniam pervenias prosperos et secundos habebis flatus. Quemdamque obvium videbis hominem eminus occurrurum, qui primus prae ceteris navis proram tuae tenebit in Scotia, hic erit comes tui itineris per aliquot in Hibernia dies; teque inde revertentem ad nos usque comitabitur, vir a Deo electus, qui in hoc meo monasterio per omne reliquum tempus bene conversabitur.' Quid plura? Trenanus, accipiens a Sancto benedictionem, plenis velis per omnia transmeavit maria: et, ecce, appropinquanti ad portum naviculae Laisranus Mocumoie, citior ceteris, occurrit, tenetque proram. Nautae recognoscunt ipsum esse de quo Sanctus praedixerat.

Foretells
certain
events.

CAP. XIX.

DE CETO MAGNO QUOMODO SANCTUS PRAESCIENS DIXERAT.

QUADAM die, cum vir venerabilis in Ioua demoraretur insula, quidam frater, Berachus nomine, ad Ethicam proponens insulam² navigare, ad Sanctum mane accedens, ab eo

fect knowledge concerning the domestic utensils of the early natives.' He takes *hauritorium* to be 'ladle,' and *collum* to be for *colum*, 'strainer.' But render, 'whirling

round the bottle by its neck.'

¹ *Mocuruntir*] Mac-Ui-Runtir.

² *Ethicam insulam*] 'Ethica insula sive terra' is 'the corn-bearing isle,' from *eth* or *ith*, corn;

benedici postulat. Quem Sanctus intuitus, inquit, 'O fili, Of a great hodie intentius praecaveto ne Ethicam cursu ad whale. terram directo per latius coneris transmeare pelagus, sed potius, circumiens, minores secus naviges insulas; ne videlicet, aliquo monstruoso perterritus prodigio, vix inde possis evadere.' Qui, a Sancto accepta benedictione, secessit, et navem conscendens, Sancti verbum quasi parvipendens, transgreditur; maiora proinde Ethici transmeans spatia pelagi, ipse et qui ibi inerant nautae vident, et ecce cetus mirae et immensae magnitudinis, se instar montis erigens, ora aperuit patula nimis dentosa, supernatans. Tum proinde remiges, deposito velo, valde perterriti, retro reversi, illam obortam ex belluino motu fluctuationem vix evadere potuerunt, Sanctique verbum recognoscentes propheticum, admirabantur. Eadem quoque die Sanctus Baitheneo, ad supra memoratam insulam navigaturo, mane de eodem intimavit ceto, inquiring, 'Hac praeterita nocte media, cetus magnus de profundo maris se sublevavit, et inter Iouam et Ethicam insulam se hodie in superficiem eriget aequoris.' Cui Baitheneus respondens inquit, 'Ego et illa bellua sub Dei potestate sumus.' Sanctus, 'Vade,' ait, 'in pace, fides tua in Christo te ab hoc defendet periculo.' Baitheneus tum deinde, a Sancto benedictione accepta, a portu enavigat: transcurisusque non parvis ponti spatiis, ipse et socii cetum aspiciunt; perterritisque omnibus, ipse solus aequor et cetum, ambabus manibus elevatis, benedicit intrepidus. Eodemque momento bellua magna, se sub fluctus immergens, nusquam deinceps eis apparuit.

in Irish Saints' Lives, terra, insula, or regio Hyth, or Hyth. From the Irish *Tír itha*, answering to *Terra Hyth*, we have now, through various stages, *Tírée*,

the name of a sandy but fertile island, about twenty miles N.W. of and visible from Iona. *Ethicum pelagus* is mentioned below, in this same chapter.

CAP. XX.

DE QUODAM BAITANO, QUI CUM CETERIS DESERTUM MARINUM
APPETENS ENAVIGAVERAT, SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

ALIO in tempore quidam Baitanus¹, gente Nepos Niath Taloire², benedici a Sancto petivit, cum ceteris in mari eremum quaesiturus. Cui valedicens Sanctus hoc de ipso propheticum protulit verbum, 'Hic homo, qui ad quaerendum in oceano desertum pergit, non in deserto conditus iacebit, sed illo in loco sepelietur ubi oves femina trans sepulcrum eius minabit³.' Idem itaque Baitanus, post longos per ventosa circuitus aequora, eremo non reperta, ad patriam reversus, multis ibidem annis cuiusdam cellulae⁴ dominus permansit, quae Scotice Lathreginden⁵ dicitur. Iisdemque diebus accidit, quibus, post aliqua mortuus tempora, sepultus est in Roboreto Calgachi, ut propter hostilitatis incursum vicina ad eiusdem loci ecclesiam plebecula cum mulieribus et parvulis confugeret⁶. Unde contigit ut quadam die mulier deprehenderetur aliqua, quae suas per eiusdem viri sepulcrum nuper sepulti oviculas minabat. Et unus ex his qui viderant sanctus sacerdos dixit, 'Nunc prophetia sancti Columbae expleta est, multis prius divulgata annis.' Qui utique supra memoratus presbyter mihi haec de Baitano enarrans retulit, Mailodranus⁷ nomine, Christi miles, gente^a Mocurin.

^a Mocurin B.⁸

¹ Baitanus] Irish baotan; Baithe is baioithin.

² Niath Taloire] Niath = 'champion,' Tolorg is a Pictish name.

³ minabit] 'Minare,' to drive animals, occurs in Is. xi. 6 and Jer. xxxi. 24, Vulg., also in passages quoted by Reeves from Lives of Saints. The same word is used in Acts xviii. 16, 'Et minavit eos a tribunali.' Fr. mener.

⁴ cellulae] The word 'cellula' is common in the Book of Armagh, and appears to denote a small monastic house.

⁵ Lathreginden] Not identified; probably near Derry.

⁶ confugeret] This does not point to the mediaeval use of Sanctuary, but is rather a case of war or siege. For a very graphic description of Durham in like case in 1091, see the *Auctarium* appended to Symeon, cap. ix. or x., translated in the Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert, 5221-5312.

⁷ Mailodranus] Mael-Odhraim, 'Servus Odrani.'

⁸ Mocurin] Mac-Ui-Curin?

CAP. XXI.

DE NEMANO QUODAM FICTO POENITENTE SANCTI
PROPHETATIO VIRI.

ALIO in tempore Sanctus ad Hinbinam insulam¹ pervenit, eademque die ut etiam poenitentibus aliqua prae-
 The fate of one Neman, a penitent. cipit cibi consolatio indulgeretur². Erat autem ibi inter poenitentes quidam Nemanus, filius Cathir, qui, a Sancto iussus, renuit oblatam accipere consolatiunculam. Quem Sanctus his compellat verbis, 'O Neman, a me et Baitheneo indultam non recipis aliquam refectionis indulgentiam? Erit tempus quo cum furacibus furtive carnem in sylva manducabis equae³.' Hic idem itaque, postea ad saeculum reversus, in saltu cum furibus talem comedens carnem, iuxta verbum Sancti, de craticula⁴ sumptam lignea, inventus est.

CAP. XXII.

DE INFELICI QUODAM QUI CUM SUA DORMIVIT GENITRICE.

ALIO in tempore fratres intempesta nocte suscitatur Sanctus, ad quos in ecclesia congregatos dicit, 'Nunc
 The fate of a wretched sinner. Dominum intentius precemur; nam hac in hora aliquod inauditum in mundo peccatum perpetratum est, pro quo valde timenda iudicialis est vindicta.'

¹ *Hinbinam insulam*] Some island probably not far north of Iona, not yet identified with certainty. But Dr. W. F. Skene has shown good reasons for supposing it to be Eileann na Naoimh (Isle of Saints). Hinba and Ethica insula were the most important islands connected with Iona in St. Columba's time, and on Eileann na Naoimh are some remarkable remains of a primitive church and of three beehive cells. (Reeves's *Adamnan*, ed. 1874, App. I.) See Elena insula (ii. 18 n.) and Muirbulemar (iii. 23 n.).

² *indulgeretur*] This relaxation in honour of a visitor appears again

in ch. 26, where see note.

³ *equae*] Reeves refers to Colgan for a similar prediction by St. Enda concerning one who refused hospitality.

⁴ *craticula*] A hurdle, grate, or grill, hence a gridiron, here some wooden substitute for one. Pocock in his *Irish Tour*, 1752, ed. Stokes, Dublin 1891, p. 37, says, 'I went to the Causeway late, and Mr. Duncane came and dined with me, and sent a fresh salmon which was roasted before a turf fire; it was cut in pieces and stuck on five or six sticks, set in the ground round the fire, and sometimes taken up and turn'd.'

De quo peccato crastino die, aliquibus paucis percunctantibus, intimavit inquiring, 'Post paucos menses cum Lugaido¹ nesciente infelix ille homuncio ad Iouam perveniet insulam.' Alia itaque die Sanctus ad Diormitium, interiectis quibusdam mensibus, praeicipiens profatur, 'Surge citius, ecce Lugaidus appropinquat, dicque ei ut miserum quem secum in navi habet in Maleam propellat insulam², ne huius insulae cespitem calcet.' Qui, praecepto Sancti obsecutus, ad mare pergit. Lugaidoque adventanti omnia Sancti prosequitur de infelici viro verba. Quibus auditis, ille infelix iuravit nunquam se cibum cum aliis accepturum nisi prius sanctum videret Columbam, eumque alloqueretur. Quae infelicis verba Diormitius, ad Sanctum reversus, retulit. Quibus compertis, Sanctus ad portum perrexit, Baitheneoque, prolatis sacrae Scripturae testimoniis, suggerenti ut miseri poenitudo susciperetur, Sanctus consequenter inquit, 'O Baithenee, hic homo fratricidium in modum perpetravit Cain, et cum sua matre moechatus est.' Tum deinde miser in litore flexis genibus leges poenitentiae³ expleturum se promisit, iuxta Sancti iudicationem. Cui Sanctus ait, 'Si duodecim annis⁴ inter Brittones cum fletu et lacrymis poenitentiam egeris, nec ad Scotiam usque ad mortem reversus fueris, forsan Deus peccato ignoscat tuo.' Haec dicens Sanctus, ad suos conversus, dicit, 'Hic homo filius est perditionis, qui quam promisit poenitentiam non explebit, sed mox ad Scotiam revertetur, ibique in brevi ab inimicis interficiendus peribit.' Quae omnia secundum Sancti prophetiam ita contigerunt: nam miser iisdem diebus ad Hiberniam reversus, in regione

¹ *Lugaido*] Luguid the messenger appears again in ii. 5, 38.

² *Maleam insulam*] The island of Mull, separated from Iona by the narrow Sound.

³ *leges poenitentiae*] The penitential canons, as laid down in the Penitentials. That of Cumman (not the biographer of Columba, but the famous advocate of Rome in the Paschal controversy, and probably a monk of Durrow) is

an abridgement of the earlier penitential canons; it has been printed in Fleming's *Coll. Sacra*, 197-210, and in *Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen*, etc., 460 sq.

⁴ *duodecim annis*] A usual term of monastic penance or service. Reeves refers to ch. 26 and iii. 23; Bede, *H. E.* v. 20, *Hist. Abb. Uirem.* §§ 7, 14, and *Cod. Marsh*, fo. 128 a, b.

quae vocitatur Lea¹, in manus incidens inimicorum trucidatus est. Hic de Nepotibus Turtrei² erat.

CAP. XXIII.

DE I VOCALI LITERA.

QUADAM die Baitheneus, ad Sanctum accedens, ait, Necessesse habeo ut aliquis de fratribus mecum Psalterium quod scripsi percurrens emendet³. Quo audito, Sanctus sic profatur, 'Cur hanc super nos infer sine causa molestiam? nam in tuo hoc, de quo dicis, Psalterio nec una superflua reperietur litera, nec alia deesse, excepta I vocali⁴, quae sola deest.' Et sic, toto perlecto Psalterio, sicuti Sanctus praedixerat repertum exploratum est.

CAP. XXIV.

DE LIBRO IN AQUARIUM VAS SANCTUS SICUTI PRAEDIXERAT CADENTE.

QUADAM itidem die, ad focum⁵ in monasterio sedens, videt Lugbeum, gente Mocumin, eminus librum legentem, cui repente ait, 'Praecave, fili, praecave, aestimo enim quod quem lectitas liber in aquae plenum sit casurus vasculum.' Quod mox ita contigit: nam ille supra memoratus iuvenis, post aliquod breve intervallum, ad aliquam consurgens in monasterio ministrantem, verbi oblitus beati viri, libellus, quem sub ascella⁶ negligentius inclusit, subito in hydriam aqua repletam cecidit⁷.

¹ *Lea*] In Irish *Li* or *Lee*; the place is near Coleraine.

² *Turtrei*] The tribes called Hy Tuirtre and Fir Li (*Lea*) had a common ancestry. Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 82 n.

³ *emendet*] Note the practice of going through a newly copied MS. with another person in order to correct it if necessary, and see the last sentence in Book iii.

⁴ *I vocali*] The letter by which St. Brendan of Birr is said to have

indicated to St. Columba the place of his future sojourn. See Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 462 a; Ussher, *Wks.* vi. p. 240; Innes, *Civ. and Eccl. Hist.* p. 170. (Reeves.)

⁵ *focum*] Probably the only fire in the monastery, which would be the kitchen fire, most likely one of turf burning on a hearth.

⁶ *ascella*] for *axilla*, 'inter brachium et latus,' ii. 8.

⁷ *cecidit*] This story affords a good example of the way in which

CAP. XXV.

DE CORNICULO ATRAMENTI INANITER DEFUSO.

ALIA inter haec die ultra fretum Iouae insulae clamatum est¹: quem Sanctus sedens in tuguriolo² tabulis suffulto³ audiens clamorem dicit, 'Homo qui ultra An ink-horn upset. clamitat fretum non est subtilis sensus⁴, nam hodie mei corniculum⁵ atramenti inclinans effundet.' Quod verbum eius ministrator Diormitius audiens, paulisper ante ianuam stans, gravem⁶ expectabat superventurum hospitem, ut corniculum defenderet. Sed, alia mox faciente causa, inde recessit; et post eius recessum hospes molestus⁷ supervenit, Sanctumque osculandum appetens, ora vestimenti inclinatum effudit atramenti corniculum.

CAP. XXVI.

DE ALICUIUS ADVENTU HOSPITIS QUEM SANCTUS PRAE-
NUNTIAVIT.

ALIO itidem tempore Sanctus die tertiae feriae⁸ fratribus sic profatus est, 'Crastina quarta feria ieiunare proponimus⁹, sed tamen, superveniente quodam molesto hospite,

ordinary foresight might be mistaken for prophetic insight. Very probably St. Columba knew by experience that both Lugbe and the guest mentioned in the following chapter were careless or clumsy in their habits.

¹ *clamatum est*] So in ch. 26, 27, 32, 43. Strong voices, even those of shepherds calling to their dogs, or of boys at play, can be heard across the Sound when the wind is favourable. Reeves mentions the use of visible signals, as of smoke from an ignited bundle of heather.

² *tuguriolo*] St. Columba's own cell. Cf. iii. 22, and i. 35, ii. 16, iii. 15.

³ *tabulis suffulto*] Supported by boards forming a raised platform,

probably reached by a few steps: it was no doubt itself made of boards, or of wattles.

⁴ *subtilis sensus*] of delicate perception.

⁵ *corniculum*] Representations of ancient inkhorns appear in illuminated MSS. Intr. iv. § 13.

⁶ *gravem*] troublesome.

⁷ *molestus*] dangerous. These epithets are apparently employed half in joke.

⁸ *tertiae feriae*] Tuesday; see above, p. 29 n.

⁹ *ieiunare proponimus*] Ussher thought it very probable that the Wednesday and Friday fast were introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick (*Wks.* vi. p. 444). St. Augustine refers to the custom (*Ad Casulanum*, Ep. 36 or 86). St. Aidan

consuetudinarium solvetur ieiunium¹. Quod ita ut Sancto praeostensum est accidit: nam mane eadem A fast dis- pensed with quarta feria, alius ultra fretum clamitabat prose- for a guest. lytus, Aidanus nomine, filius Fergnoi, qui, ut fertur, duodecim annis Brendeno ministravit Mocualti²; vir valde religiosus³, qui, ut advenit, eiusdem diei, iuxta verbum Sancti, ieiunationem solvit.

CAP. XXVII.

DE ALIQUO MISERABILI VIRO QUI ULTRA SUPRADICTUM CLAMITABAT FRETUM.

QUADAM quoque die, quemdam ultra fretum audiens clamitantem, Sanctus hoc profatur modo: 'Valde miserandus est ille clamitans homo, qui, aliqua ad carnalia medicamenta⁴ petiturus pertinentia, ad nos venit: cui opportunius erat veram de peccatis hodie poenitentiam gerere; nam in huius fine hebdomadis morietur.' Quod verbum qui inerant praesentes adveniēti misero intimavere. Sed ille parvipendens, acceptis quae poposcerat, citius recessit; et, secundum Sancti propheticum verbum, ante finem eiusdem septimanae mortuus est.

brought it over from Iona to Lindisfarne (Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 5) and Columbanus's Penitential refers to it (cap. 13). In the early Western Church generally the Wednesday and Friday and also the Saturday (*ieiunium Sabati*) were observed, but the Wednesday and Saturday fasts were kept less and less strictly, and at last discontinued except in the Ember-weeks, and on Rogation Wednesday and Easter Eve. See Ducange, s. v. *Ieiunium*.

¹ *solvetur ieiunium*] Cf. ch. 21. Both cases point to great discretionary power in heads of Irish

monasteries. There is an Irish canon *De solvendo ieiunio*, 'humanitatis causa' (D'Achery, *Spicileg.* ix. 9. Paris, 1669).

² *Brendeno Mocualti*] The famous St. Brendan of Clonfert, on whom see *Intr. v.* § 4. His tribe-name was Mac Ua Alta.

³ *valde religiosus*] Yet, it appears, 'molestus,' because his coming would involve a relaxation of discipline.

⁴ *carnalia medicamenta*] Note the resort to the monastery for medical treatment. *Carnalis* here means after the flesh, earthly, as in ii. 39.

CAP. XXVIII.

DE ROMANI IURIS¹ CIVITATE IGNI SULFUREO COELITUS PRO-
LAPSO COMBUSTA SANCTI VIRI PROPHEZIA.

ALIO itidem in tempore, Lugbeus gente Mocumin, cuius supra mentionem fecimus, quadam ad Sanctum die post frugum veniens triturationem², nullo modo eius faciem intueri potuit, miro superfusam rubore; valdeque pertimescens cito aufugit. Quem Sanctus, complosis paulum manibus, revocat. Qui reversus, a Sancto statim interrogatus cur ocius aufugisset, hoc dedit responsum, 'Ideo fugi quia nimis pertimui.' Et post aliquod modicum intervallum, fiducialius agens, audet Sanctum interrogare, inquit, 'Numquid hac in hora tibi aliqua formidabilis ostensa visio est?' Cui Sanctus talem dedit responsum: 'Tam terrifica ultio nunc in remota orbis parte peracta est.' 'Qualis,' ait iuvenis, 'vindicta, et in qua regione facta?' Sanctus tum sic profatur: 'Sulfurea de caelo flamma super Romani iuris civitatem, intra Italiae terminos sitam, hac hora effusa est; triaque ferme millia virorum, excepto matrum puerorumque numero disperierunt. Et antequam praesens finiatur annus, Gallici nautae, de Galliarum provinciis adventantes³, haec eadem tibi enarrabunt.' Quae verba post aliquot menses veridica fuisse sunt comprobata. Nam idem Lugbeus, simul cum sancto viro ad Caput Regionis⁴ pergens⁵, nauclerum et nautas adventantis barcae⁶ interrogans, sic

Vision of
fire from
heaven in
Italy.

Arrival of
Gaulish
sailors to
tell the tale.

¹ *Romani iuris*] Subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman Empire. Notker Balbulus, in relating this same prophecy and its fulfilment, gives the name of the city as Nova, now Citta Nuova, in Istria. (*Martyrol.* Jun. 9.)

² *triturationem*] The grinding of corn by hand-querns seems to have been part of the daily labour of the monks, as at Clonard under St. Finnian; see *Intr. v. § 3.*

³ *adventantes*] There are other

references in Lives of Saints to frequent intercourse between Gaul and Britain and Ireland. Gallic traders visited Clonmacnoise A. D. 548-9 (*Vit. S. Kierani*, Cod. Marsh, c. 31).

⁴ *Caput Regionis*] Cantyre (Irish Cenn-tire or Cind-tire), 'hoc est,' says Buchanan, 'Regionis Caput.'

⁵ *pergens*] The distance from Iona to the nearest part of Cantyre is about fifty miles by sea.

⁶ *barcae*] Barca, a ship, occurs

omnia illa de civitate cum civibus ab eis audit enarrata, quemadmodum a praedicabili viro sunt praedicta.

CAP. XXIX.

DE LAISRANO FILIO FERADACHI BEATI VISIO VIRI.

QUADAM brumali et valde frigida die Sanctus, magno molestatus maerore, flevit. Quem suus ministrator Diormitius, de causa interrogans maestitiae, hoc ab eo responsum accepit, 'Non immerito, O filiolo, ego hac in hora contristor, meos videns monachos, quos Laisranus nunc gravi fatigatos labore in alicuius maioris domus¹ fabrica molestat; quae mihi valde displicet.' Mirum dictu! eodem momento horae Laisranus, habitans in monasterio Roboreti Campi², quodammodo coactus, et quasi quadam pyra³ intrinsecus succensus, iubet monachos a labore cessare, aliquamque cibationum consolationem praeparari; et non solum in eadem die otiari, sed et in ceteris asperae tempestatis diebus requiescere. Quae verba ad fratres consolatoria, a Laisrano dicta, Sanctus in spiritu audiens flere cessavit, et mirabiliter gavisus ipse in Ioua insula commanens, fratribus, qui ad praesens inerant, per omnia enarravit, et Laisranum monachorum benedixit consolatorem.

CAP. XXX.

DE FECHNO SAPIENTE, QUOMODO POENITENS AD SANCTUM COLUMBAM, AB EODEM PRAENUNCIATUS, VENIT.

ALIO in tempore Sanctus, in cacumine sedens montis qui nostro huic monasterio eminus supereminet⁴, ad suum ministratorem Diormitium conversus, profatus est, dicens,

in Paulinus Nolanus, c. 400. It is probably identical with *barh*, *barge*, and the Old Irish *barc*.

¹ *maioris domus*] Called *monasterium rotundum* in the heading of iii. 15, where see note.

² *Roboreti Campi*] Oakwood Plain, Dair-magh, Durrow.

³ *pyra*] Properly a funeral pile,

but here preferred to *ignis* as being of Greek origin.

⁴ *supereminet*] The highest spot in Iona is Dun-I (330 ft.), but Dr. Reeves thinks that Cnoc Mor, which immediately overlooks the village, is more likely to be the hill referred to here. Cp. iii, 23 n.

'Miror quare tardius appropinquat quaedam de Scotia navis, quae quemdam advehit sapientem virum¹, qui in quodam facinore lapsus, lacrymosam gerens poenitentiam, mox adveniet.' Post proinde haud grande intervallum ad austrum prospiciens minister, velum navis videt ad portum² propinquantis. Quam cum Sancto adventantem demonstraret, cito surgit, inquit, 'Eamus proselyto obviam, cuius veram Christus suscipit poenitentiam.' At vero Feachnaus, de navi descendens, Sancto ad portum pervenienti obvius occurrit; cum fletu et lamento, ante pedes eius ingeniculans flexis genibus, amarissime ingemuit, et, coram omnibus³ qui ibidem inerant, peccantias confitetur suas. Sanctus tum, cum eo pariter illacrymatus, ad eum ait, 'Surge filii, et consolare; dimissa sunt tua quae commisisti peccamina; quia, sicut scriptum est, *Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit*⁴.' Qui surgens, gaudenter a Sancto susceptus, ad Baitheneum tunc temporis in Campo Lunge⁵ praepositum⁶ commorantem, post aliquot est emissus dies, in pace commigrans.

CAP. XXXI.

DE CAILTANO EIUS MONACHO SANCTI PROPHETATIO VIRI.

ALIO in tempore binos mittens monachos ad suum alium monachum, nomine Cailtanum⁷, qui eodem tempore

¹ *sapientem virum*] *Saoi*, or sage, is an epithet applied to ecclesiastics in Irish annals.

² *portum*] Either Port-Ronain, which is the present usual landing-place, or Port-na-Mairtear, the Martyr's Bay.

³ *coram omnibus*] Confession was public rather than private, optional rather than obligatory, and absolution was deferred till penance had been fulfilled. There is no trace of its being held to be necessary before celebrating or communicating (Warren, *Intr.* ch. ii, § 35).

⁴ *spernit*] '*Non despicias*' in Ps. l. (li) 18, Vulg.

⁵ *Campo Lunge*] a subordinate monastery, probably adjacent to the little creek called *Port-na-lung*, in *Ethica terra* (Tiree) where Soroby now is.

⁶ *praepositum*] That Baithene was at the head of this penitential house (see ii. 39) appears again in ch. 41 and iii. 8. See above, *Intr.* viii. § 1.

⁷ *Cailtanum*] Cailtan, a monk presiding over Diuni's cell (on Loch Awe?).

praepositus erat in cella quae hodieque ejus fratris Diuni vocabulo vocitatur, stagno adhaerens Abae fluminis¹, of the death haec per eosdem nuncios Sanctus commendat of Cailtan. verba: 'Cito euntes ad Cailtanum properate, dicitoteque ei ut ad me sine ulla veniat morula.' Qui, verbo Sancti obsecuti exeuntes, et ad cellam Diuni pervenientes, suae legatiunculae qualitatem Cailtano intimaverunt. Qui eadem hora, nullo demoratus modo, Sancti prosecutus legatos, ad eum in Ioua insula commorantem, eorum itineris comes, celeriter pervenit. Quo viso, Sanctus ad eum taliter locutus, his compellat verbis, 'O Cailtane, bene fecisti ad me obedienter festinando: requiesce paulisper. Idcirco ad te invitandum misi, amans amicum, ut hic mecum in vera finias obedientia vitae cursum tuae. Nam ante huius hebdomadis finem ad Dominum in pace transibis.' Quibus auditis, gratias agens Deo, Sanctumque lacrymans exosculatus, ad hospitium, accepta ab eo benedictione, perguit: eademque subsecuta infirmatus nocte, iuxta verbum Sancti in eadem septimana ad Christum Dominum migravit.

CAP. XXXII.

DE DUOBUS PEREGRINIS FRATRIBUS SANCTI PROVIDA PROPHE-
TATIO VIRI.

QUADAM Dominica die ultra saepe memoratum clamatum est fretum. Quem audiens Sanctus clamorem, Vision of the coming of two strangers, ad fratres qui ibidem inerant, 'Ite, ait, celeriter, peregrinosque de longinqua venientes regione ad nos ocius adducite.' Qui continuo obsecuti, transfretantes adduxerunt hospites: quos Sanctus exosculatus, consequenter de causa percontatur itineris. Qui respondententes aiunt, 'Ut hoc etiam anno apud te peregrinemur, venimus.' Quibus Sanctus hanc dedit responsionem: 'Apud me, ut dicitis, anni unius spatio peregrinari non poteritis, nisi prius monachicum promiseritis votum.' Quod qui inerant praesentes valde

¹ *Abae fluminis*] Probably Loch Awe is meant. See Skene, in Reeves, 1874, p. 327. In iii. 14

we have *Nisae fluminis lacus*, which was certainly Loch Ness.

mirati sunt ad hospites eadem hora adventantes dici. Ad quae Sancti verba senior respondens frater ait, 'Hoc in mente propositum, licet in hanc horam usque nullatenus habuerimus, tamen tuum sequemur consilium, divinitus, ut credimus, inspiratum.' Quid plura? Eodem horae momento oratorium cum Sancto ingressi, devote, flexis genibus, votum monachiale voverunt¹. Sanctus tum deinde, ad fratres conversus, ait, 'Hi duo proselyti vivam Deo and prophecy of their death. seipsos exhibentes hostiam, longaque in brevi Christianae tempora militiae complentes, hoc mox eodem mense ad Christum Dominum in pace transibunt.' Quibus auditis ambo fratres, gratias Deo agentes, ad hospitium deducti sunt: interiectisque diebus septem, senior frater coepit infirmari, et, eadem peracta septimana, ad Dominum emigravit. Similiter et alter post septem alios dies infirmatus, eiusdem in fine hebdomadis, ad Dominum feliciter transit. Et sic secundum Sancti veridicam prophetiam, intra eiusdem mensis terminum, ambo praesentem finiunt vitam.

CAP. XXXIII.

DE QUODAM ARTBRANANO SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

CUM per aliquot dies in insula demoraretur Scia² vir beatus, alicuius loci terrulam mari vicinam baculo percutiens, ad comites sic ait, 'Mirum dictu, O filioli! hodie in hac huius loci terrula quidam gentilis³ senex, naturale per totam bonum⁴ custodiens vitam, et baptizabitur, et morietur, et sepelietur.' Et ecce, quasi post unius intervallum horae, navicula ad eundem supervenit portum; cuius in prora quidam advectus est decrepitus senex, Geonae primarius cohortis⁵, quem bini

¹ voverunt] The novitiate appears to have been dispensed with in this case.

² Scia insula] The isle of Skye.

³ gentilis] Applied to the heathen Picts in ch. 37, ii. 11 bis, 27, 33; so *gentilicus*, ii. 34, iii. 14.

⁴ naturale . . . bonum] The moral

law of nature, i. e. of the natural reason; so again in iii. 14. Cp. Rom. ii. 14, 15.

⁵ Geonae cohortis] Probably a Pictish corps deriving its name from some place unknown; the little island of Gunna, between Tiree and Coll, seems too small.

iuvenes, de navi sublevantes, ante beati conspectum viri deponunt. Qui statim, verbo Dei a Sancto per interpretem¹ recepto, credens, ab eodem baptizatus est, et post expleta baptismationis ministeria, sicuti Sanctus prophetizavit, eodem in loco consequenter obiit, ibidemque socii, congesto lapidum acervo² sepeliunt. Qui hodieque in ora cernitur³ maritima; fluuiusque eiusdem loci in quo idem baptismum acceperat, ex nomine eius, Dobur Artbranani⁴ usque in hodiernum nominatus diem, ab accolis⁵ vocitatur.

CAP. XXXIV.

DE NAVICULA TRANSMUTATA⁶ SANCTO PRAECIPIENTE.ALIO in tempore trans Britanniae Dorsum⁷ iter agens,

¹ *per interpretem*] St. Columba would seem not to have acquired the Pictish language at this time. We have seen how at the court of King Brude he at first availed himself of the help of friends who were Irish Picts. *Introd. vii. § 3.* We find a reference to the same diversity of tongues in *ii. 32.* Bede states the five written languages of Britain to be 'Anglorum, Brittonum, Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum' (*H. E. i. 1.*), and the four spoken tongues to be 'Brittonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, et Anglorum' (*Ib. iii. 6.*) Some of the Saxon Chronicles speak of English, Brit-Welsh, Scottish, Pictish, and Book-Latin. In the Amhra of Columcille is a stanza referring to the labours of the Saint for thirty years among 'the people of Alba to the Ictian Sea (British Channel), The Gaedhil, Cruithneans, Saxons, Saxo-Brits.'

² *lapidum acervo*] This example of Christian burial in a cairn is remarkable, but it is to be noted that the old man was buried by his comrades, who may be supposed to have been heathens. The same custom however still survives in Ireland, for in many parts

they make a cairn over the spot where any one has come to an untimely end, and every one who passes is expected to add a stone, as in N. Lincolnshire, c. 1840. But there are other early Christian examples, as in Tirechan (*Stokes, Trip. 322*), 'Et sepeliuit illum aurigam Totum Caluum, id est Totmáel, et congregauit lapides erga sepulcrum,' and the epitaph 'Carautius hic iacit in hoc congeries lapidum' (*sic*) (*Hübner, Insc. Chr. No. 136.*)

³ *cernitur*] Sepulchral barrows were usually placed in the most conspicuous situations available.

⁴ *Dobur Artbranani*] An unidentified rivulet in the Isle of Skye. Dobur is for Dobhar, *water*, both in Gaelic and Cymric; later Welsh, Dywr.

⁵ *accolis*] Properly neighbours, but here and in ch. 35 used for resident inhabitants.

⁶ *transmutata*] See Glossary.

⁷ *Britanniae sive Britannicum Dorsum*] Drum-Alban, the mountain chain dividing Perthshire and Argyle, ending in the Grampian hills, and forming the backbone or waterparting of Scotland and the division between the Picts and the Scots.

aliquo in desertis viculo agellis reperto, ibidemque iuxta alicuius marginem rivuli stagnum¹ intrantis, Foresight
 Sanctus mansionem faciens, eadem nocte dormi- with regard
 entes, semisopore degustato, suscitatur comites, di- to a boat.
 cens, 'Nunc, nunc, celerius foras exeuntes, nostram quam ultra
 rivum naviculam posuistis in domum², huc citius advehite³,
 et in viciniore domuncula ponite.' Qui continuo obedientes,
 sicut eis praeceptum est, fecerunt; ipsisque iterum quies-
 centibus, Sanctus post quoddam intervallum silenter Dior-
 mitium pulsatur⁴, inquit, 'Nunc, stans extra domum, aspice
 quid in illo agitur viculo ubi prius vestram posuistis navi-
 culam.' Qui, Sancti praecepto obsecutus, domum egreditur, et
 respiciens videt vicum flamma instante totum concremari.
 Reversusque ad Sanctum quod ibidem agebatur retulit.
 Sanctus proinde fratribus de quodam narravit aemulo prose-
 cutore qui eadem domus eadem incenderat nocte.

CAP. XXXV.

DE GALLANO FILIO FACHTNI⁵ QUI ERAT IN DIOECESI⁶ COLGION
 FILII CELLAIG.

QUADAM itidem die Sanctus, in suo sedens tuguriolo⁷,
 Colcio⁸ eidem, lectitanti iuxta se, prophetizans ait, 'Nunc

¹ *stagnum*] The *Capitulationes*, p. 8, give the name as 'Stagnum Loch Diae,' which has not been identified unless it be Lochandu.

² *in domum*] Codd. B. and Cotton have the ordinary construction 'posuistis in domo.'

³ *advehite*] A coracle could easily be carried about, and it would seem that in this case the party had one with them for crossing lakes and navigable rivers. On reaching this stream they either forded it at once, leaving the coracle behind them for the night, or else they sent it over beforehand, themselves remaining where they had arrived.

⁴ *pulsatur*] Núdges, to wake him up.

⁵ *De Gallano filio Fachtni*] A local administrator in connexion with Iona.

⁶ *diocesis*] There were no episcopal dioceses in Ireland at this time. *Diocesis* here denotes the district or province under the charge of a local administrator acting under the superior of the mother church in a large monastic missionary system. Colga may or may not have been a bishop.

⁷ *tuguriolo*] See above, p. 37 n.

⁸ *Colcio*] Colcius, Colgu, or Colga, son of Cellach, presided over the district, apparently with Gallanus under him. Colgion and Cellaig (in the heading) are Irish genitives.

unum tenacem¹ primarium de tuae praepositis² dioeceseos
 Vision of a soul carried off by demons. daemones ad inferna rapiunt.' At vero hoc
 audiens Colcius tempus et horam in tabula³
 describens, post aliquot menses ad patriam
 reversus, Gallanum filium Fachtni eodem horae
 momento obiisse, ab accolis eiusdem regionis percunctatus,
 invenit, quo vir beatus eidem a daemonibus raptum enarravit.

CAP. XXXVI.

BEATI PROPHETATIO VIRI DE FINDCHANO PRESBYTERO, ILLIUS
 MONASTERII FUNDATORE QUOD SCOTICE ARTCHAIN⁴ NUNCUPA-
 TUR, IN ETHICA TERRA.

ALIO in tempore supra memoratus⁵ presbyter Findchanus,
 Prophecy of two dread-ful deaths. Christi miles, Aidum cognomento Nigrum⁶,
 regio genere ortum, Cruthinicum gente, de
 Scotia ad Britanniam sub clericatus habitu⁷
 secum adduxit, ut in suo apud se monasterio per aliquot
 peregrinaretur annos. Qui scilicet Aidus Niger valde
 sanguinarius homo et multorum fuerat trucidator; qui et
 Diormitium filium Cerbulis, totius Scotiae regnatorem⁸, Deo
 auctore ordinatum, interfecerat. Hic itaque idem Aidus,
 post aliquantum in peregrinatione transactum tempus⁹,

¹ *tenacem*] Grasping, as an unprincipled person in his position might easily be.

² *praepositis*] It is not clear how far *primarius* and *praepositus* were synonymous; a *praepositus* was the head of a cell (i. 30, 31), a *primarius* seems to have been the same, perhaps with some supremacy or jurisdiction over other *praepositi*.

³ *tabula*] Probably a *tabula cerata*. See Intr. iv. § 13.

⁴ *Artchain*] Ard chaoin, 'altitudo magna,' a hill in Tیره not now identified.

⁵ *supra memoratus*] I. e. in the heading, as frequently.

⁶ *Aidum Nigrum*] Aedh Dubh, son of Suibhne; he was chieftain of

the Dal Araidhe in 565, king of Uladh 581, and died 588.

⁷ *habitu*] The Irish annals contain many instances of royal persons taking the monastic habit; note that in this case it was only for a time, as a penance.

⁸ *regnatorem*] Monarch of all Ireland, whose regal seat was at Tara, and who was superior over the kings of the provinces, as they were over the chieftains or petty 'kings' under them.

⁹ *tempus*] Seven years was the prescribed time in Ireland for penance 'sub regula monasterii' after homicide (D'Achery, *Spicileg.* ix. 16, Par. 1669). The same period is mentioned in ii. 39.

accito episcopo¹, quamvis non recte, apud supradictum Findchanum presbyter ordinatus est. Episcopus tamen non est ausus super caput eius manum imponere, nisi prius idem Findchanus, Aidum carnaliter² amans, suam capiti eius pro confirmatione imponeret dexteram. Quae talis ordinatio cum postea sancto intimaretur viro, aegre tulit: tum proinde hanc de illo Findchano et de Aido ordinato formidabilem profatur sententiam, inquires, 'Illa manus dextra quam Findchanus, contra fas, et ius ecclesiasticum, super caput filii perditionis imposuit, mox computrescet³, et; post magnos dolorum cruciatus, ipsum in terram seplienda praecedet; et ipse post suam humatam manum per multos superstes victurus est annos. Ordinatus vero indebite Aidus, sicuti canis, ad vomitum revertetur suum, et ipse rursus sanguilentus trucidator existet, et ad ultimum lancea iugulatus, de ligno in aquam cadens, submersus morietur. Talem multo prius terminum promeruit vitae, qui totius regem trucidavit Scotiae.' Quae beati viri prophetia de utroque adimpleta est; nam presbyteri Findchani dexter per pugnum putrefactus in terram eum praecessit, in illa sepultus insula quae Ommon⁴ nuncupatur: ipse vero, iuxta verbum Sancti Columbae, per multos post vixit annos. Aidus vero Niger, solummodo nomine presbyter, ad sua priora reversus scelera, dolo lancea transfixus, de prora ratis in aquam lapsus stagneam, disperiit⁵.

¹ *accito episcopo*] It was of course impossible to ordain a presbyter without a bishop, though, as now, the act of the bishop was 'with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.'

² *carnaliter*] With mere human affection. Cp. 2 Cor. v. 16.

³ *computrescet*] 'The notion was probably borrowed from Job xxxi. 22, and was very general among the Irish'; (Reeves, who gives several instances). One place

where a hand was buried was called *Carn-lamha*, the cairn of the hand.

⁴ Possibly 'Sanda near the Mull of Kintyre, the old name of which was Avoyne.' Skene, in Reeves, 1874, p. 328.

⁵ *disperiit*] This death of Aedh Dubh (A.D. 588) is mentioned in all the principal Irish Annals. The lake was probably Lough Neagh.

CAP. XXXVII.

DE QUODAM SANCTI SOLAMINE SPIRITUS MONACHIS IN VIA
LABORIOSIS MISSEO.

INTER has praedicabiles prophetici spiritus prophetationes, non ab re videtur etiam de quadam spirituali consolatione nostris commemorare literulis, quam aliquando sancti Columbae monachi, spiritu eius ipsis in via obviantem, sentiebant. Alio namque in tempore, fratres, post messonis opera, vespere ad monasterium redeuntes, et ad illum pervenientes locum qui Scotice nuncupatur Cuuleilne¹, qui utique locus inter occidentalem Iouae insulae campulum² et nostrum monasterium medius esse dicitur, mirum quid et inconsuetum singuli sibi sentire videbantur: quod tamen alius alii intimare nullo modo audebat. Et sic per aliquot dies eodem in loco, eademque vespertina sentiebant hora. Fuit autem iisdem in diebus sanctus Baitheneus inter eos operum dispensator³, qui sic ad ipsos alia die est prolocutus, inquiens, 'Nunc, fratres, confiteri debetis singuli, si aliquod in hoc medio loco inter messem et monasterium, inconsuetum et inopinatum sentitis miraculum.' Unus tum ex eis senior, 'Iuxta tuam,' ait, 'iussionem, quod mihi hoc in loco ostensum est dicam; nam et in his praetereuntibus dieculis, et nunc etiam, quandam miri odoris fragrantiam ac si universorum florum⁴ in unum sentio collectorum; quandam quoque quasi ignis ardorem, non poenalem, sed quodammodo suavem: sed et quandam in corde insuetam et incomparabilem infusam laetificationem, quae me subito mirabiliter consolatur, et in tantum laetificat ut nullius maeroris, nullius laboris, meminisse possim. Sed

¹ *Cuuleilne*] Not precisely identified.

² *campulum*] The *Machar* or plain, the most level and productive part of the island. See ii. 28, iii. 16.

³ *dispensator*] At other times Baithene was head of a monastic house in Tiree, but at this time

he seems to have been holding an office in Iona.

⁴ *florum*] Cf. *Vit. Tripart. S. Patr.* iii. 104; (ed. Stokes) p. 255; *Vit. a Jocelino*, cap. 192. A miraculous fragrance is often mentioned in connexion with the tombs of Saints.

et onus quod meo, quamvis grave, porto in dorso, ab hoc loco usque quo ad monasterium perveniatur, quomodo nescio, in tantum relevatur, 'ut me oneratum non sentiam.' Quid plura? Sic omnes illi messorum operarii de se singillatim profitentur per omnia sensisse, sicuti unus ex eis coram enarraverat, singulique simul flexis genibus a sancto postularunt Baitheneo ut eiusdem miri solaminis causam et originem, quod et ipse, sicut et ceteri sentiebant, illis ignorantibus, intimare procuraret. Quibus consequenter hoc dedit responsum, 'Scitis,' inquit, 'quod noster senior Columba de nobis anxie cogitet, et nos ad se tardius provenientes aegre ferat, nostri memor laboris, et idcirco quia corporaliter obviam nobis non venit, spiritus eius nostris obviat gressibus, qui taliter nos consolans laetificat.' Quibus auditis verbis, ingenuculantes, cum ingenti gratulatione, expansis ad caelum manibus, Christum in sancto venerantur et beato viro.

Sed et hoc silere non debemus quod ab expertis quibusdam de voce beati psalmodiae viri indubitanter traditum est. Quae scilicet vox venerabilis viri in ecclesia cum fratribus decantantis, aliquando per quatuor stadia, hoc est, quingentos passus, aliquando vero per octo, hoc est, mille passus¹, incomparabili elevata modo audiebatur. Mirum dictu! Nec in auribus eorum qui secum in ecclesia stabant vox eius modum humanae vocis in clamoris granditate excedebat. Sed tamen eadem hora qui ultra mille passuum longinquitatem stabant, sic clare eandem audiebant vocem, ut illos quos canebat versiculos etiam per singulas possent distinguere syllabas: similiter enim eius vox in auribus prope et longe audientium personabat. Sed hoc de voce miraculum beati viri non semper, sed raro, accidisse comprobatur; quod tamen sine Divini Spiritus gratia nullo modo fieri potuisset.

¹ mille passus] In the ancient Irish Life in the Leabhar Breac, 31 b (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 478),

the distance has grown to 1,500 paces, and that when Columba was a boy.

Sed et illud non est tacendum quod aliquando de tali et incomparabili vocis eius sublevatione iuxta Brudei regis munitio¹ nem¹ accidisse traditur. Nam ipse Sanctus cum paucis fratribus extra regis munitio² nem dum vespertinales Dei laudes² ex more celebraret, quidam magi, ad eos propius accedentes, in quantum poterant, prohibere conabantur, ne de ore ipsorum divinae laudis sonus inter gentiles audiretur populus. Quo comperto, Sanctus quadragesimum et quartum psalmum³ decantare coepit, mirumque in modum ita vox eius in aere eodem momento instar alicuius formidabilis tonitru³ i elevata est, ut et rex et populus intolerabili essent pavore perterriti.

How it
affected
King Brude
and his
Druids.

CAP. XXXVIII.

DE QUODAM DIVITE QUI LUGUDIUS CLODUS VOCITABATUR.

ALIO in tempore, cum in Scotia per aliquot Sanctus demoraretur dies, alium currui insidentem⁴ videns clericum, qui gaudenter peragrabat Campum Breg⁵, primo interrogans de eo quis esset, hoc ab amicis eiusdem viri de eo accipit responsum; 'Hic est Lugudius Clodus, homo dives et honoratus in plebe.' Sanctus consequenter respondens inquit, 'Non ita video; sed homuncio miser et pauper, in die qua morietur, tria

Prophecy
of the
death of
a rich bad
man.

¹ *Brudei regis munitio¹ nem*] See above, Intr. vii. § 3, and lib. ii. 33, 35.

² *vespertinales laudes*] Called *vespertinalis missa* in iii. 23. On this occasion it would seem that Vespers were sung in the open air. See above, Intr. vii. § 3.

³ *psalmum*] Ps. xlv. according to the Hebrew and English order; *Eruclavit cor meum*.

⁴ *currui insidentem*] 'The memoirs of St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh make frequent mention of his chariot, and even name his driver (see Index to Tripartite,

s.v. Chariot). St. Columba used such a conveyance in Ireland (ii. 43). On the ancient *currus* of the Irish, see O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptor.* iv. p. 148. A spirited drawing of an ancient car is given from a monument at Meigle in Chalmers' *Sculptured Monuments of Angus* (Pl. 18, Edinb. 1848), Reeves. We find *currus vimineus*, and *currus duarum rotarum* in *Tr. Th.* 515, 517.

⁵ *Campum Breg*] Magh Breg, a territory in Meath, the name of which has survived in that of 'Slieve Bregh,' a hill in NE. Meath.

apud se vicinorum praetersoria¹ in una retentabit^a maceria², unamque electam de vaccis praetersoriorum occidi iubebit sibi, de cuius cocta carne postulabit aliquam sibi partem dari, cum meretrice in eodem lectulo cubanti. De qua utique particula morsum accipiens, statim ibidem strangulabitur et morietur.' Quae omni, sicuti ab expertis traditur, iuxta Sancti propheticum adimpleta sunt verbum.

CAP. XXXIX.

DE NEMANO³ FILIO GRUTHRICHE SANCTI PROPHETIA.

NUNC enim cum Sanctus de malis suis corripere, parvipendens Sanctum subsannabat. Cui respondens The same of another bad man. vir beatus ait, 'In nomine Domini, Neman, aliqua de te veridica loquar verba. Inimici tua reperient te in eodem cum meretrice cubantem cubiculo, ibidemque trucidaberis. Daemones quoque ad loca poenarum tuam rapiunt animam.' Hic idem Nemanus, post aliquot annos, in uno cum meretrice lectulo repertus in regione Cainle⁴, iuxta verbum Sancti, ab inimicis decapitatus, disperiit.

CAP. XL.

DE QUODAM PRESBYTERO SANCTI VIRI PROPHETATIO.

ALIO in tempore Sanctus, cum in Scotiensium paulo superius moraretur memorata regione, casu Dominica die ad quoddam devenit vicinum monasteriolum quod Scotice Trioit⁵ vocitatur. Eadem proinde die quendam audi-

^a A. B. maneria suo iure Boll.

¹ praetersoria] Stray or trespassing animals?

² maceria] A cashel or walled enclosure. The kings of Cashel are styled *Reges Maceriae* in a charter of c. 1004 entered in the Book of Armagh, and the fortified farms of the Campagna in Italy are still known by the name of *Maseria*, Low Latin *Maseria*, and *Masura*, for *Mansura*.

³ Neman] The same name occurs at i. 21, ii. 4. The Four Masters mention Neman abbot of Lismore in Scotland in 610.

⁴ Cainle] Not identified. Cp. ii. 17.

⁵ Trioit] Trevet, in co. Meath. In an ancient historical tale it is stated that when Art was buried, three sods were dug in honour of the Trinity, and that hence the place was named. There are

ens¹ presbyterum sacra eucharistiae mysteria conficien-
 tem², quem ideo fratres, qui ibidem com-
 Denuncia- tion of an unworthy priest. manebant, ad missarum elegerant peragenda
 sollemnia, quia valde religiosum aestimabant,
 repente hanc formidabilem de ore profert vocem,
 'Munda et immunda pariter nunc permisceri cernuntur, hoc
 est, munda sacrae oblationis mysteria per immundum
 hominem ministrata, qui in sua interim conscientia aliquod
 grande occultat facinus.' Haec qui inerant audientes treme-
 facti nimis obstupere. Ille vero de quo haec dicebantur
 verba coram omnibus³ peccantiam compulsus est suam
 confiteri. Christique commilitones, qui in ecclesia Sanctum
 circumstantes occulta cordis audierant manifestantem, divi-
 nam in eo scientiam cum magna admiratione glorificarunt.

CAP. XLI.

DE ERCO FURE MOCUDRUIDI⁴ QUI IN COLOSO INSULA COM-
 MANEBAT SANCTI PROPHETIZATIO VIRI.

ALIO in tempore Sanctus in Ioua commanens insula,
 accitis ad se binis de fratribus viris, quorum
 Prophecy regarding a certain poacher. vocabula Lugbeus et Silnanus, eisdem prae-
 cipiens dixit, 'Nunc ad Maleam transfretate
 insulam, et in campulis mari vicinis Ercum
 quaerite furacem; qui nocte praeterita solus occulte de insula
 Coloso⁵ perveniens, sub sua faeno tecta navicula inter are-
 narum cumulos per diem se occultare conatur, ut noctu ad
 parvam transnaviget insulam⁶ ubi marini nostri iuris vituli⁷

many such triple combinations in Irish place-names, supposed to have reference to the Trinity. See Joyce, *Irish Names*, 1891, vol. i. pp. 133, 261.

¹ *quendam audiens*] Implying that the service was in an audible voice.

² *conficientem*] 'Conficere' is used in this connexion by St. Jerome (*Ep. ad Heliodorum* and *Ep. ad Evangelium*) and was not uncom-

mon. Reeves cites many instances at ch. 44.

³ *coram omnibus*] See note on ch. 30.

⁴ *Mocudruidi*] Mac-Ua-Druidi is an obscure tribe-name.

⁵ *Coloso*] Colonsay, here probably the greater island of the same name.

⁶ *insulam*] Reeves says most probably Erraid isle, about two miles SE. of Iona.

⁷ *marini vituli*] So Pliny calls

generantur et generant; ut de illis furenter occisis edax valde furax suam replens naviculam, ad suum repedet habitaculum.' Qui, haec audientes, obsecuti emigrant, furemque in locis a Sancto praesignatis absconsum reperiunt, et ad Sanctum, sicut illis praeceperat, perduxerunt. Quo viso, Sanctus ad eum dicit, 'Quare tu res alienas, divinum transgressus mandatum, saepe furaris? Quando necesse habueris, ad nos veniens necessaria accipies postulata.' Et haec dicens praecipit verveces occidi, et pro phocis dari misero furaci, ne vacuus ad sua remearet. Et post aliquantum tempus Sanctus, in spiritu vicinam furis praevidens mortem, ad Baitheneum eo in tempore praepositum commorantem in Campo Lunge mittit, ut eidem furi quoddam pingue pecus et sex modios¹ novissima mittat munera. Quibus a Baitheneo, sicut Sanctus commendaverat, transmissis, ea die inventus est morte subita praeventus furax misellus, et in exequiis² eius transmissa expensa sunt³ a xenia³.

CAP. XLII.

DE CRONANO POETA SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

ALIO in tempore, Sanctus cum iuxta Stagnum Cei⁴, prope ostium fluminis quod latine Bos⁵ dicitur, die aliqua cum fratribus sederet, quidam ad eos Scoticus poeta⁶ devenit;

^a. A. C. F. S. exenia B. exennia D.

seals, and the same term is applied in the *Libellus de Ortu S. Cuthb.* xiv, xviii, rendered cele (and seele) calf in the Metrical Life. They are called *phocae* below. Seals were extensively used for food in the Hebrides in the last century, the hams being considered the best portions.

¹ *sex modios*] So *bis terni* in ii. 3.

² *in exequiis eius*] The gifts of the Saint were consumed at the funeral feast of the marauding neighbour.

³ *xenia*] properly gifts or presents made to a guest (*ξένος*),

hence any present, particularly one of a customary or ceremonial kind, made whether from superiors to inferiors, or the reverse. In i. 50, we find St. Columba publicly blessing *xenia* sent in his honour, even *coram episcopo*. '*Ex-enium*,' see readings of Codd. B.D., is a form often found elsewhere.

⁴ *Stagnum Cei*] Loch Ce, now Lough Key in co. Rosecommon.

⁵ *Bos*] At ii. 19 called Bo, Irish Buill, now Boyle, a river running from Lough Key to the Shannon.

⁶ *Scoticus poeta*] An Irish Bard. The Bards are regarded by the

qui, cum post aliquam recessisset sermocinationem, fratres ad Sanctum, 'Cur,' aiunt, 'a nobis regrediente Cronano poeta aliquod ex more suae artis can-
 Prophecy of the death of an Irish bard. ticum non postulasti modulabiliter¹ decantari?' Quibus Sanctus, 'Quare et vos nunc inutilia profertis verba? quomodo ab illo misero homuncione carmen postularem laetitiae, qui nunc, ab inimicis trucidatus, finem ad usque ocus pervenit vitae.' His a Sancto dictis, et ecce ultra flumen aliquis clamat homo dicens, 'Ille poeta, qui a vobis nuper sospes rediit, hora in hac ab inimicis in via interfectus est.' Omnes tunc qui praesentes inerant valde mirati, se invicem intuentes obstupuerunt.

CAP. XLIII.

DE DUOBUS TIGERNIS² SANCTI VATICINATIO VIRI, QUI AMBO MUTUIS VULNERIBUS DISPERIERANT.

ALIO itidem in tempore, Sanctus in Ioua conversans insula, repente inter legendum summo, cum
 Vision of a mortal combat between two chieftains. ingenti admiratione, gemitu ingemuit maesto. Quod videns, qui praesens inerat, Lugbeus Mocublai³, coepit ab eo percunctari subiti causam maeroris. Cui Sanctus, valde maestificatus, haec dedit responsionem, 'Duo quidam nunc regii generis viri in Scotia mutuis inter se vulneribus transfixi disperierunt, haud procul a monasterio quod dicitur Cellrois⁴, in provincia

old Irish historians as the representatives in the Irish Church of the old Pagan *magi* or druids. See above, Intr. i. § 8.

¹ *modulabiliter*] 'Cum modulatione,' (iii. 12) understood by some of harp accompaniment, but in iii. 12 at any rate the musical intonation or chant used in the mass, and so probably any melody. The songs of the bards were usually accompanied. See above, Intr. i. § 8 n.

² *Tigernis*] An Irish word with a Latin inflection. The Irish *tigherna*, a chieftain, is connected with *tig*, a house, as *dominus* with *domus*.

³ *Lugbeus Mocublai*] Lugbe of the tribe Mocublai (Mac-Ua-Blae); Lugneus Mocublai occurs iii. 15, 22.

⁴ *Cellrois*] Now Magheross in Monaghan. 'Kylrose it hat as Ik hard say.' Barbour, *Brus*, x. 252.

Maugdornorum¹, octavaque die, hac peracta hebdomade, ultra fretum alius clamitabit, qui haec, de Hibernia veniens, ita taliter facta enarrabit. Sed hoc, O filiolo, quamdiu vixero nemini indices.' Octava proinde ultra fretum clamatum est die. Sanctus tum supra memoratum ad se Lugbeum vocans, silenter ad eum ait, 'Qui nunc clamitat ultra fretum ipse est, de quo tibi prius dixeram, longaevus viator. Vade, et adduc eum ad nos.' Qui, celeriter adductus, inter cetera hoc etiam retulit, Duo, inquit, in parte Maugdornorum nobiles viri, se mutuo vulnerantes, mortui sunt; hoc est, Colman Canis², filius Aileni, et Ronanus³ filius Aido filii Colgen, de Anteriorum⁴ genere, prope fines illorum locorum, ubi illud monasterium cernitur quod dicitur Cellrois. Post haec illius verba narrationis, idem Lugbeus, Christi miles, Sanctum seorsum coepit interrogare, dicens, 'Quaeso mihi de his talibus narres propheticis revelationibus quomodo, si per visum tibi, an auditu, an alio hominibus incognito, manifestantur modo.' Ad haec Sanctus, 'De qua nunc,' ait, 'inquiris valde subtili re nullatenus tibi quamlibet aliquam intimare particulam potero, nisi prius, flexis genibus, per nomen excelsi Dei mihi firmiter promittas hoc te obscurissimum sacramentum⁵ nulli unquam hominum cunctis

Lugbe questions the saint, who binds him to secrecy,

¹ *Maugdornorum*] The Maugdorni were a tribe descended from Mughdorn dubh, whence Crich Mughdorna, a territory in Monaghan, now Cremorne and Farney.

² *Colman Canis*] A nobleman otherwise unknown. *Cu, canis*, frequently occurs in Irish names.

³ *Ronanus*] Another unknown chieftain.

⁴ *Anteriorum*] Antiores is the name given by Adamnan to the Airtheara (Easterns), a tribe inhabiting the territory afterwards known as East Oriel or Uriel (anciently Airghialla) in Ulster. See *Indairthir*, iii. 7. Reeves cites here many passages from

Irish writers which show that they, like the Hebrews, regarded the cardinal points as having reference to the risingsun, and not, of course, to the magnetic needle, of which they knew nothing. Thus *Anterior* (Irish *Airthir*, Hebrew *ארתיר*) is equivalent to *Orientalis*. Hence W., S., N., were back, right, left. See *Ussher's Wks.* v. 103, vi. 114, 187; *Zeuss, Gr. Celt.* 67 n., 283, 566.

⁵ *sacramentum*] Here and in ch. 50, and iii. 6, 7, 22, 'a holy secret.' 'Aliquando dicitur Sacramentum, quasi sacrum secretum, velut Sacramentum Incarnationis et huiusmodi.'—Hugo de S. Victor, cited by Ducange.

diebus vitae meae enarraturum.' Qui, haec audiens, flexit continuo genua, et, prostrato in terram vultu, iuxta Sancti praeceptionem plene omnia promisit. Qua statim perfecta promissione, Sanctus ad surgentem sic locutus inquit, 'Sunt nonnulli, quamlibet pauci admodum, quibus divina hoc contulit gratia, ut etiam totum totius terrae orbem, cum ambitu oceani et caeli, uno eodemque momento, quasi sub uno solis radio, mirabiliter laxato mentis sinu, clare et manifestissime speculentur.' Hoc miraculum Sanctus, quamvis de aliis electis dicere videatur, vanam utique fugiens gloriam, de seipso tamen dixisse, per obliquum licet, nullus dubitare debet qui Paulum legit Apostolum, vas electionis, de talibus narrantem sibi revelatis visionibus. Non enim ita scripsit, 'Scio me,' sed, '*Scio hominem, raptum usque ad tertium caelum*¹.' Quod quamlibet de alio dicere videatur, nemo tamen dubitat sic de propria, humilitatem custodiens, enarrare persona. Quem etiam et noster Columba in spiritalium visionum narratione secutus est superius memorata, quam ab eo supradictus vir, quem plurimum Sanctus amabat, magnis precibus praemissis, vix potuit extorquere, sicut ipse coram aliorum personis sanctorum, post sancti Columbae transitum, testatus est: a quibus haec quae de Sancto supra narravimus indubitanter didicimus.

CAP. XLIV.

DE CRONANO² EPISCOPO.

ALIO in tempore, quidam de Muminensium³ provincia proselytus ad Sanctum venit; qui se in quantum potuit occultabat humiliter, ut nullus sciret quod esset episcopus: sed tamen Sanctum hoc non potuit latere. Nam alia die

¹ *caelum*] 2 Cor. xii. 2, on which the Irish commentator Sedulius remarks, 'Hoc de se humilitatis causa, quasi in alterius persona loquitur.' (*In S. Pauli Epp.* p. 276, Basil, 1538; Migne, tom. ciii.)

² *Cronano*] Possibly the Cronan mentioned by Colgan, Feb. 9, p. 302.

³ *Muminensium*] The Muminenses were the men of Munster. See note on *Laginensium*, i. 2.

Dominica a Sancto iussus¹ Christi corpus ex more conficere, Sanctum advocat, ut simul, quasi duo presbyteri², Dominicum panem frangerent³. Sanctus proinde ad altarium accedens, repente intuitus faciem eius, sic eum compellat, 'Benedicat te Christus, frater; hunc solus, episcopali ritu⁴, frange panem: nunc scimus quod sis episcopus. Quare hucusque te occultare conatus es, ut tibi a nobis debita non redderetur veneratio⁵?' Quo audito Sancti verbo, humilis peregrinus, valde stupefactus, Christum in Sancto veneratus est; et qui inerant praesentes nimis admirati, glorificarunt Dominum.

Detection of a bishop who concealed his rank.

CAP. XLV.

DE ERNANO PRESBYTERO SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

ALIO itidem in tempore, vir venerandus Ernanum⁶ presbyterum, senem, suum avunculum, ad praeposituram illius monasterii transmisit quod in Hinba insula ante plures fundaverat annos. Itaque cum

Prophecy of the death of Ernan.

¹ *iussus*] 'Bidden' or invited to celebrate, according to the direction of the Council of Arles, 'ut peregrino episcopo locus sacrificandi detur,' and of the fourth Council of Carthage to the same effect.

² *duo presbyteri*] It appears to have been usual at Iona for two priests to act as concelebrants. See Warren, 128, § 19.

³ *frangerent*] The scriptural expression here and below probably has a special reference to the Eucharistic fraction, or it may be simply a synonym for celebrating.

⁴ *episcopali ritu*] A bishop seems to have always celebrated *solus*, without a concelebrant, unless, perhaps, if another bishop were present. The exact contrary was formerly the rule in the Latin Church, namely that when a bishop celebrated any priests present should unite with him

in the words of consecration and in the manual acts (Martène, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. iii. 8. Amalarius, i. cap. 12). This practice survives in the Roman ordination of priests, at which the newly ordained are concelebrants.

⁵ *veneratio*] Taking this chapter with ch. 36, and with ii. 1, nothing can be plainer than that St. Columba fully recognized the three distinct orders of bishop, priest, and deacon, and considered that the proper function of a bishop was to confer Holy Orders, and that a bishop or a priest could celebrate, while a deacon could only provide the elements for the celebration, and, moreover, that he considered the greatest veneration to be due to the episcopal order as higher than his own.

⁶ *Ernanum*] 'Ernanus presbyter' is mentioned in the Epilogus of Cod. B. as 'sancti avunculus

ipsum Sanctus emigrantem exosculatus benediceret, hoc de eo intulit vaticinium, dicens, 'Hunc meum nunc egredientem amicum non me spero iterum in hoc saeculo viventem visurum.' Itaque idem Ernanus post non multos dies, quadam molestatus aegrimonia, ad Sanctum volens reportatus est: cuius in perventione valde gavisus, ire obvius ad portum coepit. Ipse vero Ernanus, quamlibet infirmis, propriis tamen, vestigiis a portu obviare Sancto conabatur valde alacer. Sed cum esset inter ambos quasi viginti quatuor passuum intervallum, subita morte praeventus, priusquam Sanctus faciem eius videret viventis, expirans in terram cecidit, ne verbum Sancti ullo frustraretur modo. Unde in eodem loco ante ianuam canabae¹ crux² infixata est, et altera ubi Sanctus restitit, illo expirante, similiter crux hodieque infixata stat.

CAP. XLVI.

DE ALICUIUS PLEBEI FAMILIOLA SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

ALIO quoque in tempore, quidam inter ceteros ad Sanctum plebeius venit in loco hospitantem qui Scotice vocitatur Coire Salchain³; quem cum Sanctus ad se vespere venientem

Columbae, and one of his twelve followers; he was a brother of Ethnea, the mother of the saint.

¹ *canaba*] A kiln 'ad spicas siccandas et trituras,' *Vit. S. Kannechi*, c. 33, cited by Reeves here. It further appears from the Life of St. Kiaran, c. 12, that he saw 'zabulum super ripam fluminis (the Shannon) et erat in eo rota de virgis contexta plena spicis igni supposita, ut siccarentur ad trituras secundum morem occidentalium, i.e. Britanniae et Hyberniae,' and that a *navicula* was placed in *canabam* for repairs.

² *crux*] The cross called 'Macleanes' may mark the site. We are told in iii. 23 of a cross fixed up in a millstone by the wayside; it has always been usual to mark

memorable spots by setting up crosses. So in the Life of St. Patrick 'ubi nunc usque crux habetur in signum.' (*Tripartite*, 276; *Anal. Boll.* i. 559). Hence the great number of places in Ireland that have taken their names from crosses, over 200 altogether, most of which commemorate the erection of crosses, though a few may be from cross-roads or a transverse position. (Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, i. 327). Sometimes a wooden cross was set up, as by St. Oswald (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 2), and where St. Wilfrid's body was washed (*Offices of St. W.*, Ripon, 1893, p. 27).

³ *Coire Salchain*] The term *Coire*, a cul-de-sac or hollow in a mountain, is almost peculiar to the Scotch Highlands, and there are

vidisset, 'Ubi,' ait, 'habitas?' Ille inquit, 'In regione quae littoribus stagni Crogreth¹ est contermina ego Prophecy inhabito.' 'Illam quam dicis provinciolam,' ait regarding a Sanctus, 'nunc barbari populantur vastatores,' poor family. Quo audito, miser plebeius maritam et filios deplangere coepit. Quem Sanctus valde maerentem videns, consolans inquit, 'Vade, homuncule², vade, tua familiola tota in montem fugiens evasit; tua vero omnia pecuscula secum invasores abegerunt, omnemque domus suppellectilem similiter saevi raptores cum praeda rapuere.' Haec audiens plebeius, ad patriam regressus, cuncta, sicuti a Sancto praedicta, sic invenit expleta.

CAP. XLVII.

DE QUODAM PLEBEIO, GOREO³ NOMINE, FILIO AIDANI,
SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

ALIO itidem in tempore quidam plebeius, omnium illius aetatis in populo^a Korkureti⁴ fortissimus virorum, a sancto percunctatur viro qua morte esset prae-
veniendus. Cui Sanctus, 'Nec in bello,' ait, 'nec Enigmatical prophecy of the death of a peasant. in mari morieris: comes tui itineris, a quo non suspicaris, causa erit tuae mortis.' 'Fortassis,' inquit Goreus, 'aliquis de meis comitantibus amicis me trucidare cogitet, aut marita ob alicuius iunioris viri amorem me maleficio mortificare.' Sanctus, 'Non ita,' ait, 'continget.' 'Quare,' Goreus inquit, 'de meo interfectore mihi nunc intimare non vis?' Sanctus, 'Idcirco,' ait, 'nolo tibi de illo tuo comite nocuo nunc manifestius aliquid edicere,

^a KOPKYPETI *litteris maiusculis* A.

many Sallachans in the Highlands now, named from sallows.

¹ *Crogreth*] A lake not identified, unless it be Loch Creeran in Upper Lorne.

² *homuncule*] Note how many diminutives Adamnan uses while representing Columba as consoling the poor man with kind

and endearing words. *Homuncule* is here something like the Durh. and Northd. 'Canny man,' or 'Canny bairn'; see *N. E. D.* s.v. *Canny*, 9.

³ *Goreo*] Goreus probably represents the Irish Guire or Gowry.

⁴ *Korkureti*] Possibly Corkaree, in Westmeath; if so, a form of *Corca Raidhe*, the race of Raidhe.

ne te eius crebra recogniti recordatio nimis maestificet, donec illa veniat dies qua eiusdem rei veritatem probabis.' Quid immoramur verbis? Post aliquot annorum excursus, idem supra memoratus Goreus, casu¹ alia die sub navi residens, cultello proprio cristilliam de hastili eradebat; tum deinde alios prope inter se belligerantes audiens, citius surgit ut eos a belligeratione separaret, eodemque cultello illa subitane negligerentius in terra dimisso, eius genicula offenso graviter vulnerata est. Et tali faciente comite, causa ei mortificationis oborta est; quam ipse continuo, secundum sancti vaticinationem viri, mente percussus, recognovit; postque aliquantos menses, eodem aggravatus dolore, moritur.

CAP. XLVIII.

DE ALIA ETIAM RE, QUAMLIBET MINORE, PUTO NON ESSE TACENDA SANCTI IUCUNDA PRAESCIENTIA, ET PROPHETIZATIO VIRI.

ALIO namque in tempore, cum Sanctus in Ioua inhabi-
 Prophecy of taret insula, unum de fratribus advocans, sic
 the arrival of a crane compellat, 'Tertia ab hac illucescente die ex-
 from Ire- spectare debetis in occidentali huius insulae parte,
 land. super maris oram sedens: nam de aquilonali
 Hiberniae regione quaedam hospita grus², ventis per longos
 aeris agitata circuitus, post nonam diei horam valde fessa et
 fatigata superveniet, et pene consumptis viribus, coram te
 in litore cadens recumbet; quam misericorditer sublevare
 curabis, et ad propinquam deportabis domum, ibidemque
 hospitaliter receptam, per tres dies et noctes ei ministrans,

¹ *casu, etc.*] Render, 'by chance one day sitting by a boat, was scraping the bark (?) from a spear-shaft with his own knife . . . and, the same knife being carelessly left on the ground in that sudden movement, his knee was severely wounded by lighting on it' (kneeling on the edge). But see Glossary, s.vv. *Cristillia, Offensus*.

² *grus*] Giraldus mentions large flocks of cranes in Ireland, of 100 or so (*Topogr. Hib. Dist. i, cap. 14*). Reeves gives several references to legends of Irish Saints concerning their familiarity with cranes and other birds. But stories of favourite animals abound in the lives of the saints of all nations.

sollicite cibabis; et post expleto recreata triduo, nolens ultra apud nos peregrinari, ad priorem Scotiae dulcem, unde orta, remeabit regionem, plene resumptis viribus; quam ideo tibi sic diligenter commendo, quia de nostrae paternitatis regione est oriunda.' Obsecundat frater, tertiaque die post horam nonam, ut iussus, praescitae adventum praestolatur hospitae, adventantemque de littore levat lapsam, ad hospitium portat infirmam, esurientem cibam. Cui ad monasterium vespere reverso Sanctus, non interrogans sed narrans, ait, 'Benedicat te Deus, mi fili, quia peregrinae bene ministrasti hospitae, quae in peregrinatione non demorabitur, sed post ternos soles ad patriam repedabit.' Quod ita ut Sanctus praedixit et res etiam probavit. Nam trinialibus hospitata diebus, coram hospite ministro de terra se primum, volando elevans in sublime, paulisperque in aere viam speculata, oceani transvadato aequore, ad Hiberniam recto volatus cursu die repedavit tranquillo.

CAP. XLIX.

DE BELLO QUOD IN MUNITIONE CETHIRNI POST MULTO COMMISSUM EST TEMPORA, ET DE QUODAM FONTICULO EIUSDEM TERRULAE PROXIMO BEATI PRAESCIENTIA VIRI.

ALIO in tempore vir beatus cum post regum in Dorso Cette conductum¹, Aidi videlicet filii Ainmurech, et Aidani filii Gabrani, ad campos reverteretur aequoreos, ipse ad Comgellus abbas² quadam serena aestivi temporis die, haud procul a supra memorata munitione resident. Tum proinde aqua de quodam proximo ad manus lavandas fonticulo ad Sanctos in aeneo defertur vasculo. Quam cum sanctus Columba accepisset, ad abbatem Comgellum a latere se-

Prophecy of the defilement of a well by blood from a battle.

¹ *conductum*] Held A. D. 575. Intr. vii. § 4.

² *Comgellus abbas*] His tribe-name was Mocu Aridi (*Mac U Araidhe*). St. Comgall, founder and first

abbot of Benchor or Bangor in Ulster, b. 517, founded Bangor 558, and a church in Tیره 565; he died 602, May 10, his day.

dentem sic profatur, 'Ille fonticulus, O Comgelle, de quo haec effusa nobis allata est aqua, veniet dies quando nullis usibus humanis aptus erit.' 'Qua causa,' ait Comgellus, 'eius fontana corrumpetur unda?' Sanctus tum Columba, 'Quia humano,' inquit, 'cruore replebitur: nam mei cognationales amici¹ et tui secundum carnem cognati², hoc est, Nellis Nepotes³ et Cruthini populi, in hac vicina munitione Cethirni⁴ belligerantes committent bellum. Unde in supra memorata fonte aliquis de mea cognatione trucidabitur homuncio, cuius cum ceteris interfecti sanguine eiusdem fonticuli locus replebitur.' Quae eius veridica suo tempore post multos vaticinatio expleta est annos. In quo bello, ut multi norunt populi, Domnallus Aidi filius victor sublimatus est⁵, et in eodem, secundum sancti vaticinium viri, fonticulo, quidam de parentela eius interfectus est homo. Alius mihi Adamnano⁶ Christi miles, Finanus nomine, qui vitam multis anachoreticam annis iuxta Roboreti monasterium Campi irreprehensibiliter ducebat, de eodem bello se praesente commisso aliqua enarrans, protestatus est in supradicto fonte truncum cadaverinum vidisse, eademque

¹ *cognationales amici*] St. Columba's family friends were the Northern Ui- or Hy-Neill, descended principally from Conall Gulban, whose great-grandson St. Columba was; their home was Tir-Connell, now Donegal.

² *secundum carnem cognati*] St. Comgall's relations were the Cruithne or Irish Picts or Dal-Araidhe, who inhabited the southern half of Antrim.

³ *Nellis nepotes*] The Ui Neill, Hy Neill or O'Neills, the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, king of Ireland, A. D. 358-405. The southern O'Neills were descended from Niall's first wife (see *Cruithnii*, i. 7 n.), the northern from his second.

⁴ *munitione Cethirni*] Dun Ceithirn, the fortress of Cethirn, identified with the Giant's Scence,

near Coleraine. Dr. Reeves gives an interesting account of this fortified hill, which once had 'a long gallery, formed against the side of the apex by large stones regularly laid, with an inclination inwards, and covered with cross flags . . . forty feet long by two broad, serving as a covered way and also as breast-work on the accessible side. The whole crest was enclosed by a cyclopean wall, of which some traces remain.' The gallery is now reduced to 'a great ridge of dry stones.'

⁵ *victor sublimatus est*] Render 'came off victorious.' Domhnall was grandson of Ainmire, who was Columba's first cousin.

⁶ *mihi Adamnano*] The writer was in his fifth year at the date of the battle of Dun Ceithirn, A. D. 629.

die ad monasterium sancti Comgelli quod Scotice dicitur Cambas¹ commisso reversum bello, quia inde prius venerat, ibidemque duos sancti Comgelli senes monachos reperisse: quibus cum de bello coram se acto, et de fonticulo humano cruore corrupto, aliquanta enarraret, illi consequenter, 'Verus propheta Columba,' aiunt, 'qui haec omnia quae hodie de bello et de fonticulo expleta enarras, ante multos annos futura, nobis audientibus, coram sancto Comgello, iuxta Cethirni sedens munitionem, praenunciaverat.'

CAP. L.

DE DIVERSORUM DISCRETIONE XENIORUM SANCTO REVELATA
VIRO DIALI GRATIA.

EODEM in tempore Conallus², episcopus Culerathin³, collectis a populo Campi Eilni⁴ paene innumera-
bilibus xeniis, beato viro hospitium praeparavit, post conditum supra memoratorum regum, turba prosequente multa, revertenti: proinde sancto adveniēti viro xenia populi multa, in platea⁵ monasterii strata, benedicenda assignantur. Quae cum benedicens aspiceret, xenium alicuius opulenti viri specialiter demonstrans, 'Virum,' ait, 'cuius est hoc xenium, pro misericordiis pauperum, et eius largitione, Dei comitatur misericordia.' Itemque aliud discernit inter alia multa xenium, inquiring, 'De hoc ego xenio viri sapientis⁶ et avari

How St. Columba distinguished worthy and unworthy givers.

¹ *Cambas*] Otherwise Camas or Camus, a name common in Ireland and North Britain, from *Cam*, crooked, with formative *s* for abstract noun, hence a bend in a river or a curved bay. St. Comgall's monastery was named from the curve in the river Bann near which it was situated, two miles above Coleraine.

² *Conallus*] His date is not known.

³ *Culerathin*] Cuil-rathain, *secessus filicis*, Fern cover, now Coleraine on the Bann, in Londonderry.

For its legendary origin, see *Tripartite*, 167. Joyce mentions five other places whose names were originally the same, vol. i, p. 531.

⁴ *Campi Eilni*] Magh Elne, between the rivers Bush and Bann, now nearly represented by the NE. Liberties of Coleraine.

⁵ *platea*] The enclosed courtyard in which the isolated cells of a Celtic monastery stood. *Intr.* iv. § 2. Called *plateola* in iii. 6.

⁶ *virī sapientis*] A sage or philosopher, Irish *saoi*.

nullo modo gustare possum, nisi prius veram de peccato avaritiae poenitentiam egerit.' Quod verbum cito in turba divulgatum audiens, accurrit Columbus filius Aidi conscius, et coram Sancto flexis genibus poenitentiam agit, et de cetero avaritiae abrenunciaturum se promittit, et largitatem cum morum emendatione consecuturum. Et, iussus a Sancto surgere, ex illa hora est sanatus de vitio tenacitatis. Erat enim vir sapiens, sicuti Sancto in eius revelatum erat xenio. Ille vero dives largus, Brendenus nomine, de cuius xenio paulo superius¹ dictum est, audiens et ipse Sancti verba de se dicta, ingeniculans ad pedes Sancti, precatur ut pro eo ad Dominum Sanctus fundat precem: qui, ab eo primum pro quibusdam suis obiurgatus peccatis, poenitentiam gerens, de cetero se emendaturum promisit; et sic uterque de propriis emendatus et sanatus est vitiis.

Simili scientia Sanctus et alio tempore xenium alicuius tenacis viri, inter multa cognovit xenia, Diormiti nomine, ad Cellam Magnam Deathrib² in eius adventu collecta.

Haec de beati viri prophetica gratia, quasi de plurimis pauca, in huius libelli textu primi^a caraxasse sufficiat. Pauca dixi, nam hoc de venerabili viro non est dubitandum quod valde numerosiora fuerint quae in notitiam hominum, sacramenta interius celata, venire nullo modo poterant, quam ea quae, quasi quaedam parva aliquando stilli-

cidia, veluti per quasdam rimulas alicuius pleni vasis ferventissimo novo distillabant vino³. Nam sancti et apostolici viri, vanam evitantes gloriam, plerumque in quantum possunt interna quaedam arcana, sibi intrinsecus

^a B. craxasse A. exarasse Colg. Boll.

¹ paulo superius] In this same chapter, second sentence.

² Cellam Magnam Deathrib] Hib. Cell-mor Dithribh, Kilmore in Roscommon, on the Shannon, founded by St. Columba before he left Ireland.

³ vino] This allusion to new wine bursting through the interstices of a cask is perhaps borrowed from some southern writer, or may be founded on what the writer knew of other fermenting liquors.

a Deo manifestata, celare festinant. Sed Deus nonnulla ex eis, velint nolint ipsi, divulgat, et in medium quoquo profert modo, videlicet glorificare volens glorificantes se Sanctos, hoc est, ipsum Dominum, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum.

Huic primo libro hic imponitur terminus; nunc sequens orditur liber de virtutum miraculis, quae plerumque etiam prophetalis praescientia comitatur.

CAPITULA¹ SECUNDI LIBRI INCIPIUNT,

DE VIRTUTUM MIRACULIS.

- DE vino quod de aqua factum est. (I.)
DE amarissimis alicuius arboris pomis, in dulcedinem per Sancti benedictionem versis. (II.)
DE terra, post medium aestatis tempus arata et seminata, mensis Augusti incipientis exordio maturam messem proferente. (III.)
DE morbifera nube, et languentium sanitate. (IV.)
DE Mauguina sancta virgine, et fractura coxae eius sanata. (V.)
DE multorum morbis fimbriae vestimenti eius tactu, in Dorso Cete, sanatis. (VI.)
DE petra salis à Sancto benedicta, quam ignis absumere non potuit. (VII.)
DE librariis foliis manu Sancti scriptis, quae aqua nullo modo corrumpi potuere. (VIII, IX.)
DE aqua, quae, Sancto orante, ex dura producta est petra. (X.)
DE aqua fontana, quam Sanctus ultra Britannicum benedixit Dorsum, et sanavit. (XI.)
DE Sancti periculo in mari, et de magna tempestate in tranquillitatem continuo, orante ipso, conversa. (XII.)
DE altero eius periculo, et de sancto Cainnecho pro ipso et sociis eius orante. (XIII.)
DE baculo in portu sancti Cainnechi neglecto. (XIV.)
DE Baitheneo et Columbano filio Beognoi, qui a Sancto

¹ *Capitula*] These are supplied from Cod. B, as Cod. A has none for the second and third books. It will be seen by the numbers appended that they do not quite

correspond with the order of the chapters, and that they are not expressed in the same words as are the titles.

secundum, eadem die, sed diversa via, ventum sibi dari postularunt. (xv.)

De daemonis repulsione qui in lactis vasculo latitabat. (xvi.)

De vasculo quod quidam maleficus, lacte de masculo bove expresso, diabolica replevit arte; sed, Sancto orante, ipsum quod videbatur lac, in sanguinem, hoc est, in naturam propriam, versum est. (xvii.)

De Lugneo Mocumin, quem Sanctus de profluvio sanguinis, qui crebro ex naribus eius profluebat, oratione et digitorum tactu sanavit. (xviii.)

De esoce magno in fluvio, iuxta verbum Sancti, invento. (xix.)

De duobus piscibus, illo prophetante, in flumine quod vocatur Boo repertis. (xix¹.)

De quodam plebeio qui Nesanus Curvus dicebatur. (xx².)

De quodam divite tenacissimo, nomine Uigeno. (xx².)

De Columbano aequae plebeio viro, cuius pecora admodum pauca vir sanctus benedixit; sed post illius benedictionem usque ad centenarium creverunt numerum. (xxi.)

De interitu Johannis filii Conallis, eadem die qua Sanctum spernens dehonora vit. (xxii.)

De alicuius Feradachi morte, fraudulentis viri, a Sancto praenunciata. (xxiii.)

De alio persecutore, cuius nomen latine Manus Dextera dicitur. (xxiv.)

De alio innocentium persecutore, qui in Laginensium provincia, sicut Annanias coram Petro, eodem momento, a Sancto terribiliter obiurgatus, cecidit mortuus. (xxv.)

De apri mortificatione, qui a Sancto eminus cecidit, signo prostratus Dominicae crucis. (xxvi.)

De alia aquatili bestia, quae, eo orante, et manum e contra levante, retro repulsa est ne Lugneo natanti vicino noceret. (xxvii.)

¹ This and the preceding title both belong to ch. xix.

² Both these titles belong to ch. xx.

- De insulae Iona¹ viperinis serpentibus, qui, ex qua die Sanctus eam benedixit, nulli hominum nec etiam pecoribus nocere potuere. (xxviii.)
- De hasta ab eo signata, quae deinceps nullo modo, quamlibet fortiter impulsa, alicui potuit nocere animanti. (xxix.)
- De Diormiti aegrotantis sanitate. (xxx.)
- De Fenteni filii Aido, in extremis positi, sanitate. (xxxi.)
- De puero quem mortuum, in nomine Domini Jesu Christi, in regione Pictorum, suscitavit. (xxxii.)
- De conflictu eius contra magum Broichanum, ob ancillae retentionem; et de lapide quem Sanctus benedixit, qui in aqua quasi pomum supernatavit. (xxxiii.)
- De beati viri contra Broichanum magum refragatione, et venti contrarietate. (xxxiv.)
- De spontanea regiae munitionis portae subita apertione. (xxxv.)
- De ecclesiae Duorum Agri Rivorum simili reclusionem. (xxxvi.)
- De alio paupere, plebeio mendico, cui Sanctus, sudem faciens benedixit, ad ferarum iugulationem silvestrium. (xxxvii.)
- De utre lactario, quem unda maris abduxit, et reduxit ad terram. (xxxviii.)
- De Librano Harundineti sancti prophetatio viri. (xxxix.)
- De quadam muliercula, magnas et valde difficiliore parturitionis tortiones passa, et sanata. (xl.)
- De coniuge Lugnei odiosi gubernatoris. (xli.)
- De Cormaco Nepote Lethani, et eius navigationibus, sancti Columbae prophetatio. (xlii.)
- De venerabilis viri in curru evectione, absque curtilium obicum communitio. (xliii.)
- De pluvia post aliquot siccitatis menses, beati ob honorem viri, super sitientem, Domino donante, terram effusa. (xliv.)

¹ The late MS. B (see p. 66 n.) always reads Iona, as here.

Miraculum quod nunc, Deo propitio, describere incipimus,
 nostris temporibus factum, propriis inspeximus oculis :
 De ventorum flatibus contrariis, venerabilis viri virtute
 orationum, in secundos conversis ventos. (XLV.)
 De mortalitate. (XLVI.)

EXPLICIUNT ¹ CAPITULA SECUNDI LIBRI.

¹ *Expliciunt*] A barbarous plural of *Explicit*, which is really an abbreviation for *Explicitus*, 'formed, no doubt, as a pendant to *Incipit*.' A MS. Glossary, quoted by Duncange, says, 'Explicit, il est finis, Expliciunt, Eux sont finis, et se

decline Explicit, Expliciunt, et non plus.' But *Explicui*, *Expliciat*, and *Explicuit* also occur. See Duncange, s.v., Maunde Thompson, *Palaeography*, 1893, p. 59, and Madan, *MS. Books*, 1893, pp. 9, 46, 137.

^a LIBER SECUNDUS

DE VIRTUTUM MIRACULIS

CAP. I.

DE VINO QUOD DE AQUA FACTUM EST.

ALIO in tempore, cum vir venerandus in Scotia apud
Cumman, sanctum Findbarrum episcopum, adhuc iuvenis,
IV. sapientiam sacrae Scripturae addiscens¹, com-
Turning of maneret, *quadam solenni die vinum ad sacrificale*
water into *mysterium casu aliquo minime inveniebatur: de*
wine. *cuius defectu cum ministros altaris inter se conquere-*
rentes audiret, ad fontem sumpto pergit urceo, ut ad sacrae
Eucharistiae ministeria aquam², quasi diaconus, fontanam

^a *titulus deest* A. incipit secundus liber de virtutum miraculis quae plenissime plerumque etiam praescientia prophetalis comitatur B. incipit liber secundus de virtutum miraculis C. F. S. sancti columbe *add.* D.

¹ *addiscens*] If the Findbarrus of the text be St. Finnian of Moville, which seems probable, it is to this period that the legend of the 'son-book' (Intr. vi. § 6) relates. In the life of St. Fintan is a story of this same St. Finnian refusing to lend him a copy of the Gospels (Colg. *Acta SS.* pp. 11 a, 643 b). But St. Finnian of Clonard was also a famous teacher of scripture, and this chapter may relate to St. Columba's sojourn with him, though the word *iuvenis*, used below, points rather to the

earlier period, and the ancient Irish Life connects the turning of water into wine with St. Finnian of Moville. Dr. Reeves, in his note here, has collected a number of references to legends of water turned into wine, honey, milk, beer, etc.

² *aquam*] Note that the early Irish Church, in common with the rest of Christendom, used the mixed chalice, on which see Martène, *Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. iii. 7; Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* XV. ii. 7. It is three times mentioned in Justin

hauriret: ipse quippe illis in diebus erat in diaconatus gradu administrans. Vir itaque beatus aquaticum, quod de latice hausit, elementum¹, invocato nomine Domini Iesu Christi, fideliter benedixit, qui in Cana Galileae aquam in vinum convertit: quo etiam in hoc operante miraculo, inferior, hoc est aquatica natura, in gratiorem, videlicet vinalem, per manus praedicabilis viri conversa est speciem². Vir itaque sanctus, a fonte reversus, et ecclesiam intrans, talem iuxta altare urceum intra se habentem deponit liquorem; et ad ministros, 'Habetis,' ait, 'vinum, quod Dominus Iesus ad sua misit peragenda mysteria.' Quo cognito, sanctus cum ministris episcopus eximias Deo referunt grates. Sanctus vero iuvenis hoc non sibimet, sed sancto Vinniano adscribebat episcopo. Hoc itaque protum³ virtutis documentum Christus Dominus per suum declaravit discipulum, quod in eadem re, initium ponens signorum in Cana Galileae, operatus est per semetipsum.

Huius, inquam, libelli, quasi quaedam lucerna, illustret exordium, quod per nostrum Columbam diale⁴ manifestatum est miraculum; ut deinceps transeamus ad cetera, quae per ipsum ostensa sunt, virtutum miracula.

Martyr's account of the Eucharist, and alluded to in the Clementine Liturgy as well as by Irenaeus, evidently as the only usage known. It was in fact universal for the first 1,500 years after Christ, except in Armenia.

¹ *elementum*] In ancient and mediaeval philosophy the elements were believed to be, earth, water, air, and fire, and this appears to be the meaning here. The now common Eucharistic employment of the word seems

to have arisen out of the late Latin application of it to food and drink.

² *speciem*] Note here an early application of this term to one of the Eucharistic elements.

³ *protum*] Gr. πρῶτον. *Protum* is the reading of MS. F. MS. A., Colgan, and the Bollandists have *pro tum*; C. has *primum*, and D. *promptum*. *Protum* is doubtless the right reading, and would be suggested by St. John ii. 11.

⁴ *diale*] See p. 14 n.

CAP. II.

DE ALICUIUS ARBORIS FRUCTU AMARO PER SANCTI BENEDICTI-
TIONEM IN DULCEDINEM VERSO.

QUAEDAM arbor erat valde pomosa prope monasterium
Roboris Campi, in australi eius parte; de qua
Changing bitter apples to sweet. cum incolae loci quoddam haberent pro nimia
fructus amaritudine querimonium, quadam die
Sanctus ad eam accessit autumnali tempore,
vidensque lignum incassum abundos habere fructus qui ex
eis gustantes plus laederent quam delectarent; sancta elevata
manu, benedicens ait, 'In nomine omnipotentis Dei omnis
tua amaritudo, O arbor amara, a te recedat; tuaque huc
usque amarissima nunc in dulcissima vertantur poma.'
Mirum dictu, dicto citius, eodemque momento, eiusdeni
arboris omnia poma, amissa amaritudine, in miram, se-
cundum verbum Sancti, versa sunt dulcedinem¹.

CAP. III.

DE SEGETE POST MEDIUM AESTATIS TEMPUS SEMINATA, ET IN
EXORDIO AUGUSTI MENSIS, SANCTO ORANTE, MESSA, IN IOUA
CONVERSANTE INSULA.

ALIO in tempore Sanctus suos misit monachos ut de ali-
cuius plebeii agellulo virgarum fasciculos² ad
Procuring rapid growth of corn. hospitium afferrent construendum. Qui cum ad
Sanctum, oneraria repleta navi³ de supradictis
virgularum materiis, reversi venirent, dicerentque

¹ *dulcedinem*] A similar story is told of St. Mochoemoc. Colg. Acta SS. p. 593 b.

² *virgarum fasciculos*] Faggots for wattled buildings. Reeves in his note here gives a number of quotations illustrating this way of construction, to which may be added the notice of the Wand Kirk or Church of boughs at Durham in Symeon (*Hist. Eccl.*

Dunelm. III. i.), 'factaque citissime de virgis aecclesiola.' Cp. Spelman, *Concilia*, i. 11. Kilelief in co. Down, Kilelay near Clogher, and Kileleagh in Westmeath took their names from *Cill-Cleithe*, the hurdle church. Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 217; Joyce, i. 313.

³ *navi*] According to the ancient Irish Life this wattling was wanted for a church in Derry.

plebeium eiusdem causa dispendii valde contristatum; Sanctus consequenter praeicipiens dicit, 'Ne ergo illum scandalizemus virum, ad ipsum a nobis bis terni deferantur hordei modii', eosdemque his in diebus arata ipse seminet in terra.' Quibus ad plebeium, F'indchanum nomine, iuxta Sancti iussionem, missis, et coram eo cum tali commendatione adsignatis, gratanter accipiens, ait, 'Quomodo post medium aestum tempus seges seminata, contra huius naturam terrae, proficiet?' Marita e contra, 'Fac,' ait, 'secundum Sancti mandatum, cui Dominus donabit quodcumque ab eo postulaverit.' Sed et qui missi sunt simul hoc addiderunt, dicendo, 'Sanctus Columba, qui nos ad te cum hoc misit munere, hoc mandatum per nos de tua commendavit segete, dicens,—Homo ille in omnipotentia Dei confidat: seges eius, quamvis de mense Iunio duodecim praemissis diebus seminata, in principiis Augusti mensis metetur².' Obsequitur plebeius arando et seminando; et messem, quam supradicto in tempore contra spem seminavit, cum omnium admiratione vicinorum in exordio Augusti mensis maturam, iuxta verbum Sancti, messuit, in loco terrae qui dicitur Deleros³.

CAP. IV.

DE MORBIFERA NUBE, ET PLURIMORUM SANITATE.

ALIO itidem in tempore, cum Sanctus in Ioua commoraretur insula, sedens in monticulo qui Latine Munitio Magna⁴ dicitur, videt ab aquilone nubem densam et pluvialem, de mari die serena obortam :

A pestilential cloud.

¹ *bis terni modii*] So 'sex modios' in i. 41, p. 53.

² *metetur*] In the Life of St. Fintan there is a much more wonderful story, according to which the corn grew up and ripened as soon as the first furrow was sown. (Colg. *Acta SS.* p. 116). Bede relates how St. Cuthbert's barley ripened in Farne though sown too late, and how successful

the saint was in remonstrating with the birds that came in flocks to feed thereon. *Vit. S. Cuthb.* xix.

³ *Deleros*] Not identified; *dealyros* = promontory of thorns.

⁴ *Munitio Magna*] Possibly Dunbhuirg, 'the hill of the fortification,' in the north-west of Iona, which shows some traces of fortification on the top. It is one of the highest hills in the island,

qua ascendente visa, Sanctus ad quendam de suis iuxta se monachum sedentem, nomine Silnanum, filium Nemani-don Mocusogin¹, 'Haec nubes,' ait, 'valde nocua hominibus et pecoribus erit; hacque die velocius transvolans super aliquantam Scotiae partem, hoc est, ab illo rivulo qui dicitur Ailbine² usque ad Vadum Clied³, pluviam vespere distillabit

Small-pox and cow-pox? morbiferam, quae gravia et purulenta humanis in corporibus, et in pecorum uberibus, nasci faciet ulcera⁴; quibus homines morbidum et pecudes, illa

venenosa gravitudine usque ad mortem molestati, laborabunt. Sed nos eorum miserati subvenire languoribus, Domino miserante, debemus. Tu ergo, Silnane, nunc mecum descendens de monte, navigationem praepara crastina die, vita comite et Deo volente, a me pane accepto, Dei invocato

Blessed bread in water. nomine benedicto, quo in aqua intincto, homines ea conspersi⁵, et pecora, celerem recuperabunt salutem.' Quid moramur? Die crastina, his

quae necessaria erant citius praeparatis, Silnanus, accepto de manu Sancti pane benedicto⁶, in pace enavigavit. Cui Sanctus, a se eadem emigranti hora, addit hoc consolatorium verbum, dicens, 'Confide, fili, ventos habebis secundos et prosperos die noctuque, usque dum ad illam pervenias

but we need not attach much importance to the word *monticulus*, when used by Adamnan.

¹ *Nemanus-don Mocusogin*] *Neman-don Mocusogin*; the latter is a clan name, probably = *mocu Soghain*, filiorum Soghani.

² *Ailbine*] The small river Delvin, which runs between the counties of Dublin and Meath.

³ *Vadum Clied*] *Ath Cliath*, 'Hurdle Ford,' the ancient name of Dublin. Irish-speaking natives still call it *Baile-Atha-Cliath*, the town of the ford of the hurdles. The later name is from *Duibh-linn*, black pool, not a bad description of the Liffey at the present time. On the Irish kishes or wickerwork bridges see Joyce, i. 361-4.

⁴ *ulcera*] This looks like an epidemic of small-pox and of cow-pox. It is not noticed in the Irish Annals.

⁵ *conspersi*] See the two following chapters, and ch. 33, as also Bede's account of the virtues supposed to reside in water containing particles of Irish MSS. and of St. Oswald's cross (*H. E.* i. 1, iii. 2); many similar accounts may be seen in Bede and elsewhere.

⁶ *pane benedicto*] Bede relates how one Hildmer was cured by drinking water in which had been put a little piece of a loaf that had been blessed by St. Cuthbert. *Vit. S. C.* xxxi. The *Eulogia* or holy-bread may be meant.

regionem quae dicitur Ard Ceannachte¹, ut languentibus ibidem celerius cum salubri subvenias pane.' Quid plura? Silnanus, verbo obsecutus Sancti, prospera et celeri navigatione, auxiliante Domino, ad supra memoratam perveniens partem illius regionis, plebem de qua Sanctus praedixerat devastatam nubis praedictae morbifera reperiit pluvia superpluente, citius praecurrentis. Inprimisque bis Miracles of healing. terni viri in eadem mari vicina domo reperti in extremis morte positi appropinquante, ab eodem Silnano aqua benedictionis aspersi, in eodem die opportunius sanati sunt. Cuius subitae sanationis rumor, per totam illam morbo pestilentiore vastatam regionem cito divulgatus, omnem morbidum ad sancti Columbae legatum invitavit populum; qui, iuxta Sancti mandatum, homines et pecora pane intincta benedicto aqua conspersit, et continuo plenam recuperantes salutem, homines, cum pecudibus salvati, Christum in sancto Columba cum eximia gratiarum actione laudarunt. In hac itaque suprascripta narratione, ut aestimo, duo haec manifeste pariter comitantur; hoc est, gratia prophetationis de nube, et virtutis miraculum in aegrotantium sanitate. Haec per omnia esse verissima, supradictus Silnanus, Christi miles, sancti legatus Columbae, coram Segineo abbate et ceteris testatus est senioribus.

CAP. V.

DE MAUGINA SANCTA VIRGINE DAIMENI FILIA, QUAE INHABITAVERAT IN CLOCHÚR FILIORUM DAIMENI.

ALIO in tempore Sanctus, cum in Ioua demoraretur insula, prima diei hora, quendam advocans fratrem, Lugaidum nomine, cuius cognomentum Scotice A broken hip-bone cured by holy water. Lathir dicitur; et taliter eum compellat, dicens, 'Praepara cito ad Scotiam celerem navigationem, nam mihi valde est necesse te usque ad Clocherum filiorum

¹ *Ard Ceannachte*] In Meath; the height of the Cianachta or posterity of Cian, who was slain c. 240.

Daimeni¹ destinare legatum. In hac enim praeterita nocte, casu aliquo, ^a Maugina², sancta virgo, filia Daimeni, ab oratorio post missam³ domum reversa, titubavit, coxaeque eius in duas confracta est partes⁴. Haec saepius meum, inclamitans, nomen commemorat, a Domino sperans se accepturam per me consolationem. Quid plura? Lugaido obsecundanti, et consequenter emigranti, Sanctus pineam tradit cum benedictione capsellam, dicens, 'Benedictio⁵, quae in hac capsellula continetur, quando ad Mauginam pervenies visitandam, in aquae vasculum intingatur, eademque benedictionis aqua super eius infundatur coxam; et statim, invocato Dei nomine, coxale coniungetur os⁶, et densabitur; et sancta virgo plenam recuperabit salutem.' Et hoc Sanctus addit, 'En ego coram in huius capsae operculo numerum viginti trium annorum describo, quibus sacra virgo in hac praesenti, post eandem salutem, victura est vita.' Quae omnia sic plene expleta sunt, sicuti a Sancto praedicta: nam, statim ut Lugaidus ad sanctam pervenit virginem, aqua benedicta, sicut Sanctus commendavit, perfusa coxa, sine ulla morula condensato⁷ osse, plene sanata est; et in adventu legati sancti Columbae cum ingenti gratiarum actione gavisa, viginti tribus annis, secundum Sancti prophetiam, post sanitatem, in bonis actibus permanens, vixit.

^a Mauguina B. Cf. p. 66.

¹ *Clocherum filiorum Daimeni*] Clochar mac u Daimhene, Clogher, where St. Maccarthen founded a monastery in St. Patrick's time, which afterwards became a bishop's see. The clan Damhin were sons of Damhin son of Cairbre Damhairgid, king of Airghialla, whence *episcopus Ergalliae* became a common designation of the bishops of Clogher. Clochar, 'stony place,' is so common a name as to require some distinctive addition.

² *Maugina*] Moghain, probably of Cluainboirenn, *Mart. Donegal*, Dec. 15.

³ *post missam*] The 'vespertinalis missa'; see iii. 23 and note.

⁴ *partes*] Maugina appears to have sustained a fracture of the neck of the thigh-bone, which is often caused by a false step, e. g. from a kerb-stone, in the case of aged persons. Such patients not uncommonly regain a fair use of the limb.

⁵ *Benedictio*] (1) blessing, as in ii. 39 *bis*. (2) the vehicle of blessing, ii. 5, 6, 33, so *Eulogia*, p. 77 n. For the second sense compare Heb. בְּרָכָה, a present, Gen. xxxiii. 11, 1 Sam. xxv. 27, etc.

⁶ *coniungetur os*] For a broken arm cured by moss from St. Oswald's cross, see Bede, *H. E.* iii. 2.

⁷ *condensato*] United.

CAP. VI.

DE HIS QUAE IN DORSO CEATE PERACTAE SUNT DIVERSORUM
SANITATIBUS MORBORUM.

VIR vitae praedicabilis, sicuti nobis ab expertis traditum est, diversorum languores infirmorum, invocato Christi nomine, illis in diebus sanavit, quibus, ad regum pergens condictum in Dorso Cette, brevi commoratus est tempore. Nam aut sanctae manus protensione, aut aqua ab eo benedicta, aegroti plures aspersi, aut etiam fimbriae eius tactu amphibali, aut alicuius rei, salis videlicet vel panis, benedictione accepta, et lymphis intincta, plenam credentes recuperarunt salutem.

Cures at
Druim-
ceatt.

CAP. VII.

DE PETRA SALIS A SANCTO BENEDICTA, QUAM IGNIS ABSUMERE
NON POTUIT.

ALIO itidem in tempore, Colgu filius Cellachi postulatam a Sancto petram salis¹ benedictam accipit, sorori et suae nutrici profuturam, quae ophthalmiae laborabat valde gravi languore. Talem eulogiam² eadem soror et nutricia de manu fratris accipiens, in pariete super lectum suspendit; casuque post aliquantos contigit dies, ut idem viculus, cum supradictae domuncula feminae, flamma vastante, totus concremaretur. Mirum dictu, illius parietis particula, ne beati viri in ea deperiret suspensa benedictio, post totam ambustam domum, stans illaesa permansit; nec ignis ausus est attingere binales, in quibus talis pendebat salis petra, sudes³.

Preserva-
tion of a
lump of
salt.

¹ *petram salis*] A lump of rock salt.

² *eulogiam*] Synonymous with *benedictio* just below. *Eulogia*, id est, salutationem vel donum, Gloss. interl. Cod. D. *Edulia* sacerdotis benedictione consecrata. Index Onomast. in *Act. SS.*

Iul. tom. i. Usually bread hallowed by prayer, from which the bread for the Eucharist was taken, but in later times different bread, also hallowed, the 'holy-bread.' See notes on ii. 4, 5.

³ *sudes*] Probably the stakes that supported the hurdle wall. If

CAP. VIII.

DE LIBRARIO FOLIO¹ SANCTI MANU DESCRIPTO, QUOD AQUA
CORRUMPI NON POTUIT.

ALIUD miraculum aestimo non tacendum, quod aliquando
factum est per contrarium elementum. Multo-
rum namque transcursis annorum circulis post
beati ad Dominum transitum viri, quidam iuvenis
de equo lapsus in flumine, quod Scotice Boend²
vocitatur, mersus et mortuus, viginti sub aqua
diebus permansit; qui, sicuti sub ascella³, cadens, libros in
pelliceo reconditos sacco⁴ habebat, ita etiam post supra
memoratum dierum numerum est repertus, sacculum cum
libris inter brachium et latus continens; cuius etiam ad
aridam reportato cadavere, et aperto sacco, folium sancti
Columbae sanctis scriptum digitulis, inter aliorum folia
librorum non tantum corrupta sed et putrefacta, inventum
est siccum et nullo modo corruptum, ac si in scriniolo esset
reconditum.

Preserva-
tion of
a leaf
written
by St.
Columba.

CAP. IX.

DE ALIO MIRACULO IN RE SIMILI GESTO.

ALIO in tempore, hymnorum liber septimaniorum⁵ sancti
Columbae manu descriptus, de cuiusdam pueri
de ponte elapsi humeris, cum pelliceo in quo
inerat sacco, in quodam partis Laginorum

Also of a
hymn-
book.

they were made damp by the deliquescence of the salt, it would not require a miracle to prevent their taking fire.

¹ *librario folio*] A book leaf.

² *Boend*] Boinne, the Boyne, which forms most of the southern limit of Ulster.

³ *sub ascella*] The satchel was slung in the usual way under his *axilla*, as represented on the Great Cross at Clonmacnoise.

⁴ *pelliceo sacco*] In a *tiaga*; each

separate book would be in a *po-laire*. Intr. iv. § 13.

⁵ *hymnorum liber*] The *Antiphonarium Benchorense*, A. D. 680-691, contains not only Antiphons, etc., but six well-known canticles, and twelve metrical hymns, one of which (*Sancti, venite*) has become familiar through Dr. Neale's translation, 'Draw nigh, and take,' in Hymns A. and M., No. 313. The *Liber Hymnorum* in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, a MS. of

fluvio submersus cecidit. Qui videlicet libellus, a Natalitio Domini usque ad Paschaliū consummationem dierum in aquis permanens, postea in ripa fluminis a feminis quibusdam ibidem deambulantibus repertus, ad quendam Iogenanum presbyterum, gente Pictum, cuius prius iuris erat, in eodem, non solum madefacto, sed etiam putrefacto, portatur sacco. Quem scilicet sacculum idem Iogenanus aperiens, suum incorruptum libellum invenit, et ita nitidum et siccum, ac si in scrinio tanto permansisset tempore, et nunquam in aquas cecidisset. Sed et alia de libris manu sancti Columbae caraxatis similia ab expertis indubitanter didicimus in diversis acta locis: qui scilicet libri, in aquis mersi, nullo modo corrumpi potuerunt¹. De supra memorato vero Iogenani libro a viris quibusdam veracibus et perfectis bonique testimonii, sine ulla ambiguitate, relationem accepimus; qui eundem libellum, post tot supradictos submersionis dies, candidissimum et lucidissimum considerarunt.

Haec duo, quamlibet in rebus parvis peracta, et per contraria ostensa elementa, ignem scilicet et aquam, beati tes-

the eleventh or twelfth century, contains a number of Latin and Irish hymns not found elsewhere. The late Dr. Todd began to edit it with a translation and notes, and fasciuli were issued in 1855 and 1869 by the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, containing about half of the work, but the editor's death prevented its completion, and it remains unfinished.

¹ *nullo modo corrumpi potuerunt*] There are many legends of books written by or belonging to Saints resisting the action of water and even of fire. See Reeves's note here. They are probably founded on actual facts. Symeon relates how the precious volume now known as the *Lindisfarne Gospels* fell overboard in a storm and was picked up on the shore at low water uninjured, which circumstance he ascribes to the

merits of St. Cuthbert and of those who wrote it and adorned the covers with gold and gems. (*Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.*, lib. II. cap. xvii.) The book is now in the British Museum (Cotton Nero, D. 4), and shows stains on the vellum such as Sir F. Madden believed to have been occasioned by the sea-water on this occasion. If it was tightly clasped it would take some time for the water to get far in, for the swelling of the vellum of the wet margins held closely together would stop it. It appears in the Lindisfarne Inventories as 'Liber Beati Cuthberti qui demersus erat in mare.' Cp. Mac Geoghegan's MS. quoted in the Book of Trinity Coll. Dublin, p. 160, as to the superstitious practice of purposely sinking these books in water to cure sick cattle, also, as to St. Margaret's Gospel-book, Madan, *Books in MS.*, 107 ff.

tantur honorem viri, et quanti et qualis meriti apud habeatur Dominum.

CAP. X.

DE AQUA QUAE, SANCTO ORANTE, EX DURA PRODUCTA EST
PETRA.

ET quia paulo superius aquatici facta est mentio elementi, silere non debemus etiam alia miracula, quae per
Water brought from a rock.
 Sanctum Dominus eiusdem in re, licet diversis temporibus et locis, creaturae¹ peregit. Alio namque in tempore, cum Sanctus in sua conversaretur peregrinatione, infans ei per parentes ad baptizandum offertur iter agenti; et quia in vicinis aqua non inveniebatur locis, Sanctus, ad proximam declinans rupem, flexis genibus paulisper oravit, et post orationem surgens, eiusdem rupis frontem benedixit; de qua consequenter aqua abundanter ebulliens fluxit; in qua continuo infantem baptizavit. De quo etiam baptizato haec, vaticinans, intulit
A prophecy.
 verba, inquit, 'Hic puerulus usque in extremam longaevus vivet aetatem; in annis iuvenilibus carnalibus desideriis satis serviturus, et deinceps Christianae usque in exitum militiae mancipandus, in bona senectute ad Dominum emigrabit.' Quae omnia eidem viro iuxta Sancti contigerunt vaticinium. Hic erat Lugucencalad², cuius parentes fuerant in Artdaib Muirchol, ubi hodieque fonticulus, sancti nomine Columbae pollens³, cernitur.

CAP. XI.

DE ALIA MALIGNA FONTANA AQUA QUAM VIR BEATUS IN
PICTORUM REGIONE BENEDIXIT.

ALIO in tempore, vir beatus, cum in Pictorum provincia per aliquot demoraretur dies, audiens in plebe gentili de alio fonte

¹ *eiusdem in re . . . creaturae*] In the circumstance or case of the same 'creature' (used as in the Consecration Prayer in the Prayer Book and 1 Tim. iv. 4).

² *Lugucencalad*] Probably a diminutive of *Lugu*, a proper name, with *caladh*, 'of the ferry.'

³ *pollens*] Potent, as a healing spring.

divulgari famam, quem quasi deum¹ stolidi homines, diabolo eorum obcaecante sensus, venerabantur; nam de eodem fonticulo bibentes, aut in eo manus vel pedes de industria lavantes, daemoniaca, Deo permittente, percussi arte, aut leprosi, aut lusci, aut etiam debiles, aut quibuscunque aliis infestati infirmitatibus revertebantur. Ob quae omnia seducti gentiles divinum fonti deferebant honorem. Quibus compertis, Sanctus alia die intrepidus accessit ad fontem. Quod videntes magi, quos saepe ipse confusos et victos a se repellebat, valde gavisus sunt, scilicet putantes eum similia illius nocuae tactu aquae passurum. Ille vero imprimis elevata manu sancta, cum invocatione Christi nominis, manus lavat et pedes; tum deinde cum sociis de eadem, a se benedicta, bibit. Ex illaque die daemones ab eodem recesserunt fonte, et non solum nulli nocere permissus est, sed etiam, post Sancti benedictionem et in eo lavationem, multae in populo infirmitates per eundem sanatae sunt fontem.

A baneful
spring
blessed and
healed.

CAP. XII.

DE BEATI VIRI IN MARI PERICULO, ET TEMPESTATIS EO ORANTE
SUBITA SEDATIONE.

ALIO in tempore, vir sanctus in mari periclitari coepit; totum namque vas navis, valde concussum, magnis undarum cumulis fortiter feriebatur, grandi undique insistente ventorum tempestate.

A storm
ceases at
his prayer.

¹ *quasi deum*] Tirechán relates of St. Patrick that 'Venit ad fontem Findmaige qui dicitur Slan, quia indicatum illi quod honorabant magi fontem, et immolaverunt dona ad illum in modum dii, . . . quia adorabant fontem in modum dii' (Stokes, *Trip.* 323). No doubt the Christian veneration for holy wells has been in some measure a continuation of a very natural pre-Christian feeling of the value

of wells, which feeling too often became idolatrous or otherwise superstitious. Cp. *Yorkshire Arch. Journal*, ix. 186. Here however we have a rare instance of a well regarded even by Adamnan as malign in its influences, and worshipped by the heathen from a sense of fear, until St. Columba obtained the healing of the waters.

Nautae tum forte Sancto, sentinam¹ cum illis exhaurire conanti, aiunt, 'Quod nunc agis non magnopere nobis proficit periclitantibus; exorare potius debes pro pereuntibus.' Quo audito, aquam cessat amaram exinanire, hininglas²; dulcem vero et intentam precem coepit ad Dominum fundere³. Mirum dictu, eodem horae momento, quo Sanctus, in prora stans, extensis ad caelum palmis, Omnipotentem exoravit, tota aeris tempestas et maris saevitia, dicto citius sedata, cessavit, et statim serenissima tranquillitas subsecuta est. Qui vero navi inerant, obstupefacti, cum magna admiratione referentes gratias, glorificaverunt Dominum in sancto et praedicabili viro.

CAP. XIII.

DE ALIO EIUS IN MARI SIMILI PERICULO.

ALIO quoque in tempore, saeva nimis insistente et periculosa tempestate, sociis ut pro eis Sanctus Dominum exoraret inclamitantibus; hoc eis dedit responsum, dicens, 'Hac in die non est meum pro vobis in hoc periculo constitutis orare, sed est abbatis Cainnich, sancti viri.'

Mira dicturus sum. Eadem hora sanctus Cainnichus, in suo conversans monasterio, quod Latine Campulus Bovis dicitur, Scotice vero Ached-bou⁴, Spiritu revelante Sancto, supradictam sancti Columbae interiore cordis aure vocem audierat; et cum forte post nonam coepisset horam in refectorio^a eulogiam⁵ frangere, ocius deserit mensulam,

^a eulogiam sic cap. vii. supra (littera Y ex graeca Y efficta) A.

¹ *sentinam*] *Sentina* is properly the sink in the hold of a ship in which the water collects; the only marginal gloss in Cod. A. is on this word: '*sentina est feruida aqua nauis.*' Reeves, 453; Pl. ii. 6.

² *hininglas*] In old Irish, = 'the green water,' i. e. the sea, from *in*, the, *an*, water, and *glas*, greyish or bluish green. Either a gloss crept into the text, or an original parenthetical explanation of the

unusual form 'aquam amaram,' contrasted with 'dulcem precem.'

³ *aquam cessat . . . fundere*] Note the antithesis.

⁴ *Ached-bou*] Campulus Bovis, Aghaboe, dio. Ossory.

⁵ *eulogiam*] Here the holy-bread or *pain-béni*, still distributed in many French churches, as formerly in those of England. The Irish practice seems to have been to take it in the refectory, and that

unoque in pede inhaerente calceo, et altero pro nimia festinatione relicto, festinanter perguit hac cum voce ad ecclesiam, 'Non est nobis nunc temporis prandere quando in mari periclitatur navis sancti Columbae. Hoc enim momento, ipse huius nomen Cainnichi ingeminans commemorat, ut pro eo et sociis periclitantibus Christum exoret.' Post haec illius verba oratorium ingressus, flexis genibus paulisper oravit; eiusque orationem exaudiente Domino, illico tempestas cessavit, et mare valde tranquillum factum est. Tum deinde sanctus Columba, Cainnichi ad ecclesiam properationem in spiritu videns, quamlibet longe conversantis, mirabiliter hoc de puro pectore profert verbum, dicens, 'Nunc cognovi, O Cainniche, quod Deus tuam exaudierit precem; nunc valde nobis proficit tuus ad ecclesiam velox cum uno calceamento¹ cursus.' In hoc itaque tali miraculo amborum, ut credimus, oratio cooperata est Sanctorum.

St. Columba
sees it at a
distance.

CAP. XIV.

DE BACULO, IN PORTU, SANCTI CAINNICHII NEGLECTO.

ALIO in tempore, idem supra memoratus Cainnicus suum, a portu Iouae insulae ad Scotiam navigare incipiens, baculum secum portare oblitus est; qui scilicet eius baculus, post ipsius egressum in litore repertus, sancti in manum traditus est Columbae; quemque, domum reversus, in oratorium portat, et ibidem solus in oratione diutius demoratur. Cainnicus proinde ad Oidecham² appropinquans insulam, subito de sua oblivione compunctus, interius percussus est. Sed post modicum intervallum, de navi descendens, et in terra cum

The staff
of St.
Cainnech
projected
over the
sea.

the same practice existed at Iona has been inferred from the preface to the *Altus* of St. Columba in *Lib. Hymnor.* ii. 220. See Skene, *C. S.* ii. 99. The later copyists have adapted Codd. C. D. to later usage by substituting *oratorio* for *refectorio*.

story is told, including this graphic detail, in the *Life of St. Cainnech*, p. 31, ed. Ormonde.

² *Oidecham*] Called *terrula Aithche* in this same chapter; somewhere between Iona and Ireland, possibly the south of Islay, formerly named Owo, now 'The Ooa.'

¹ *cum uno calceamento*] The same

oratione genua flectens, baculum, quem in portu Iouae insulae oblitus post se reliquit, super cespitem terrulae Aithche ante se invenit¹. De cuius etiam effecta divinitus evectione valde est miratus cum gratiarum in Deo actione.

CAP. XV.

DE BAITHENE0 ET COLUMBANO FILIO BEOGNI, SANCTIS PRESBYTERIS, EADEM SIBI DIE VENTUM PROSPERUM A DOMINO PER BEATI VIRI ORATIONEM DONARI POSTULANTIBUS, SED DIVERSA NAVIGANTIBUS VIA.

ALIO quoque in tempore, superius memorati sancti viri
 The wind ad Sanctum venientes, ab eo simul unanimes
 changed at postulant ut ipse a Domino postulans impe-
 the prayer traret prosperum crastina die ventum sibi dari
 of St. traret prosperum crastina die ventum sibi dari
 Columba. diversa emigraturis via. Quibus Sanctus re-
 spondens, hoc dedit responsum, 'Mane crastina die, Baithe-
 neus, a portu Iouae² enavigans insulae, flatum habebit
 secundum usquequo ad portum perveniat Campi Lunge.'
 Quod ita, iuxta Sancti verbum, Dominus donavit: nam
 Baitheus plenis eadem die velis magnum totumque
 pelagus usque ad Ethicam transmeavit terram. Hora
 vero eiusdem diei tertia, vir venerandus Columbanum
 advocat presbyterum dicens, 'Nunc Baitheus prospere
 optatum pervenit ad portum: ad navigandum te hodie
 praepara; mox Dominus ventum convertet in aquilonem.'
 Cui sic prolato beati viri verbo eadem hora auster obsecun-
 dans ventus se in aquiloneum convertit flatum; et ita in
 eadem die uterque vir sanctus, alter ab altero in pace aversus,
 Baitheus mane ad Ethicam terram, Columbanus post
 meridiem Hiberniam incipiens appetere, plenis enavigavit
 velis et flatibus secundis. Hoc illustris viri virtute ora-

¹ *invenit*] This again is in a Life of St. Cainnech, in *Cod. Marshii*, cap. 25.

² *portu Iouae*] See p. 41 n. But Port-na-muintir, the port of the people (community) is perhaps

as likely to be the port so often mentioned in the text as either of those named in the above note. It is less commodious, but is nearer to the probable site of the original monastery.

tionum, Domino donante, effectum est miraculum; quia, sicut scriptum est, *Omnia possibilis sunt credenti*¹. Post illa in die sancti Columbanus egressum, sanctus hoc de illo propheticum Columba protulit verbum, 'Vir sanctus Columbanus, cui emigranti benediximus, nusquam in hoc saeculo faciem videbit meam.' Quod ita post expletum est, nam eodem anno² sanctus Columba ad Dominum transiit.

CAP. XVI.

DE REPULSIONE DAEMONIS QUI IN LACTARIO LATITABAT VASCULO.

ALIO in tempore, quidam iuvenis, Columbanus nomine, Nepos Briuni, ad ianuam tugurioli subito perveniens restitit, in quo vir beatus scribebat. Hic idem, post vaccarum reversus mulsiorem, in dorso portans vasculum novo plenum lacte, dicit ad Sanctum, ut iuxta morem tale benediceret onus. Sanctus tum ex adverso eminus in aere signum salutare³ manu elevata depinxit, quod illico valde concussum est, gergennaque⁴ operculi, per sua bina foramina retrusa, longius proiecta est, operculum terra tenus cecidit, lac ex maiore mensura in solum defusum est. Iuvenculus vas, cum parvo quod remanserat lactis, super fundum in terra deponit, genua suppliciter flectit. Ad quem Sanctus, 'Surge,' ait, 'Columbane, hodie in tua operatione negligenter egisti, daemonem⁵ enim in fundo vacui latitantem vasculi, impresso Dominicae crucis signo, ante infusionem lactis, non effugasti: cuius videlicet signi nunc virtutem non sustinens, tremefactus,

A demon driven out of a milk-pail.

¹ *credenti*] St. Mark ix. 22, Vulg.

² *eodem anno*] A.D. 595.

³ *signum salutare*] The sign of the cross; see chs. 27, 29, 35. St. Patrick is said to have signed himself a hundred times in a day, and to have alighted from his *currus* to pray whenever he saw a cross. Muirchu in Stokes, *Tripartite*, 293; *Anal. Boll.* i. 578.

⁴ *gergenna*] The wooden bar that fastened down the lid of a milk-

pail; Glossae Saxon. MSS. *sticca*, gergenna (Somner, ap. Ducange).

⁵ *daemonem*] 'An enumeration of all the superstitions regarding milk in its various stages, prevalent even in the present day among the peasantry of Scotland and the north of Ireland, would require more space than the limited nature of a note permits.' (Reeves, 1857, p. 126.)

toto pariter turbato vase, velociter cum lactis effusione aufugit. Huc ergo ad me proprius vasculum, ut illud benedicam, approxima.' Quo facto, Sanctus semivacuum quod benedixerat vas, eodem momento divinitus repletum repletum est; parvumque quod prius in fundo vasis remanserat, sub sanctae manus benedictione, usque ad summam citius excreverat.

CAP. XVII.

DE VASCULO QUOD QUIDAM MALEFICUS NOMINE SILNANUS LACTE DE MASCULO BOVE EXPRESSO REPLEVERAT.

Hoc in domo alicuius plebei divitis, qui in monte Cainle commorabatur, Foirtgirnini nomine, factum traditur. Ubi cum Sanctus hospitaretur, inter rusticanos contendentes duos, quorum prius adventum praescivit, recta iudicatione iudicavit: unusque ex eis, qui maleficus erat, a Sancto iussus, de bove masculino, qui prope erat, lac arte diabolica expressit¹: quod Sanctus, non ut illa confirmaret maleficia, fieri iussit, quod absit; sed ut ea coram multitudine destrueret. Vir itaque beatus vas, ut videbatur tali plenum lacte, sibi ocius dari poposcit; et hac cum sententia benedixit dicens, 'Modo probabitur non esse hoc verum, quod putatur, lac, sed daemonum fraude, ad decipiendos homines, decoloratus sanguis:' et continuo lacteus ille color in naturam versus est propriam, hoc est, in sanguinem. Bos quoque, qui per unius horae momentum, turpi macie tabidus et maceratus, erat morti proximus, benedicta a Sancto aqua superfusus, mira sub celeritate sanatus est.

CAP. XVIII.

DE LUGNEO MOCUMIN.

QUADAM die quidam bonae indolis iuvenis, Lugneus nomine, qui postea senex in monasterio Elenae insulae²

¹ lac . . . expressit] In the Life of St. Fechin (Colg. Acta SS. 131 a) is a story of how the saint when a boy, 'per columbinam simplici-

tatem inter taurum et vaccam discernere nesciens,' milked the former by mistake.

² Elenae insulae] 'Elena insula'

praepositus erat, ad Sanctum veniens, queritur de profluvio sanguinis, qui crebro per multos menses de naribus eius immoderate profluebat. Quo propius accito, Sanctus ambas ipsius nares binis manus dexteræ digitulis constringens benedixit. Ex qua hora benedictionis, nunquam sanguis de naso eius usque ad extremum distillavit diem.

Bleeding
at the
nose cured.

CAP. XIX.

DE ^a PISCIBUS BEATO VIRO SPECIALITER A DEO ^b PRAEPARATIS.

ALIO in tempore, cum praedicabilis viri sociales, strenui piscatores, quinos in rete pisces cepissent in fluvio Sale¹ piscoso, Sanctus ad eos, iterato ait, 'Rete in flumen mittite, et statim invenietis grandem, quem mihi Dominus praeparavit, piscem.' Qui, verbo Sancti obtemperantes, miræ magnitudinis traxerunt in retiaculo esocem² a Deo sibi praeparatum. Alio quoque in tempore, cum Sanctus iuxta Cei Stagnum aliquantis demoraretur diebus, comites ire ad piscandum cupientes retardavit, dicens, 'Hodie et cras nullus in flumine reperietur piscis: tertia mittam vos die, et in-

A large
salmon in
the net.

Two large
salmon.

^a esoco magno in fluvio sale iuxta verbum sancti invento B. orditur, cui praefigitur titulus de duobus piscibus illo prophetante in flumine quod vocitatur boe repertis B.

^b capit. novum

has not been identified with certainty, but it is probably Eileanna-Naoimh, one of the Garveloch isles, between Scarba and Mull. It is full of primitive remains, including those of bee-hive cells and of a rectangular church, and close by them is a spring called St. Columba's well. The remains are well described and figured in Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, pp. 95-101. Dr. Skene identified this with *Hinba insula*; the same island may have had both names. See i. 21 n. The Latin *Elena* may be from *Eileann*, insula.

¹ Sale] Possibly the Blackwater

in Meath, anciently Sale or Sele, which St. Patrick is said to have cursed, saying, 'Non erunt pisces magni in flumine Sele semper.' Tirech. in Stokes, *Trip.* 307. For another river Sale, see ii. 45.

² esocem] *Esox* or *isicius* has been understood to denote three or four different fishes, in modern times especially the pike (*Esox lucius*, Linn.). But it often stood for the salmon, as in the *Life of St. Kentigern*, cap. 36, 'ysitiumque, qui vulgo salmo dicitur,' where Pinkerton has 'esocem.' Similarly in a charter of 1252 quoted by Ducange. We are probably to understand *salmon* here.

venietis binos grandes, in rete retentos, fluminales esoces.⁷ Quos ita post duas dieculas, rete mittentes, duos rarissimae magnitudinis, in fluvio qui dicitur Bo reperientes, ad terram traxerunt. In his duabus memoratis piscationibus, miraculi apparet virtus et prophetica simul praescientia comitata, pro quibus Sanctus et socii Deo grates eximias reddiderunt.

CAP. XX.

DE NESANO CURVO QUI IN EA REGIONE CONVERSABATUR QUAE
STAGNO APORUM¹ EST CONTERMINA.

HIC Nesanus, cum esset valde inops, sanctum alio tem-
 The Saint pore gaudenter hospitio recepit virum. Cui cum
 blesses a hospitaliter secundum vires, unius noctis spatio
 poor but ministrasset, Sanctus ab eo inquit, cuius boculas
 hospitable man, numeri haberet : ille ait, 'Quinque.' Sanctus con-
 sequenter, 'Ad me,' ait, 'adduc, ut eas benedicam.' Quibus
 adductis, et elevata manu sancta benedictis, 'Ab hac die tuae
 pauculae quinque vacculae crescent,' ait Sanctus, 'usque ad
 centum et quinque vaccarum numerum.' Et quia idem
 Nesanus homo plebeius erat, cum uxore et filiis, hoc etiam ei
 vir beatus benedictionis augmentum intulit, dicens, 'Erit
 semen tuum in filiis et nepotibus benedictum.' Quae omnia
 plene, iuxta verbum Sancti, sine ulla expleta sunt imminu-
 tione. [^a De quodam² viro divite tenacissimo, nomine Uigenio,
 and pre- qui sanctum Columbam despexerat, nec eum
 dicts the hospitio recepit, hanc e contrario protulit pro-
 fate of a phetalem sententiam, inquit, 'Illius autem
 niggardly man. avari divitiae, qui Christum in peregrinis hospiti-
 bus sprevit, ab hac die paulatim imminuentur, et ad nihilum

^{a-b} om. A. sine rubrica, paragrapho, titulo, aut quavis distinctione, tenori praecedentium adhaeret B.

¹ *Stagnum Aporum*] Or, *Stagnum Aporicum*, Lochaber, now the name of a district, not of any lake. Part of Loch Eil, an inlet of the sea, was probably the Loch Abor of early times.

² *De quodam*, etc.] This section is wanting in Cod. A., and is supplied here from Cod. B. It is bracketed as being of doubtful genuineness.

redigentur ; et ipse mendicabit ; et filius eius cum semivacua de domo in domum perula discurreret ; et, ab aliquo eius aemulo securi in fossula excussorii percussus, morietur.' Quae omnia de utroque, iuxta sancti prophetiam viri, plene sunt expleta.^{a]}

CAP. XXI.

DE COLUMBANO AEQUE PLEBEIO VIRO, CUIUS PECORA ADMODUM PAUCA VIR SANCTUS BENEDIXIT ; SED POST ILLIUS BENEDITIONEM USQUE AD CENTENARIUM CREVERUNT NUMERUM.

ALIO quoque tempore, vir beatus quadam nocte, cum apud supra memoratum Columbanum tunc temporis inopem, bene hospitaretur, mane primo Sanctus, sicuti superius de Nesano commemoratum est, de quantitate et qualitate substantiae plebeium hospitem interrogat. Qui interrogatus, 'Quinque, ait, tantummodo habeo vacculas ; quae, si eas benedixeris, in maius crescent.' Quas illico, a Sancto iussus, adduxit, similique modo, ut supra de Nesani quinque dictum est vacculis, et huius Columbani boculas¹ quinales aequaliter benedicens, inquit, 'Centenas et quinque, Deo donante, habebis vaccas, et erit *in filiis et nepotibus* tuis *florida benedictio*².' Quae omnia, iuxta beati viri prophetionem, in agris et pecoribus eius et prole, plenissime adimpleta sunt ; mirumque in modum numerus a Sancto praefinitus supra memoratis ambobus viris, in centenario vaccarum et quinario expletus numero, nullo modo superaddi potuit : nam illa, quae supra praefinitum excedebant numerum, diversis praerepta casibus, nusquam comparuerant, excepto eo quod aut in usus proprios familiae, aut etiam in opus eleemosynae, expendi poterat. In hac itaque narratione, ut in ceteris, virtutis miraculum et prophetia simul aperte ostenditur : nam in magna vaccarum

He blesses
a poor
man's
cattle.

Cummian,
XXV.

¹ *boculas*] Reeves thinks that in this and the preceding chapters the diminutives may have reference

to the poverty of the animals.

² *florida benedictio*] A bright or beautiful blessing.

ampliatione benedictionis pariter et orationis virtus apparet, et in praefinitione numeri prophetalis praescientia.

CAP. XXII.

DE ^a MALEFACTORUM INTERITU QUI SANCTUM ^a DISPEXERANT.

VIR venerandus supra memoratum Columbanum, quem
 Predicts de paupere virtus benedictionis eius ditem fecit,
 the fate of valde diligebat; quia ei multa pietatis officia
 a perse- praebebat. Erat autem illo in tempore quidam
 cutor, malefactor homo, bonorum persecutor, nomine
 Ioan filius Conallis filii Domnallis, de regio Gabrani ortus
 genere. Hic supradictum Columbanum, sancti amicum
 Columbae, persequabatur; domumque eius, omnibus in ea
 inventis, devastaverat, ereptis, non semel, sed bis inimiciter
 agens. Unde forte non immerito eidem maligno accidit
 viro, ut tertia vice post eiusdem domus tertiam deprae-
 dationem, beatum virum, quem quasi longius positum
 dispexerat, proprius appropinquantem, ad navem revertens
 praeda onustus cum sociis, obvium haberet. Quem cum
 Sanctus de suis corriperet malis, praedamque deponere
 rogans suaderet, ille, immitis et insuadibilis permanens,
 Sanctum dispexit, navimque cum praeda ascendens, beatum
 virum subsannabat et deridebat. Quem Sanctus ad mare
 usque prosecutus est, vitreasque¹ intrans aquas usque ad
 genua aequoreas, levatis ad caelum ambis² manibus, Christum
 intente precatur, qui suos glorificantes se glorificat electos.
 Est vero ille portus, in quo post egressum persecutoris stans
 paulisper Dominum exorabat, in loco qui Scotice vocitatur
 Ait-Chambas Art-muirehol³. Tum proinde Sanctus, expleta
 oratione, ad aridam reversus, in eminentiore cum comitibus

^{a-a} interitu iohannis filii conallis eadem die qua sanctum spernens dehonora vit B.

¹ vitreas] Glassy or glass-green, in allusion to colour and transparency.

² ambis] So in Codd. A. B., for ambabus, C. D. S. Ambis manibus is

in *De Loc. Sanct.* i. 15.

³ Ait-Chambas Art-muirehol] See i. 12 n., p. 26. There is Camusnangel in Ardnamurchan.

sedet loco: ad quos illa in hora formidabilia valde profert verba, dicens, 'Hic miserabilis humuncio, qui Christum in suis dispexit servis, ad portum, a quo nuper coram vobis emigravit, nunquam revertetur; sed nec ad alias, quas appetit, terras, subita praeventus morte, cum suis perveniet malis cooperatoribus. Hodie, quam mox videbitis, de nube a borea orta immitis immissa procella eum cum sociis submerget; nec de eis etiam unus remanebit fabulator¹.' Post aliquantum paucularum interventum morarum, die serenissima, et ecce de mari oborta, sicut Sanctus dixerat, nubes, cum magno fragore venti emissa, raptorem cum praeda inter Maleam et Colosum insulas inveniens, subito turbato submersit medio mari: nec ex eis, iuxta verbum Sancti, qui navi inerant etiam unus evasit; mirumque in modum, toto circumquaque manente tranquillo aequore, talis una rapaces ad inferna submersos prostravit procella, misere quidem, sed digne.

CAP. XXIII.

DE ^a QUODAM FERADACHO SUBITA MORTE ^a SUBTRACTO.

ALIO quoque in tempore, vir sanctus, quendam de nobili Pictorum genere exulem, Tarainum nomine, in and of a manum alicuius Feradachi ditis viri, qui in Ilea treacherous insula² habitabat, diligenter assignans com- man. mendavit, ut in eius comitatu, quasi unus de amicis, per aliquot menses conversaretur. Quem cum tali commendatione de sancti manu viri suscepisset commendatum, post paucos dies, dolose agens, crudeli eum iussione trucidavit. Quod immane scelus cum Sancto a commeantibus esset nunciatum, sic respondens profatus est, 'Non mihi sed Deo ille infelix homunculus mentitus est, cuius nomen de libro vitae delebitur. Haec verba aesteo nunc mediante proloquimur tempore, sed autumnali, antequam de suilla degustet

^{a-a} alicuius feradachi morte fraudulentis viri a sancto praenunciata B.¹ *fabulator*] 'To tell the tale.'² *Ilea insula*] Islay.

carne, arboreo saginata fructu¹, subita praeventus morte, ad infernaliam rapietur loca.' Haec sancti prophetia viri, cum misello nuntiaret homuncioni, despiciens irrisit Sanctum: et post dies aliquot autumnalium mensium, eo iubente, serofa nucum impinguata nucleis iugulatur, necdum aliis eiusdem viri iugulatis suis; de qua celeriter exinterata partem sibi in veru celerius assari praecipit, ut de ea impatiens homo praegustans, beati viri prophetationem destrueret. Qua videlicet assata, dari sibi poposcit aliquam praegustandam morsus particulam; ad quam percipiendam extensam manum priusquam ad os converteret, expirans, mortuus retro in dorsum cecidit. Et qui viderant, et qui audierant, valde tremefacti, admirantes, Christum in sancto propheta honorificantes glorificarunt.

CAP. XXIV.

DE ALIO QUODAM NEFARIO HOMINE, ECCLESIARUM PERSECUTORE,
CUIUS NOMEN LATINE MANUS DEXTERA DICITUR.

ALIO in tempore, vir beatus, cum alios ecclesiarum persecutores, in Hinba commoratus insula, excommunicare coepisset, filios videlicet Conallis filii Domnaill, quorum unus erat Ioan, de quo supra retulimus; quidam ex eorundem malefactoribus sociis, diaboli instinctu, cum hasta irruit, ut Sanctum interficeret. Quod praecavens unus ex fratribus, Findluganus² nomine, mori paratus pro sancto viro, cuculla eius indutus intercessit. Sed mirum in modum beati viri tale vestimentum, quasi quaedam munitissima et impenetrabilis lorica, quamlibet fortis viri forti impulsione acutioris hastae, transfigi non potuit, sed illaesum permansit; et qui eo indutus erat, intactus et incolumis tali protectus est

¹ *arboreo saginata fructu*] St. Patrick relates in his *Confessio* how he met with a herd of swine in a forest when he was escaping from servitude.

² *Findluganus*] Finnloga, disciple

and brother of St. Fintan of Dunblesque, co. Limerick. Commemorated in the name of Loch Finlagan in Islay, in which are the isle and ruined chapel of St. Finlagan.

munimento. Ille vero sceleratus, qui Manus Dextera¹, retro repedavit, aestimans quod sanctum hasta transfixisset virum. Post ex ea die completum annum, cum Sanctus in Ioua commoraretur insula, 'Usque in hanc diem,' ait, 'integratus est annus, ex qua die Lam-dess, in quantum potuit, Findluganum mea iugulavit vice; sed et ipse, ut aestimo, hac in hora iugulatur.' Quod iuxta Sancti revelationem eodem momento in illa insula factum est, quae Latine Longa² vocitari potest: ubi ipse solus Lam-dess, in aliqua virorum utrinque acta belligeratione, Cronani filii Baithani iaculo transfixus, in nomine, ut fertur, sancti Columbae emissio, interierat; et post eius interitum, belligerare viri cessarunt.

CAP. XXV.

DE ALIO ITIDEM INNOCENTIUM³ A PERSECUTORE.

CUM vir beatus, adhuc iuuenis diaconus, in parte Lagensium, divinam addiscens sapientiam, conversaretur, quadam accidit die ut homo quidam innocuorum immitis persecutor crudelis, quadam in campi planitie filiolum fugientem persequeretur. Quae cum forte Gemmanum⁴ senem, supra memorati iuuenis diaconi magistrum⁵, in campo legentem vidisset, ad eum recto cursu, quanta valuit velocitate, confugit. Qui, tali perturbatus subitatione, Columbam

His sentence on a murderer, when he was a deacon.

¹ qui in laginensium provincia sicut ananias coram petro eodem momento a sancto terribiliter obiurgatus occidit mortuus add. B.

¹ Manus Dextera] = Irish *Lamh dess*. Latin equivalents of Irish names are often given by Adamnan as well as by other writers of the Irish school.

² Longa] Luing, an island near Scarba.

³ innocentium] The term *innocentes* is often applied to women and children, in this case to a *filiola* or *filia*. Adamnan dedit legem *innocentium*, i. e. a law exempting women from going to battle (*Ann. Ul.* A.D. 696), explained in Mac

Firbis's MS. Annals as meaning 'to slay neither women nor children.' In 813 however *plurimi sunt interfecti innocentes* (ib.). So the infant Cuthbert is called 'be Innocent wappid (wrapt) in clothes.' (*Metr. Life*, l. 365.) *Innocens chori* is a choir-boy in a Bull of Innocent VIII (1484).

⁴ Gemmanum] Some MSS. and edd. have *Germanum*, but there is an Irish name Gemmain.

⁵ magistrum] See above, *Intr.* vi. 2.

eminus legentem advocat, ut ambo, in quantum valuissent, filiam a persequente defenderent. Qui, statim superveniens, nulla eis ab eo data reverentia, filiam sub vestimentis eorum lancea iugulavit; et relinquens iacentem mortuam super pedes eorum, aversus abire coepit. Senex tum, valde tristificatus, conversus ad Columbam, 'Quanto,' ait, 'sancte puer¹ Columba, hoc scelus cum nostra dehonoratione temporis spatio inultum fieri Iudex iustus patietur Deus?' Sanctus consequenter hanc in ipsum sceleratorem protulit sententiam, dicens, 'Eadem hora qua interfectae ab eo filiae anima ascendit ad caelos, anima ipsius interfectoris descendat ad inferos.' Et, dicto citius, cum verbo, sicut Ananias coram Petro, sic et ille innocentium iugulator, coram oculis sancti iuvenis, in eadem mortuus cecidit terrula. Cuius rumor subitae et formidabilis vindictae continuo per multas Scotiae provincias², cum mira sancti diaconi fama, divulgatus est.

Huc usque de adversariorum terrificis ultionibus dixisse sufficiat: nunc de bestiis aliqua narrabimus pauca.

CAP. XXVI.

DE ^a APRO PER EIUS ORATIONEM ^a INTEREMPTO.

ALIO in tempore, vir beatus, cum in Scia insula aliquantis demoraretur diebus, paulo longius solus, orationis
 Cumman, intuitu, separatus a fratribus, *silvam ingressus*
 XXV. densam, *mirae magnitudinis aprum, quem forte*
 Sentence of death on a wild boar. *venatici canes persequabantur, obviam habuit.*
Quo viso eminus, Sanctus aspiciens eum restitit.

Tum deinde, invocato Dei nomine, *sancta elevata manu*, cum intenta dicit ad eum oratione, '*Ulterius huc procedere noles: in loco ad quem nunc devenisti morere.*' Quo Sancti in silvis personante verbo, non solum ultra accedere non valuit, sed

^{a-a} apri mortificatione qui a sancto eminus cecidit signo prostratus dominicae crucis B.

¹ puer] Used by St. Columba of his attendant in ch. 30, and constantly in mediaeval writings for a servant.

² provincias] Used here in a much more limited sense than in later times.

ante faciem ipsius terribilis ferus, verbi eius virtute mortificatus, cito corrui.

CAP. XXVII.

DE ^a CUIUSDAM AQUATILIS BESTIAE VIRTUTE ORATIONIS
BEATI VIRI ^a REPULSIONE.

ALIO quoque in tempore, cum vir beatus in Pictorum provincia per aliquot moraretur dies, necesse habuit fluvium transire Nesam¹: ad cuius cum accessisset ripam, alios ex accolis aspicit misellum humantes homunculum; quem, ut ipsi sepultores ferebant, quaedam paulo ante nantem aquatilis praeripiens bestia² morsu momordit saevissimo; cuius miserum cadaver, sero licet, quidam in alno³ subvenientes porrectis praeripuere uncinis. Vir e contra beatus, haec audiens, praecipit ut aliquis ex comitibus enatans, ^b caupallum⁴, in altera stantem ripa, ad se navigando reducat. Quo sancti audito praedicabilis viri praecepto, Lugneus Mocumin, nihil moratus, obsecundans, depositis excepta vestimentis tunica, immittit se in aquas. Sed bellua, quae prius non tam satiata, quam in praedam accensa, in profundo fluminis latitabat, sentiens eo nante turbatam supra aquam, subito emergens, natatilis ad hominem in medio natantem alveo, cum ingenti fremitu⁵, aperto cucurrit ore. Vir tum beatus videns, omnibus qui

A river
monster
driven
back.

^{a-a} alia aquatili bestia quae eo orante et manum e contra levante retro repulsa est
ne lugneo natanti vicino noceret B. ^b caupallum C. caballum D.

¹ *Nesa*] Or Nisa, the river Ness, between Loch Ness and the Moray Firth. Hence *Inverness*, *inver* being an estuary or arm of the sea.

² *aquatilis. bestia*] Reeves, who gives some illustrations from Colgan and others, says here: 'The belief that certain rivers and lakes were haunted by serpents of a demoniacal and terrible character was current among the Irish at a very remote period, and still prevails in many parts of Ireland.' See Le Fanu, *Seventy Years of Irish Life*, 107, 121.

³ *alno*] 'Alnus' is a classical word for a boat, properly one made of alder wood.

⁴ *caupallum*] *Caupallus*, a boat, coble, is the same as *caupulus* or *caupotus*, which occurs in Aulus Gellius, and is explained by the glossarists as *lembus*, *cymba*, *navicula brevis*, *lignum cavatum*, etc. See Ducange. We find *navicula* as a synonym in this same chapter. And yet O'Donnell and Colgan thought it denoted a horse, Irish *capul*.

⁵ *fremitu*] This highly imaginative touch is very characteristic.

inerant, tam barbaris quam etiam fratribus, nimio terrore percussis, cum salutare, sancta elevata manu, in vacuo aere crucis pinxisset signum, invocato Dei nomine, feroci imperavit bestiae, dicens, 'Noles ultra progredi, nec hominem tangas, retro citius revertere.' Tum vero bestia, hac Sancti audita voce, retrorsum, ac si funibus retraheretur, velociori recursu fugit tremefacta: quae prius Lugneo nanti eo usque appropinquavit, ut hominem inter et bestiam non amplius esset quam unius contuli¹ longitudo. Fratres tum, recessisse videntes bestiam, Lugneumque commilitonem ad eos intactum et incolumem in navicula reversum, cum ingenti admiratione glorificaverunt Deum in beato viro. Sed et gentiles barbari, qui ad praesens inerant, eiusdem miraculi magnitudine, quod et ipsi viderant, compulsi, Deum magnificaverunt Christianorum.

CAP. XXVIII.

DE^a BENEDICTA A SANCTO HUIUS INSULAE TERRULA NE DEINCEPS
IN EA VIPERARUM ALICUI NOCERENT^a VENENA.

QUADAM die eiusdem aestei temporis quo ad Dominum transiit, ad visitandos fratres Sanctus plaustro vectus pergit, qui in campulo² occidentali Iouae insulae opus materiale exercebant. Post quorum consolatoria a Sancto prolata alloquia, in eminentiore stans loco³, sic vaticinatur dicens, 'Ex hac, filioli, die, scio quod in huius campuli locis nunquam poteritis in futurum videre faciam meam.' Quos, hoc audito verbo, valde tristificatos videns, consolari eos in quantum fieri possit conatus, ambas manus elevat sanctas, et totam hanc nostram benedicens insulam, ait, 'Ex hoc huius horulae

^a insule ioue viperinis serpentibus qui ex qua die sanctus eam benedixit nulli hominum nec etiam pecoribus nocere potuere B.

Le Fanu mentions a dreadful 'wurrum' that roars like a bull, and bites, as still surviving in many a mountain lake. The legends of the 'worms' of Sockburn and of Lambton in the Bishopric of

Durham are probably of Celtic origin.

¹ contuli] Of a punt-pole?

² campulo] See i. 37 n., p. 48.

³ eminentiore loco] Probably one of the 'fairy-hills' in the Machar.

momento omnium viperarum venena¹ nullo modo, in huius insulae terrulis, aut hominibus aut pecoribus nocere poterunt, quamdiu Christi mandata eiusdem commorationis incolae observaverint.'

CAP. XXIX.

DE PUGIONE A SANCTO CUM DOMINICAE CRUCIS SIGNACULO
BENEDICTA.

ALIO in tempore, quidam frater nomine Molua² Nepos Briuni, ad Sanctum eadem scribentem || hora
veniens, dicit ad eum, 'Hoc quod in manu habeo
ferrum, quaeso benedicas.' Qui, paululum extensa
manu sancta, cum calamo signans benedixit, ad librum de
quo scribebat facie conversa. Quo videlicet supradicto fratre
cum ferro benedicto recedente, Sanctus percunctatur dicens,
'Quod fratri ferrum benedixi?' Diormitius, pius eius ministrator,
'Pugionem,' ait, 'ad iugulandos tauros vel boves benedixisti.'
Qui e contra respondens inquit, 'Ferrum quod benedixi,
confido in Domino meo, quia nec homini nec pecori nocebit.'
Quod Sancti firmissimum eadem hora comprobatum est
verbum. Nam idem frater, vallum³ egressus monasterii,
bovem iugulare volens, tribus firmis vicibus, et forti impulsione
conatus, nec tamen potuit etiam eius transfigere pellem. Quod
monachi scientes experti, eiusdem pugionis ferrum⁴, ignis resolutum
calore, per omnia monasterii ferra-

A knife
made
harmless.

¹ *viperarum venena*] This is much earlier than the legend of St. Patrick's driving the serpents etc. out of Ireland, which legend only dates from the twelfth century, *Intr.* ii. § 6. There are no snakes in Iona, but if ever there had been any they would soon have been exterminated during the human occupation of so small an island.

² *Molua*] The name Lua with the particle of affection (= 'my') prefixed. Nepos Briuni is in Irish *Ua Briuin*, cp. ch. 16, p. 85.

³ *vallum*] The rath (enclosing mound and fence) or cashel (wall). *Intr.* iv. § 2, vii. § 2.

⁴ *ferrum*] If a knife-blade was really melted so that others could be coated with the metal, it must surely have been of bronze, though called 'ferrum' in the sense of blade. They would hardly be able to liquefy iron though they might liquefy bronze, as was done for the purpose of coating sheet-iron bells. See *Intr.* iv. § 8.

menta liquefactum diviserunt illinitum; nec postea ullam potuere carnem vulnerare, illius Sancti manente benedictionis fortitudine¹.

CAP. XXX.

DE DIORMITII AEGROTANTIS SANITATE.

ALIO in tempore, Diormitius, Sancti pius minister, usque ad mortem aegrotavit: ad quem, in extremis constitutum, Sanctus visitans accessit; Christique invocato nomine, infirmi ad lectulum stans, et pro eo exorans, dixit, 'Exorabilis mihi fias precor, Domine mi, et animam mei ministratoris pii de huius carnis habitaculo, me non auferas superstite.' Et hoc dicto aliquantisper conticuit. Tum proinde hanc de sacro ore profert vocem, dicens, 'Hic meus non solum hac vice nunc non morietur puer², sed etiam post meum annis vivet multis obitum.' Cuius haec exoratio est exaudita: nam Diormitius, statim post Sancti exaudibilem precem, plenam recuperavit salutem; per multos quoque annos post Sancti ad Dominum emigrationem supervixit.

Recovery
of one at
the point
of death.

CAP. XXXI.

DE FINTENI FILII AIDO IN EXTREMIS POSITI SANITATE.

ALIO quoque in tempore, Sanctus quum trans Britannicum iter ageret Dorsum, quidam iuvenis, unus comitum, subita molestatus aegrimonia, ad extrema usque perductus est, nomine Fintenus: pro quo commilitones Sanctum maesti rogitant ut oraret. Qui statim, eis compatiens, sanctas cum intenta oratione expandit ad caelum manus, aegrotumque benedicens, ait, 'Hic, pro quo interpellatis, iuvenculus vita vivet longa; et post omnium nostrum qui hic adsumus exitum superstes remanebit, in bona moriturus senecta.' Quod beati viri vaticinium plene per omnia

¹ fortitudine] This story is told of St. Baithene in his Life (*Acta SS. Jun. ii. 237 b*).

² puer] See p. 94 n.

expletum est: nam idem iuvenis, illius postea monasterii fundator, quod dicitur Kailli-au-inde¹, in bona senectute praesentem terminavit vitam.

CAP. XXXII.

DE PUERO QUEM MORTUUM VIR VENERANDUS IN CHRISTI DOMINI
NOMINE SUSCITAVIT.

ILLO in tempore, quo sanctus Columba in Pictorum provincia per aliquot demorabatur dies, quidam cum Another like case. tota plebeius familia verbum vitae per interpretatorem² sancto praedicante viro, audiens credidit, credensque baptizatus est, maritus cum marita liberisque et familiaribus. Et, post aliquantulum diecularum intervallum paucarum, unus filiorum patrisfamilias, gravi correptus aegritudine, usque ad confinia mortis et vitae perductus est. Quem cum magi morientem vidissent, parentibus cum magna exprobratione coeperunt illudere, suosque, quasi fortiores, magnificare deos, Christianorum vero, tanquam infirmiori, Deo derogare. Quae omnia cum beato intimarentur viro, zelo suscitatus Dei, ad domum cum suis comitibus amici pergit plebeii, ubi parentes nuper defunctae prolis maestas celebrabant exequias. Quos Sanctus valde tristificatos videns, confirmans dictis compellat consolatoriis, ut nullo modo de divina omnipotentia dubitarent. Consequenterque percunctatur, dicens, 'In quo hospitio corpus defuncti iacet pueri?' Pater tum orbatus Sanctum sub maestum deducit culmen, qui statim, omnem foris exclusam relinquens catervam, solus maestificatum intrat habitaculum, ubi illico, flexis Cummian, genibus, faciem ubertim lacrymis irrigans, Christum XXV. precatur Dominum; et post *ingeniculationem surgens*, oculos convertit ad mortuum, dicens, '*In nomine Domini Jesu Christi*

¹ *Kailli-au-inde*] Not identified.

² *per interpretatorem*] This event seems to have occurred before Columba had acquired the Pictish language sufficiently to address the people. So in the case of

Artbranan (i. 33 n., p. 44). But in ii. 33, 34, 35, and iii. 14, we have no mention of an interpreter; SS. Comgall and Canice may however have acted in this capacity at one time. See Intr. vii. § 3.

resuscitare, et *sta super pedes tuos*¹. Cum hac Sancti honorabili voce anima ad corpus rediit, defunctusque apertis revixit oculis, cuius manum tenens apostolicus homo erexit, et in statione stabiliens, secum domum egressus deducit, et parentibus redivivum assignavit. Clamor tum populi attollitur, plangor in laetationem convertitur, Deus Christianorum glorificatur. Hoc noster Columba cum Elia et Eliseo prophetis habeat sibi commune virtutis miraculum; et cum Petro et Paulo et Ioanne apostolis partem honoris similem in defunctorum resuscitatione; et inter utrosque, hoc est, prophetarum et apostolorum coetus, honorificam caelestis patriae sedem homo propheticus et apostolicus aeternalem cum Christo, qui regnat cum Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti per omnia saecula saeculorum².

CAP. XXXIII.

DE BROICHANO MAGO OB ANCILLAE RETENTIONEM INFIRMATO, ET PRO EIUS LIBERATIONE SANATO.

EODEM in tempore, vir venerandus quandam a Broichano mago³ Scotticam⁴ postulavit servam humanitatis miseracione liberandam: quam cum ille duro valde et stolido retentaret animo, Sanctus ad eum locutus, hoc profatur modo, 'Scito, Broichane, scito quia si mihi hanc peregrinam liberare captivam nolueris, priusquam de hac revertar provincia, citius morieris.' Et hoc coram Brudeo rege dicens, domum egressus regiam, ad Nesam venit fluvium, de quo videlicet fluvio lapidem attollens candidum, ad comites, 'Signate⁵,' ait, 'hunc candidum lapidem, per quem Dominus in hoc gentili populo multas aegrotorum perficiet sanitates.' Et hoc effatus verbum consequenter intulit, inquiens, 'Nunc Broichanus

¹ Acts xxvi. 16 Not in Cumman.

² *saeculorum*] This doxology reads like the conclusion of a homily.

³ *Broichanus magus*] Broichan the Druid was foster-father of King Brude; see p. 101.

⁴ *Scotticam*] Of Irish extraction,

but living in Scotland.

⁵ *Signate*] 'Mark,' in the sense of *observe* (cf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 423, Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 417) or, perhaps, 'sign' with the sign of the cross. On pebble superstitions, see *Intr.* vii. § 3 n.

fortiter concussus est, nam angelus de caelo missus, graviter illum percutiens, vitream in manu eius, de qua bibebat, confregit in multa biberam¹ fragmenta; ipsum vero anhelantem aegra reliquit suspiria, morti vicinum. Hoc in loco paululum expectemus binos regis nuncios, ad nos celeriter missos, ut Broichano morienti citius subveniamus: nunc Broichanus, formidabiliter correptus, ancillulam liberare est paratus.' Adhuc Sancto haec loquente verba, ecce, sicut praedixit, duo a rege missi equites adveniunt, omniaque quae in regis munitione de Broichano, iuxta Sancti vaticinium, sunt acta, enarrantes; et de poculi confractione, et de magi correptione, et de servulae parata absolute; hocque intulerunt, dicentes, 'Rex et eius familiares nos ad te miserunt, ut nutricio eius Broichano subvenias, mox morituro.' Quibus auditis legatorum verbis, Sanctus binos de comitum numero ad regem, cum lapide a se benedicto², mittit, dicens, 'Si in primis promiserit se Broichanus famulam liberaturum, tum deinde hic lapillus intingatur in aqua, et sic de eo bibat, et continuo salutem recuperabit: si vero renuerit, refragans absolvi servam, statim morietur.' Duo missi, verbo Sancti obsequentes, ad aulam deveniunt regiam, verba viri venerabilis regi enarrantes. Quibus intimatis regi et nutricio eius Broichano, valde expaverunt: eademque hora liberata famula sancti legatis viri assignatur, lapis in aqua *Cummian*, intingitur, *mirumque in modum, contra naturam*, **XXV.** lithus³ in aquis supernatat, quasi pomum, vel nux, nec potuit sancti benedictio⁴ viri submergi. De quo Broichanus natante bibens lapide, statim a vicina rediit morte, integramque carnis recuperavit salutem. Talis vero lapis, postea, in thesauris regis reconditus, multas in populo aegritudinum sanitates, similiter in

¹ *biberam*] *Bibera* is a drinking-cup here, *poculum* below. But the monastic *Biber* or *Biberes*, and the English *Bever* or *Bevers*, were the contents of the cups, not the cups themselves.

² *cum lapide a se benedicto*] Basil of Seleucia tells a similar story of

St. Thecla sending a round stone and curing Alypius the grammarian. Ussher, *Works*, iii. 442.

³ *lithus*] = *λίθος*; this is the only example of the word in Ducange.

⁴ *benedictio*] the blessed pebble; see Glossary s. v.

aqua natans intinctus, Domino miserante, *effecit*. Mirum dictu, ab his aegrotis, quorum vitae terminus supervenerat, requisitus idem lapis nullo modo reperiri poterat. Sic et in die obitus Brudei regis quaerebatur, nec tamen in eodem loco, ubi fuerat prius reconditus, inveniebatur.

CAP. XXXIV.

DE BEATI VIRI CONTRA BROICHANUM MAGUM REFRAGATIONE, ET VENTI CONTRARIETATE.

Post supra memorata peracta, quadam die Broichanus ad sanctum proloquens virum *infit*¹, 'Dicito mihi, St. Columba
sails
against the
wind. Columba, quo tempore proponis enavigare?' Sanctus, 'Tertia,' ait, 'die, Deo volente et *vita comite*², navigationem proponimus incipere.' Broichanus e contra, 'Non poteris,' ait; 'nam ego ventum tibi contrarium facere, caliginemque umbrosam superinducere possum.' Sanctus, 'Omnipotentia Dei,' ait, 'omnium dominatur, in cuius nomine nostri omnes motus, ipso gubernante, diriguntur.' Quid plura? Sanctus die eadem, sicut corde proposuit, ad lacum Nesae fluminis longum³, multa prosequente caterva, venit. Magi vero gaudere tum coepere, magnam videntes superinductam caliginem, et contrarium cum tempestate flatum. Nec mirum haec interdum arte daemonum posse fieri, Deo permittente, ut etiam venti et aequora in asperius concitentur. Sic enim aliquando daemoniorum legiones sancto Germano episcopo, de Sinu Gallico⁴, causa humanae salutis, ad Britanniam naviganti⁵,

¹ *infit*] as if without an inter-
preter.

² *vita comite*] From Vulg. of Gen. xviii. 10, 14; ep. 2 Kings iv. 16. The meaning of the Hebrew is not quite certain. See Speaker's *Commentary and Revised Version*.

³ *longum*] Loch Ness is twenty-four miles long, forming the longest stage in the Caledonian Canal.

⁴ *Sinu Gallico*] The *Sinus Gallicus* is what we call the British Channel.

⁵ *naviganti*] St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, visited Britain in 429 and 448. The reference is to the earlier visit. About 640 years later, his middle finger was brought to Selby in Yorkshire, and led to the dedication of the noble Abbey Church in his honour.

medio in aequore occurrerant, et opposcentes pericula procellas concitabant, caelum diemque tenebrarum caligine obducebant. Quae tamen omnia, sancto orante Germano, dicto citius, sedata deteresa cessarunt caligine¹. Noster itaque Columba, videns contra se elementa concitari furentia², Christum invocat Dominum, cymbulamque ascendens, nautis haesitantibus, ipse constantior factus velum contra ventum iubet subrigi. Quo facto, omni inspectante turba, navigium flatus contra adversos mira vectum occurrit velocitate. Et post haud grande intervallum venti contrarii ad itineris ministeria cum omnium admiratione revertuntur. Et sic per totam illam diem flabris lenibus³ secundis flantibus, beati cymba viri optatum pervecta ad portum pulsa est. Perpendat itaque lector quantus et qualis idem vir venerandus, in quo Deus omnipotens, talibus praescriptis miraculorum virtutibus, coram plebe gentilica illustre suum manifestavit nomen.

CAP. XXXV.

DE SPONTANEA REGIAE MUNITIONIS PORTAE SUBITA APERTIONE.

ALIO in tempore, hoc est, in prima Sancti fatigatione itineris ad regem Brudeum³, casu contigit ut idem rex, fastu elatus regio suae munitionis, superbe agens, in primo beati adventu viri, non aperiret portas. Quod ut cognovit homo Dei, cum comitibus⁴ ad valvas portarum accedens, in primis Dominicae

The opening of the gates of King Brude.

¹ *caligine*] This incident is related in the Life of St. Germanus by Constantius and in other Lives of St. Germanus and of St. Lupus in the *Acta SS.* Bede adopts Constantius's account with slight alterations and no acknowledgement (*H. E.* i. 17-21).

² *furentia*] Loch Ness, like the Lake of Gennesaret and many others, is subject to sudden squalls owing to its position among surrounding hills.

³ *Brudeum*] There are discrepancies in the authorities as to the chronology of this visit. Reeves fixes on 563 as the most probable date. Bede makes the conversion of Brude and his subjects to precede the donation of Iona, which is in itself probable, but he places the date at 565 (*H. E.* iii. 4). See *Intr.* vii. § 1.

⁴ *comitibus*] *SS.* Comgall and Cainnech or Canice. See *Intr.* vii. § 3.

crucis imprimens signum, tum deinde manum pulsans contra ostia ponit; quae continuo sponte, retro retrusis fortiter seris, cum omni celeritate aperta sunt. Quibus statim apertis, Sanctus consequenter cum sociis intrat. Quo cognito, rex cum senatu valde pertimescens, domum¹ egressus, obviam cum veneratione beato perguit viro, pacificisque verbis blande admodum compellat: et ex ea in posterum die sanctum et venerabilem virum idem regnator, suae omnibus vitae reliquis diebus, valde magna honoravit, ut decuit, honorificentia.

CAP. XXXVI.

DE ECCLESIAE DUORUM AGRI RIVORUM SIMILI RECLUSIONE.

ALIO itidem in tempore, vir beatus aliquantis in Scotia²

A lock
opened
without
the key.

diebus conversatus, ad visitandos fratres qui in monasterio Duum Ruris commanebant Rivulorum³, ab eis invitatus, perrexit. Sed casu aliquo accidit ut, eo ad ecclesiam accedente,

claves non reperirentur oratorii. Cum vero Sanctus de non repertis adhuc clavibus et de obseratis foribus inter se conquiritantes alios audisset, ipse ad ostium appropinquans, 'Potens est Dominus, ait, domum suam servis etiam sine clavibus aperire suis.' Cum hac tum voce subito retro retrusis forti motu pessulis, sponte aperta ianua, Sanctus cum omnium admiratione ecclesiam ante omnes ingreditur, et hospitaliter a fratribus susceptus, honorabiliter ab omnibus veneratur.

¹ *domum*] Dr. Reeves thought that this was a house inside the vitrified fort on Craig Phadrick, but Dr. Skene placed it among the ditches and ramparts on Torvean. See *Intr.* vii. § 3 n.

² *Scotia*] Note that by this name Ireland is here meant, as elsewhere up to the eleventh century. Adamnan reckons modern Scotland as part of Britannia.

³ *Duum Ruris Rivulorum*] Tir-daglas, now Terryglass, co. Tipperary, a monastery founded by Colum mac Crimthan, fellow-student of St. Columba at Clonard, who died Dec. 13, 548 (his day). *Duum* (misread *divini* by Dempster, *Menol.* p. 167) is frequently used for *duorum*. On the remarkable frequency of *two* in Irish place-names, see Joyce, i. 255-261.

CAP. XXXVII.

DE QUODAM PLEBEIO MENDICO CUI SANCTUS SUDEM FACIENS AD
IUGULANDAS BENEDIXIT FERAS.

ALIO in tempore quidam ad Sanctum plebeius venit pauperrimus, qui in ea habitabat regione quae Stagni litoribus Aporici est contermina. Huic ergo miserabili

Cummian,
XIV.

viro, qui unde maritum et parvulos cibaret non habebat, vir beatus petenti, miseratus, ut potuit, quandam largitus eleemosynam, ait, 'Miselle homuncio, tolle de silva contulum vicina, et ad me ocyus defer.'

St. Columba
blesses a
stake for
killing
wild beasts.

Obsecundans miser, iuxta Sancti iussionem, detulit materiam; quam Sanctus excipiens in veru exacuit; quodque propria exacuminans manu, benedicens, et illi assignans inopi dixit, 'Hoc veru diligenter custodi, quod, ut credo, nec homini, nec alicui pecori, nocere poterit, exceptis feris bestiis quoque et piscibus; et quamdiu talem habueris sudem, nunquam in domo tua cervinae carnis cibatio abundans deerit¹.' Quod audiens miser mendiculus, valde gavisus, domum revertitur, veruque in remotis infixit terrulae locis, quae silvestres frequentabant ferae; et vicina transacta nocte, mane primo pergit revisitare volens veru, in quo mirae magnitudinis cervum cecidisse reperit transfixum. Quid plura? Nulla, ut nobis traditum est, transire poterat dies, qua non aut cervum, aut cervam, aut aliquam reperiret in veru infixo cecidisse bestiam. Repleta quoque tota de ferinis carnibus domo, vicinis superflua vendebat, quae hospitium suae domus capere non poterat. Sed tamen diaboli invidia per sociam, ut Adam, et hunc etiam miserum invenit; quae, non quasi prudens, sed fatua, taliter ad maritum locuta est, 'Tolle de terra veru; nam si in eo homines, aut etiam pecora, perierint, tu ipse et ego cum nostris liberis aut occidemur aut captivi ducemur².' Ad haec

¹ deerit] St. Wilfrid taught the men of Sussex how to use their eel-nets in the sea, so as to obtain draughts of fishes regarded as miraculous. (Bede, H. E. iv. 13.)

² captivi ducemur] A real danger at that time. See Colg. Acta SS. and Tr. Th. Indices Morales, s. vv. Capti, Captivi; Joyce, Hist. 79.

maritus inquit, 'Non ita fiet; nam sanctus vir mihi, benedicens sudem, dixit quod nunquam hominibus aut etiam pecoribus nocebit.' Post haec verba mendicus, *uxori consentiens*, pergit, et tollens *de terra veru, intra domum*, quasi amens, illud *secus parietem posuit; in quo mox domesticus eius incidens canis disperiit. Quo pereunte, rursum marita, 'Unus,' ait, 'filiorum tuorum incidet in sudem et peribit.'* Quo audito eius verbo, *maritus veru de pariete removens ad silvam reportat, et in densioribus infixit dumis*, ut putabat ubi a nullo posset animante offendi. *Sed postera reversus die capream in eo cecidisse et periisse reperit. Inde quoque illud removens, in fluvio qui Latine dici potest Nigra Dea¹, iuxta ripam sub aquis abscondens infixit: quod alia revisitans die, esocem² in eo mirae magnitudinis transfixum et retentum invenit; quem de flumine elevans vix solus ad domum portare poterat, veruque secum de aqua simul reportans, extrinsecus in superiore tecti affixit loco; in quo et corvus devolatus, impetu lapsus disperiit iugulatus. Quo facto, miser, fatuae coniugis consilio depravatus, veru tollens de tecto, assumpta securi, in plures concidens particulas in ignem proiecit. Et post, quasi suae paupertatis amisso non mediocri solatio, remendicare, ut meritus, coepit. Quod videlicet penuriae rerum solamen saepe superius in veru memorato dependebat, quod pro pedicis, et retibus, et omni venationis et piscationis genere servatum posset sufficere, beati viri donatum benedictione, quodque amissum miser plebeius, eo ditatus pro tempore, ipse cum tota familiola, sero licet, omnibus de cetero deplanxit reliquis diebus vitae.*

CAP. XXXVIII.

DE LACTARIO UTRE QUEM SALACIA ABSTULIT UNDA ET VENILIA
ITERUM REPRÆSENTAVIT IN PRIORE LOCO.

ALIO in tempore, beati legatus viri, Lugaidus nomine, cognomento Laitirus³, ad Scotiam iussus navigare proponens,

¹ *Nigra Dea*] Irish *Dubh bandea*, not identified, but *Bandea* (= *Dea*) occurs in the Book of Armagh as the name of a river in Ireland.

² *esocem*] A salmon. See above, p. 87 n.

³ *Laitirus*] Probably *laidir*, 'fortis.'

inter navalia navis Sancti instrumenta utrem lactarium¹ quaesitum inveniens, sub mari, congestis super eum non parvis lapidibus, madefaciendum posuit; veniensque ad Sanctum quod de utre fecit intimavit. Qui subridens inquit, 'Uter, quem ut dicis sub undis posuisti, hac vice ut aestimo non te ad Hiberniam comitabitur.' 'Cur,' ait, 'non mecum in navi comitem eum habere potero?' Sanctus, 'Altera,' inquit, 'die quod res probabit scies.' Itaque Lugaidus mane postera die ad retrahendum de mari utrem perguit; quem tamen salacia noctu subtraxit unda². Quo non reperto, ad Sanctum reversus tristis, flexis in terram genibus, suam confessus est negligentiam. Cui Sanctus, illum consolatus, ait, 'Noli frater pro fragilibus contristari rebus: uter quem salacia sustulit unda, ad suum locum, post tuum egressum, reportabit venilia³.' Eadem die post Lugaidi de Ioua insula emigrationem, hora transacta nona, Sanctus circumstantibus sic profatus, ait, 'Nunc ex vobis unus ad aequor pergat; utrem, de quo Lugaidus querebatur, et quem salacia sustulerat unda, nunc venilia retrahens, in loco unde subtractus est repraesentavit.' Quo Sancti audito verbo, quidam alacer iuvenis ad oram cucurrit maris, repertumque utrem, sicut praedixerat Sanctus, cursu reversus concito reportans, valde gavisus, coram Sancto, cum omnium qui ibidem inerant admiratione, assignavit. In his, ut saepe dictum est, binis narrationibus superius descriptis, quamlibet in parvis rebus, sude videlicet et utre, prophetia simul et virtutis miraculum comitari cernuntur. Nunc ad alia tendamus.

The recovery of a leathern milk-bag.

¹ *utrem lactarium*] A bag for holding milk, either the whole skin of a single animal, like a wine-skin, or a leather bottle. See O'Curry, *Manners*, etc. Intr. cccxvii, Lectures ii. 117.

² *salacia unda*] The seaward or ebbing tide. St. Augustine refers to a notion that the *salacia* and *venilia undae* were named from Salacia the wife of Neptune and

Venilia, another divinity connected with the sea, but says, 'Venilia unda est quae ad littus venit, salacia quae in salum redit.' *De Civ. Dei*, vii. 22; cp. *ib.* iv. 10, 11.

³ *venilia unda*] The coming in or flowing tide. See last note. Other names for the ebb and flood were *ledo* and *malina*. (Ducange.)

CAP. XXXIX.

DE LIBRANO ARUNDINETI PROPHETATIO¹ SANCTI VIRI.

ALIO in tempore, cum vir sanctus in Ioua conversaretur insula, homo quidam plebeius nuper sumpto clericatus habitu², de Scotia transnavigans, ad insulanum beati monasterium viri devenit. Quem cum alia die Sanctus in hospitio³ residem hospitantem invenisset solum, primum de patria, de gente, et causa itineris, a Sancto interrogatus, de Connachtarum⁴ regione oriundum se professus est, et ad delenda in peregrinatione peccamina longo fatigatum itinere. Cui cum Sanctus, ut de suae poenitudinis exploraret qualitate, dura et laboriosa ante oculos monasterialia proposuisset imperia; ipse consequenter ad Sanctum respondens, inquit, 'Paratus sum ad omnia quaecumque mihi iubere volueris, quamlibet durissima, quamlibet indigna.' Quid plura? Eadem hora omnia sua confessus peccata, leges poenitentiae⁵, flexis in terram genibus, se impleturum promisit. Cui Sanctus, 'Surge,' ait, 'et reside.' Tum deinde residentem sic compellat, 'Septennem debebis in Ethica poenitentiam explere terra. Ego et tu usquequo

A humble clerk arrives at Iona.

His confession, and penance in Tیره.

¹ *prophetatio*] The object of this long chapter is to show the fulfilment of St. Columba's prophecies that both he and Libran would live seven years after their first interview, that Libran would be set free by his earthly master, that his younger brother would relieve him of the responsibility of maintaining his mother, and that he should live to a good old age as a monk in Tیره, but await his resurrection in Ireland; also, St. Columba's power to change the wind, and to know, while in Iona, what was going on in Ireland.

² *sumpto clericatus habitu*] The dress of a monastic associate, novice, or penitent, as would

appear from the narrative. Cp. i. 36 n., p. 46.

³ *hospitio*] The *hospitium* or guest-house was necessary in all monasteries for occasional visitors; St. Cuthbert had one even in connection with his solitary cell on Farne island. And in Iona it would be an important building.

⁴ *Connachtarum*] Of the men of Connaught, at first *Olnegmacht*, but in the third century called *Connact* from *Cuinn iochta*, the race of Conn. (O'Curry, *Manners*, etc., ii. 10, 11; Keating, ed. 1809, p. 14; O'Flaherty, *West Connaught*, note by Hardiman, p. 126.)

⁵ *leges poenitentiae*] The penitential canons. See above, p. 35 n.

numerum expleas septennalium annorum, Deo donante; victuri sumus.' Quibus Sancti confortatus dictis, grates Deo agens, ad Sanctum, 'Quid me,' ait, 'agere oportet de quodam meo falso iuramento? nam ego quendam in patria commanens trucidavi homuncionem; post cuius trucidationem quasi reus in vinculis retentus sum. Sed mihi quidam cognationalis homo eiusdem parentelae, valde opibus opulentus, subveniens, me opportune et de vinculis vinculatum absolvit¹, et de morte reum eripuit. Cui post absolutionem cum firma iuratione promiseram me eidem omnibus meae diebus vitae servituum. Sed post aliquot dies in servitute peractos, servire homini dedignatus, et Deo potius obsecundare malens, desertor illius carnalis domini, iuramentum infringens², discessi, et ad te, Domino meum prosperante iter, perveni.' Ad haec Sanctus, virum pro talibus valde angi videns, sicuti prius prophetans, profatur, inquires, 'Post septenorum, sicut tibi dictum est, expletionem annorum, diebus ad me huc, quadragesimalibus venies, ut in Paschali solemnitate ad altarium accedas, et Eucharistiam sumas.' Quid verbis immoramur? Sancti viri imperiis per omnia poenitens obsequitur peregrinus. Iisdemque diebus ad monasterium Campi missus Lunge, ibidem plene expletis in poenitentia septem annis, ad Sanctum, diebus quadragesimae, iuxta eius priorem propheticam iussionem, revertitur. Et post peractam Paschae solemnitate, His return in qua iussus ad altare accessit, ad Sanctum de to Iona. supra interrogans memorato venit iuramento. Cui Sanctus interroganti talia vaticinans responsa profatur, 'Tuus de quo mihi aliquando dixeras, carnalis superest dominus; paterque et mater et fratres adhuc vivunt. Nunc ergo praeparare te debes ad navigationem.' Et inter haec verba machaeram belluinis ornatam dolatis protulit dentibus³, dicens, 'Hoc

¹ *absolvit*] Paid the fine, *eric*, or *blód-wite*, to the nearest of kin to the deceased.

² *infringens*] He appears to have been more distressed about break-

ing his oath to an earthly master, even in order to serve God in monastic penance, than about the murder.

³ *dentibus*] Solinus, speaking of

accipe tecum portandum munus, quod domino pro tua redemptione offeres; sed tamen nullo modo accipiet. Habet enim bene moratam coniugem, cuius salubri obtemperans consilio, te eadem die gratis, sine pretio, libertate donabit, cingulum ex more captivi de tuis resolvens¹ lumbis. Sed hac anxietate solutus, aliam a latere surgentem non effugies sollicitudinem: nam tui fratres undique coarctabunt te, ut tanto tempore patri debitam, sed neglectam, redintegres pietatem. Tu tamen, sine ulla haesitatione voluntati eorum obsecundans, patrem senem pie excipias confovendum. Quod onus, quamlibet tibi videatur grave, contristari non debes, quia mox depones: nam ex qua die incipies patri ministrare, alia in fine eiusdem septimanae mortuum sepelies. Sed post patris sepultionem, iterum fratres te acriter compellent, ut matri etiam debita pietatis impendas obsequia². De qua profecto compulsione tuus iunior te absolvet frater; qui tua vice paratus omne pietatis opus, quod debes, pro te matri serviens reddet.' Post haec verba supra memoratus frater, Libranus nomine, accepto munere, Sancti ditatus benedictione perrexit; et ad patriam perveniens, omnia, secundum Sancti vaticinium, invenit vere probata. Nam statim, ut

His return pretium suae offerens libertatis ostendit domino, to his own accipere volenti refragans uxor, 'Ut quid nobis, country. ait, hoc accipere quod sanctus pretium misit

Columba? Hoc non sumus digni. Liberetur ei pius hic gratis ministrator. Magis nobis sancti viri benedictio proficiet, quam hoc quod offertur pretium.' Audiens itaque maritus hoc maritae salubre consilium, continuo gratis liberavit servum. Qui post, iuxta prophetiam Sancti, compulsus a fratribus, patrem, cui ministrare coepit, septima

the Irish, says, 'Qui student cultui, dentibus marinarum belluarum insigniunt ensium capulos, candicant enim ad eburneam claritatem, nam praecipua viris gloria est in armorum nitela.'

Polyhist. xxii.

¹ *resolvens*] This clause appears

to refer to some form of manumission.

² *pietatis obsequia*] 'The allusion to filial obligations .. indicates .. a better social and moral condition in Ireland at this date than the tone of the native annals would lead one to expect.' (Reeves.)

die¹ mortuum sepelivit. Quo sepulto, ut et matri debite deserviret compellitur. Sed, subveniente iuniore fratre, sicut Sanctus praedixerat, vicem eius adimplente, absolvitur. Qui ad fratres sic dicebat, 'Nullo modo nos oportet fratrem in patria retentare, qui per septem annos apud sanctum Columbam in Britannia salutem exercuit animae.' Post quae, ab omnibus quibus molestabatur, absolutus, matri et fratribus valedicens, liber reversus, ad locum qui Scotice vocitatur ^a Daire Calgaich pervenit. Ibidemque navim sub velo a portu emigrantem inveniens, clamitans de litore rogitat, ut ipsum nautae cum eis susciperent navigaturum ad Britanniam. || Sed ipsi non suscipientes refutaverunt eum², quia non erant de monachis sancti Columbae. Tum deinde ad eundem venerabilem loquens virum, quamlibet longe absentem, tamen spiritu praesentem, ut mox res probavit, 'Placetne tibi,' ait, 'sancte Columba, ut hi nautae, qui me tuum non suscipiunt socium, plenis velis et secundis enavigent ventis?' In hac voce ventus, qui ante illis erat secundus, dicto citius versus est contrarius. Inter haec videntes virum eundem e regione secus flumen³ cursitantem, subito inter se inuito consilio, ad ipsum de navi inclamitantes dicunt nautici, 'Fortassis idcirco citius in contrarium nobis conversus est ventus quia te suscipere renuerimus. Quod si etiam nunc te ad nos in navim invitaverimus, contrarios nunc nobis flatus in secundos convertere poteris?' His auditis, viator ad eos dixit, 'Sanctus Columba, ad quem vado, et cui huc usque per septem annos obsecundavi, si me susceperitis, prosperum vobis ventum a Domino suo, virtute orationum, impetrare poterit.' Quibus auditis, navim terrae approximant, ipsumque ad eos in eam invitant. Qui statim, rate ascensa, 'In nomine Omnipotentis,' ait, 'cui sanctus Columba inculpa-

The wind
is changed
through St.
Columba.

^a claire Colg. Boll. *litera d, quae in cod. A. formam cl prae se fert, minus observata.*

¹ *septima die*] The third day was the usual day for burial in case of Irish Saints. Intr. iv. § 12.

² *refutaverunt eum*] 'bid him begone.'

³ *flumen*] The Feabhal or Foyle, on which Derry stands.

biliter servit, tensis rudentibus levate velum.' Quo facto, continuo contraria venti flamina in secunda vertuntur, prosperaque usque ad Britanniam plenis successit navigatio

The traveller arrives again at Iona.

est Britannica, illam deserens navim, et nautis benedicens, ad sanctum devenit Columbam in Ioua commorantem insula. Qui videlicet vir beatus, gaudenter suscipiens eum, omnia quae de eo in itinere acta sunt, nullo alio intimante, plene narravit, et de domino, et uxoris eius salubri consilio, quomodo eiusdem suasu liberatus est; de fratribus quoque; de morte patris, et eius, finita septimana, sepultione; de matre, et de fratris opportuna iunioris subventionem; de his quae in regressu acta sunt; de vento contrario, et secundo; de verbis nautarum qui primo eum suscipere recusarunt, de promissione prosperi flatus; et de prospera, eo suscepto in navi, venti conversione. Quid plura? Omnia, quae Sanctus adimplenda prophetavit, expleta enarravit. Post haec verba viator pretium suae quod a Sancto accepit redemptionis assignavit. Cui Sanctus eadem hora vocabulum indidit, inquis, 'Tu Libranus vocaberis eo quod sis liber¹.' Qui

He takes the monastic vow,

videlicet Libran iisdem in diebus votum monachicum devotus vovit. Et cum a sancto viro ad monasterium², in quo prius septem annis poenitens Domino servivit remitteretur, haec ab eo prophetica de se prolata accepit verba valedicente, 'Vita vives longa, et in bona senectute vitam terminabis praesentem. Attamen non in Britannia, sed in Scotia, resurges³.' Quod verbum audiens, flexis genibus, amare flevit. Quem Sanctus valde maestum videns, consolari coepit dicens, 'Surge, et noles tristificari. In uno meorum morieris monasteriorum⁴,

¹ *liber*] Reeves cites seven other instances of the name Libran, Libren, or Liber. All were probably named for the same reason.

² *monasterium*] Magh Lunge in Tiree. See above, in this chapter.

³ *resurges*] A good example of the distinction between North Britain and Ireland, also of the habit of looking forward to resurrection rather than to burial.

⁴ *monasteriorum*] All were in-

et cum electis erit pars tua meis in regno monachis; cum quibus in resurrectionem vitae de somno mortis evigilabis.' Qui, a Sancto accepta non mediocri consolatione, valde laetatus est, et Sancti benedictione ditatus, in pace perrexit. Quae Sancti de eodem viro verax postea est adimpleta prophetatio. Nam, cum per multos annales cyclos in monasterio Campi Lunge post sancti Columbae de mundo transitum, obedienter Domino deserviret, monachus, pro quadam monasteriali utilitate ad Scotiam missus, is sent on valde senex, statim ut de navi descendit, pergens a mission per Campum Breg, ad monasterium devenit to Ireland, and there Roborei Campi; ibidemque, hospes receptus hos- dies. pitio, quadam molestatus infirmitate, septima aegrotationis die in pace ad Dominum perrexit, et inter sancti Columbae electos humatus est monachos, secundum eius vaticinium, in vitam resurrecturus aeternam. Has de Librano Arundineti sancti veridicas Columbae vaticinationes scripsisse sufficiat. Qui videlicet Libranus ideo 'Arundineti' est vocitatus, quia in arundineto multis annis arundines¹ colligendo laboraverat.

CAP. XL.

DE QUADAM MULIERCULA MAGNAS ET VALDE DIFFICILIORES PARTURITIONIS, UT EVAE FILIA, TORTIONES PASSA.

QUADAM die, Sanctus in Ioua commanens insula, a lectione surgit, et subridens dicit, 'Nunc ad oratorium mihi properandum, ut pro quadam misellula Dominum deprecer femina, quae nunc in Hi- bernia nomen huius inclamitans commemorat Columbae, in magnis parturitionis difficillimae torta puni-

The relief of a woman in child-birth.

cluded in the *muintir Cholum-cille*, or familia *Columbae-cille*, and owned the abbot of Iona as their common head. Bede regards Durrow in Ireland and Iona in Britain as the two parent monasteries of the order. (*H. E.* iii. 4.)

¹ *arundines*] The reeds would be

for thatching and the like, as now in the district of the Norfolk Broads, where churches as well as other buildings are thatched with reeds. So again in Holland, and, indeed, wherever reeds are plentiful.

tionibus, et ideo per me a Domino de angustia absolutionem dari sibi sperat, quia et mihi est cognationalis, de meae matris parentela genitorem habens progenitum.' Haec dicens Sanctus, illius mulierculae motus miseratione, ad ecclesiam currit, flexisque genibus pro ea Christum de homine natum exorat. Et post precationem oratorium egressus, ad fratres profatur occurrentes, inquires, 'Nunc propitius Dominus Iesus, de muliere progenitus, opportune miserae subveniens, eam de angustiis liberavit, et prospere prolem peperit, nec hac morietur vice.' Eadem hora, sicuti Sanctus prophetizavit, misella femina, nomen eius invocans, absoluta salutem recuperavit. Ita ab aliquibus postea de Scotia¹, et de eadem regione ubi mulier inhabitabat, transmeantibus, intimatum est.

CAP. XLI.

DE QUODAM LUGNEO GUBERNETA, COGNOMENTO TUDIDA, QUEM SUA CONIUX ODIU HABUERAT DEFORMEM, QUI IN RECHREA COMMORABATUR INSULA.

ALIO in tempore, cum vir sanctus in Rechrea hospitaretur insula², quidam plebeius ad eum veniens, de sua A wife reconciled to her husband. querebatur uxore, quae, ut ipse dicebat, odio habens, eum ad maritalem nullo modo admittebat concubitum accedere. Quibus auditis, Sanctus, maritam advocans, in quantum potuit, eam hac de causa corripere coepit, inquires, 'Quare, mulier, tuam a te carnem abdicare conaris, Domino dicente, *Erunt duo in carne una*³? itaque caro tui coniugis tua caro est.' Quae respondens, 'Omnia,' inquit, 'quaecunque mihi praeceperis, sum parata, quamlibet sint valde laboriosa, adimplere, excepto uno, ut me nullo compellas modo in uno lecto dormire cum Lugneo. Omnem domus curam exercere

¹ Scotia] Called *Hibernia* just above.

² Rechrea insula] Either Rechru (i. 5 n., p. 21), or Rechra, now

Lambay, off the coast of Dublin.

³ *Erunt, etc.*] St. Matt. xix. 5, Vulg.

non recuso, aut, si iubeas, etiam maria transire¹, et in aliquo puellarum monasterio² permanere.' Sanctus tum ait, 'Non potest recte fieri quod dicis, nam adhuc viro vivente alligata³ es a lege viri. Quos enim Deus licite coniunxit nefas est separari⁴.' Et, his dictis, consequenter intulit, 'Hac in die tres, hoc est, ego et maritus, cum coniuge, ieiunantes Dominum precemur.' Illa dehinc, 'Scio,' ait, 'quia tibi impossibile non erit ut ea quae vel difficilia, vel etiam impossibilia videntur, a Deo impetrata donentur.' Quid plura? Marita eadem die cum Sancto ieiunare consentit, et maritus similiter: nocteque subsequente Sanctus insomnis pro eis deprecatus est; posteraque die Sanctus maritam praesente sic compellat marito, 'O femina, si⁵, ut hesternam dicebas die, parata hodie es ad feminarum emigrare monasteriolum?' Illa, 'Nunc,' inquit, 'cognovi quia tua Deo de me est audita oratio; nam quem heri oderam, hodie amo; cor enim meum hac nocte praeterita, quo modo ignoro, in me immutatum est de odio in amorem.' Quid moramur? ab eadem die usque ad diem obitus, anima eiusdem maritae indissociabiliter in amore conglutinata est marito, ut illa maritalis concubitus debita, quae prius reddere renuebat, nullo modo deinceps recusaret.

CAP. XLIII.

DE NAVIGATIONE CORMACI NEPOTIS LETHANI PROPHETATIO

BEATI VIRI.

ALIO in tempore Cormacus, Christi miles, de quo in primo huius opusculi libello⁶, breviter aliqua commemoravimus pauca, etiam secunda vice conatus est eremum in oceano

¹ *maria transire*] O'Donnell adds 'vel Hierosolimas peregrinari,' ii. 81 (*Tr. Th.* 425 a).

² *puellarum monasterio*] We have no record of any Columban nunnery; a house of Austin canonesses was founded in Iona in the thirteenth century.

³ *alligata*] Wrongly connected with *a lege viri*. Cp. Rom. vii. 2;

i Cor. vii. 39.

⁴ *Quos enim, etc.*] Cp. St. Matt. xix. 6.

⁵ *si*] Equivalent to the enclitic *ne* in a direct question, as in St. Matt. xiii. 10, Vulg., 'Si licet sabbatis curare?' See Rönisch, *Italia und Vulgata*, 404.

⁶ *libello*] See i. 6, p. 22.

quaerere. Qui postquam a terris per infinitum oceanum
 Prediction respecting Cormac's second voyage. plenis enavigavit velis, iisdem diebus sanctus
 Columba, cum ultra Dorsum moraretur Bri-
 tanniae, Brudeo regi, praesente Orcadum regulo,
 commendavit, dicens, 'Aliqui ex nostris nuper
 emigraverunt, desertum in pelago intransmeabili invenire
 optantes; qui si forte post longos circuitus Orcadas deve-
 nerint insulas¹, huic regulo, cuius obsides in manu tua sunt,
 diligenter commenda, ne aliquid adversi intra terminos eius
 contra eos fiat.' Hoc vero Sanctus ita dicebat, quia in spiritu
 praecognovit quod post aliquot menses idem Cormacus esset
 ad Orcadas venturus. Quod ita postea evenit; et propter
 supradictum sancti viri commendationem, de morte in
 Orcadibus liberatus est vicina². Post aliquantum paucorum
 intervallum mensium cum Sanctus in Ioua commoraretur
 insula, quadam die coram eo eiusdem Cormaci mentio
 ab aliquibus subito oboritur sermocinantibus, et taliter
 dicentibus, 'Quomodo Cormaci navigatio, prosperane an
 non, provenit, adhuc nescitur.' Quo audito verbo, Sanctus
 hac profatur voce, dicens, 'Cormacum, de quo nunc loqui-
 mini, hodie mox pervenientem videbitis.' Et post quasi
 unius horae interventum, mirum dictu, et ecce inopinato
 Cormacus superveniens, oratorium cum omnium admiratione
 et gratiarum ingreditur actione. Et quia de huius Cormaci
 secunda navigatione beati prophetationem breviter intuleri-
 mus viri, nunc et de tertia aequae propheticae eius scientiae
 aliqua describenda sunt verba.

Cum idem Cormacus tertia in oceano mari fatigaretur
 vice, prope usque ad mortem periclitari coepit. Nam cum
 eius navis a terris per quatuordecim aestei temporis dies,
 totidemque noctes, plenis velis, austro flante vento, ad
 septemtrionalis³ plagam caeli directo excurreret cursu,

¹ *Orcadas insulas*] The Orkneys.

² *morte vicina*] Reeves concludes from this that the men of Orkney were still pagans.

³ *septemtrionalis*] Reeves cites instances of the Irish in early times finding their way to Iceland, Feroe, and the frozen seas.

eiusmodi navigatio ultra humani excursus modum, et irremeabilis videbatur. Unde contigit, ut post decimam eiusdem quarti et decimi horam diei, quidam paene insustentabiles undique et valde formidabiles consurgerent terrores; quaedam quippe usque in id temporis invisae, mare obtegentes occurrerant tetrae et infestae nimis bestiolar¹, quae horribili impetu carinam et latera, puppimque et proram ita forti feriebant percussura, ut pelliceum tectum navis² penetrales putarentur penetrare posse. Quae, ut hi qui inerant ibidem postea narrarunt, prope magnitudinem ranarum, aculeis permolestae, non tamen volatiles sed natatiles, erant; sed et remorum infestabant palmulas. Quibus visis, inter cetera monstra quae non huius est temporis narrare, Cormacus cum nautis comitibus, valde turbati et pertimescentes, Deum, qui est in angustiis pius et opportunus auxiliator,

Prophetic knowledge regarding Cormac's third voyage.

¹ *bestiolar*] It is suggested to the editor by the Rev. Dr. A. M. Norman, that the creatures referred to must have been the common stinging jelly-fish, *Cyanea capillata*. He writes, 'They are larger than frogs, but their brown colour, and the fact that the rounded bell of a floating *Cyanea* above the water is not unlike the rounded back of a frog floating still at the surface, might have suggested the comparison. The jelly fish are often a great impediment to rowing, their long tentacula becoming entangled in the blades of the oars, and fishermen know too well the effect of their stinging-filaments when they handle ropes, nets, or oars, or anything that has come in contact with the jelly-fish.' As to shoals of medusae in the North Sea, Dr. Norman refers us to Baster, *Opuscula Subseciva*, 1765, t. ii. p. 60, quoted in Lesson, *Hist. Naturelle des Zoophytes*, Paris, 1843, and Mr. Elton, in his *Origins of Engl. Hist.* 1890, p. 70 n., refers

to Pontoppidan, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 182, and Kircher, *Mundus Subterr.* ii. 129.

² *navis*] The *curach* or coraclé. A small one was called 'navis unius pellis' or 'de uno corio.' Larger ones were covered with two or more skins. The keels and gunwales were of wood, and the sides of wicker-work, on which the skins were stretched. Reeves quotes a minute account of the building of a curach from the Life of St. Brendan (the skins were greased with butter) and gives a number of references to passages bearing on the subject. On coracles see Caes. *Bell. Civ.* i. 54; Plin. *N. H.* ed. Sillig, vii. 57; Lucan, *Phars.* iv. 130-136; Solinus, ed. 1689, cap. 22; Gildas, *De excid.*, cap. 15; Muirchu in Stokes's *Tripertite*, 288; *Tripertite*, 223; Giraldus, *Topog. Hib.*, Dist. iii. cap. 26; Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, ii. 179-189; O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, part iii, ch. 34. To Reeves's ref. to later writers, add Pocock's *Tour*, p. 64; Stokes, *Celtic Ch.*, 115.

illacrymati precantur. Eadem hora et sanctus noster Columba, quamlibet longe absens corpore, spiritu tamen praesens, in navi cum Cormaco erat. Unde, eodem momento, personante signo¹, fratres ad oratorium convocans, et ecclesiam intrans, astantibus sic, more sibi consueto, prophetizans profatur, dicens, 'Fratres, tota intentione pro Cormaco orate, qui nunc humanae discursionis limitem, immoderate navigando, excessit, nunc quasdam monstruosas, ante non visas, et paene indicibiles, patitur horrificas perturbationes. Itaque nostris commembribus in periculo intolerabili constitutis mente compati debemus fratribus, et Dominum exorare cum eis. Ecce enim nunc Cormacus cum suis nautis, faciem lacrymis ubertim irrigans, Christum intentius precatur; et nos ipsum orando adiuvemus, ut Austrum flantem ventum usque hodie per quatuordecim dies, nostri miseratus, in Aquilonem convertat; qui videlicet Aquiloneus ventus navem Cormaci de periculis retrahat.' Et haec dicens, flebili cum voce, flexis genibus ante altarium, omnipotentiam Dei ventorum et cunctarum gubernatricem precatur rerum. Et post orationem cito surgit, et abstergens lacrymas, gaudenter grates Deo agit, dicens, 'Nunc, fratres, nostris congratulemur, pro quibus oramus, caris: quia Dominus Austrum nunc in Aquilonarem convertet flatum nostros de periculis commembres retrahentem, quos huc ad nos iterum reducet.' Et continuo cum eius voce Auster cessavit ventus, et inspiravit Aquiloneus per multos post dies, et navis Cormaci ad terras redacta est. Et pervenit Cormacus ad sanctum Columbam, et se, donante Deo, facie in faciem, cum ingenti omnium admiratione viderant et non mediocri laetatione. Perpendat itaque lector quantus et qualis idem vir beatus, qui talem propheticam habens scientiam, ventis et oceano, Christi invocato nomine, potuit imperare.

¹ signo] 'Signum,' which has eight other meanings in Ducange, is one of the many synonyms of *campana*, a bell, 'quia sonitu

illius datur signum sive indicium faciendi aliquid.' Rocca, *De Campanis*, Opp. 1719, i. 159. 'Signo personante' occurs in ch. iii. 13.

CAP. XLIII.

DE VENERABILIS VIRI IN CURRU EJECTIONE ABSQUE CURRILIIUM
OBICUM COMMUNITIONE.

ALIO in tempore, cum in Scotia per aliquot dies Sanctus conversaretur, aliquibus ecclesiasticis utilitati-
bus¹ coactus, currum² ab eo prius benedictum³ ascendit iunctum; sed non insertis primo, qua
negligentia accedente nescitur, necessariis obici-
bus⁴ per axionum extrema foramina. Erat autem eadem
diecula Columbanus filius Echudi, vir sanctus, illius monasterii fundator quod Scotica vocitatur lingua Snamluthir⁵,
qui operam aurigae in eodem curriculo cum sancto exercebat Columba. Fuit itaque talis eiusdem agitatio⁶ diei per
longa viarum spatia sine ulla rotarum humerulorumque⁷ separatione sive labefactatione, nulla, ut supra dictum est,
obicum retentione vel communitione retinente. Sed sola diali sic venerando praestante gratia viro, ut currus cui insederat
salubriter, absque ulla impeditioe, recta incederet orbita.

Huc usque de virtutum miraculis quae per praedicabilem virum, in praesenti conversantem vita, divina operata est omnipotentia, scripsisse sufficiat⁸. Nunc etiam quaedam de

¹ *utilitatibus*] Probably a visitation of monasteries, hardly the convention of Drumceatt, as assumed by O'Donnell, *Tr. Th.* 433 b.

² *currum*] See i. 38 n.

³ *benedictum*] 'Iuxta morem' no doubt, as in the case of the milk-pail, ch. 16.

⁴ *obicibus*] Linc-pins, used, as at present, with fixed axles. So in a metrical Life of St. Bridget we find 'Axis solus erat, currusque sine obice abibat,' *Tr. Th.* 591 b. Another way of securing wheels was by a *roseta* or hub, in which case the axle revolved with the wheels, as in tricycles, and in some modern Irish carts. 'Auriga . . rosetas oblitus est ponere contra

rotas . . Episcopus . . vidit illum (currum) rosetas non habere,' *Vit. Tert. S. Brig. Tr. Th.* 532 a.

⁵ *Snamluthir*] Slanore, in Granard, co. Longford. *Snamhluthir* is the swimming-ford of Luthir; the name has passed through the forms *Snaulougher* and *Snalore* to its present form.

⁶ *agitatio*] We must remember what roads were 'before they were made.'

⁷ *humerulorumque*] The shoulders or portions of the axles on to which the wheels were fixed.

⁸ *sufficiat*] The short recension ends here, with the words 'animadvertere lector debet, quod et de compertis in eo multa propter

his quae post eius de carne transitum¹ ei Domino donata comprobantur, pauca sunt commemoranda.

CAP. XLIV.

DE PLUVIA POST ALIQUOT SICCI-TATIS MENSES BEATI OB HONOREM VIRI SUPER SITIENTEM, DOMINO DONANTE, TERRAM^a EFFUSA.

ANTE annos namque ferme quatuordecim², in his torpenti-
 bus terris valde *grandis verno tempore facta est*
 Cummi-
 an, **XXVI.** *siccitas* iugis et dura, in tantum ut illa Domini in
 Rain after
 long
 drought. Levitico libro transgressoribus coaptata populis
 comminatio videretur imminere, qua dicit, *Dabo*
caelum vobis desuper sicut ferrum, et terram aeneam.

Consumetur incassum labor vester; nec proferet terra germen, nec arbores poma praebebunt³; et cetera. Nos itaque haec legentes, et *imminentem plagam pertimescentes*, hoc inito consilio fieri consiliati sumus, ut aliqui ex nostris senioribus nuper aratum et seminatum campum cum sancti Columbae candida circumirent tunica⁴, et libris stylo ipsius descriptis; levarentque *in aere*, et excuterent eandem per ter *tunicam*, qua etiam *hora exitus* eius de carne *indutus erat*; et eius aperirent libros, et legerent in Colliculo Angelorum⁵, ubi

^a miraculum quod nunc domino propitio describere incipimus nostris temporibus factum propriis inspeximus oculis *add. B.*

legentium praetermissa sunt fastidium.' Ch. 46 ends nearly in the same form in the full recension.

¹ *transitum*] Some of these have been related in i. 1, pp. 11-13.

² *quatuordecim*] The drought was probably partial, not being recorded in the Annals as some are. Cummi-an begins this chapter 'Post mortem viri Dei.' 'Now if this be a genuine work, and if the writer be Cuimine Ailbe, it will follow that the present chapter of Adamnan was written between 679 and 683: for Cummi-an, who relates the occurrence, died in 669, and therefore that is the latest date to which we can add the 14 years in the text, which

brings us to 683, four years after Adamnan's elevation to the abbacy of Hy.' (Reeves.)

³ *praebebunt*] Lev. xxvi. 19, 20, Vulg.

⁴ *tunica*] The inner garment. St. Martin took off his *tunica* for a poor man, and was then 'extrinsecus indutus amphibalo, veste nudus interiorius.' Sulp. Sev. *Dial.*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* col. 201.

⁵ *Colliculo Angelorum*] Cnoc Angel, a conspicuous round sand-hill, covered with sheep-nibbled verdure, in the Machar or western plain in Iona. It is called *Sithean Mor* (great fairies' hill) to distinguish it from *Sithean Beg* (little fairies' hill), a similar mound a

aliquando caelestis patriae cives ad beati viri conductum visi sunt descendere. *Quae* postquam *omnia* iuxta initum sunt *peracta* consilium, *mirum dictu*, *eadem die* caelum, in praeteritis mensibus, Martio videlicet et Aprili¹, nudatum nubibus, mira sub celeritate ipsis de ponto ascendentibus illico opertum est, et *pluvia facta* est magna, die noctuque descendens; et sitiens prius terra, satis satiata, opportune germina produxit sua, et valde *laetas eodem anno segetes*. Unius itaque beati commemoratio nominis viri in tunica et libris commemorata multis regionibus eadem vice et populis salubri subvenit opportunitate.

CAP. XLV.

DE VENTORUM FLATIBUS CONTRARIIS VENERABILIS VIRI VIRTUTE
ORATIONUM IN SECUNDOS CONVERSIS VENTOS.

PRAETERITORUM, nobis, quae non vidimus, talium miraculorum praesentia, quae ipsi perspeximus, fidem indubitanter confirmant. Ventorum namque flamina contrariorum tribus nos ipsi vicibus in secunda vidimus conversa. Prima vice cum dolatae² per terram pineae et roboreae traherentur longae

The wind
changed
on three
occasions.

little to the north-west. There is a *Mons Angelorum* (Carn Ingli) in Pembrokeshire, and at Ripon is Elveshou, now 'Ailcey' hill. Colgan in a note on his *Tertia vita S. Patr.* (*Tr. Th.* 32 a) writes '*viri Sidhe* ab Hibernis spiritus phantastici vocantur, ex eo quod ex amoenis collibus quasi prodire conspiciantur, ad homines infestandos: et hinc vulgus credat eos quasi in quibusdam subterraneis habitaculis intra istos colles habitare, haec autem habitacula et aliquando ipsi colles ab Hibernis *Sidhe*, vel *Siodha* vocantur.' (Cf. eiusdem *Acta SS.* 56 b.) The fairies' hills of pagan mythology became Angels' hills in the minds of the

early Christian saints,

'Tun'd by Faith's ear to some
celestial melody.'

Christian Year, 3rd S. in Lent. In this case there is a special reason for the name; see iii. 16.

¹ *Aprili*] Reeves seems to infer that the sowing was done immediately after the rain, and therefore earlier than June, the usual time for sowing barley in Iona at present. But the text says no more than that the thirsty soil was saturated, and that in the same year there was a good harvest.

² *dolatae*] 'Dug-out' or hollowed out of single trees. A fine example was found at Brigg in Lincolnshire in April 1886, and

naves, et magnae navium pariter materiae eveherentur domus; beati viri vestimenta et libros, inito consilio, super altare, cum psalmis et ieiunatione, et eius nominis invocatione, posuimus, ut a Domino ventorum prosperitatem nobis profuturam impetraret. Quod ita eidem sancto viro, Deo donante, factum est: nam ea die qua nostri nautae, omnibus praeparatis, supra memoratarum ligna materiaram proposuere scaphis per mare et curucis¹ trahere, venti, praeteritis contrarii diebus, subito in secundos conversi sunt. Tum deinde per longas et obliquas vias tota die prosperis flatibus, Deo propitio, famulantibus, et plenis sine ulla retardatione velis, ad Iouam insulam omnis illa navalis emigratio prospere pervenit.

Secunda vero vice, cum, post aliquantos intervenientes annos, aliae nobiscum roboreae ab ostio fluminis Sale², duodecim³ curucis congregatis, materiae⁴ ad nostrum renovandum traherentur monasterium, alio die tranquillo nautis mare palmulis verrentibus, subito nobis contrarius insurgit

is preserved there. It is of oak, 48 ft. 6 in. long, and 4 ft. 6 in. across, and was apparently a hollow tree to begin with. See an illustrated account of this and notices of others in *Archaeologia*, vol. 50, p. 361. Reeves mentions some of great length found in bogs and lakes, referring to Chalmers, *Caledonia*, i. 101.

¹ *curucis*] Currucs or coracles. Three kinds of vessels are mentioned in this chapter, *naves longae dolatae*, *scaphae*, and *curucae*. Elsewhere we have *barca*, i. 28; *navicula*, i. 1, etc.; *navis oneraria*, ii. 3; *almus*, ii. 27; *caupallus*, ib.; *cymba*, *cymbula*, ii. 34. The *curucae* had *antennae*, *vela*, *remi*, and *rudentes*, ii. 42, 45.

² *Sale*] A river from which a S.E. wind brought ships to Iona, possibly the Seil in Lorne.

³ *duodecim*] Reeves shows how largely adopted this number was

not only in almost every department of religious economy but in secular use also.

⁴ *roboreae materiae*] The construction of timber buildings was called *mos Scottorum*, and that of stone *mos Romanorum*. Reeves has collected a number of quotations to show that wood was the rule and stone the exception until about the twelfth century. See also Petrie on *Round Towers*, Index. In England it was much the same, hence our word *timber*, properly building-material, from A.S. *timbrian*, to build. In the 'stone-carpentry' and turned baluster shafts of our earliest stone buildings in this country, we have reminiscences of the wooden structures that preceded them. It is hardly necessary to point out that wood is the ordinary building-material in many countries at the present day. Cp. p. 72, note 2.

Favonius, qui et Zephyrus ventus, in proximam tum declinamus insulam, quae Scotice vocitatur Airthrago¹, in ea portum ad manendum quaerentes. Sed inter haec de illa importuna venti contrarietate querimur, et quodammodo quasi accusare nostrum Columbam coepimus, dicentes, 'Placetne tibi, Sancte, haec nobis adversa retardatio? huc usque a te, Deo propitio, aliquod nostrorum laborum praestari speravimus consolatorium adiumentum, te videlicet aestimantes alicuius esse grandis apud Deum honoris.' His dictis, post modicum, quasi unius momenti, intervallum, mirum dictu, ecce Favonius ventus cessat contrarius, Vulturinusque flat, dicto citius, secundus. Iussi tum nautae antennas, crucis instar², et vela protensis sublevant rudentibus, prosperisque et lenibus flabris eadem die nostram appetentes insulam, sine ulla laboratione, cum illis omnibus qui navibus inerant nostris cooperantibus, in lignorum evectione gaudentes, devehimur. Non mediocriter, quamlibet levis, illa querula nobis sancti accusatio viri profuit. Quantique et qualis est apud Dominum meriti Sanctus apparet, quem in ventorum ipse tam celeri conversione audierat.

Tertia proinde vice, cum in aesteo tempore, post Hibernensis synodi conductum³, in plebe Generis Loerni⁴ per aliquot, venti contrarietate, retardaremur dies, ad Saineam devenimus insulam; ibidemque demoratos festiva sancti Columbae nox⁵ et solemnis dies nos invenit valde tristificatos, videlicet desiderantes eandem diem in Ioua facere laetificam insula. Unde, sicut prius alia querebamus vice,

¹ *Airthrago*] S.E. of Iona, unidentified unless it be Arran.

² *crucis instar*] A suggestion of the value of the sign of the cross.

³ *conductum*] There is no means of knowing what particular synod this was. Adamnan attended a synod of forty bishops or abbots (*antistites*) c. 695, and an earthen enclosure at Tara was called the Rath of the synods; with this the

name of Adamnan was traditionally connected, and on the east side of it is the *Cross Adamnani*. He may have attended synods of the Irish clergy in order to promote the acceptance of the Roman Easter.

⁴ *Generis Loerni*] Cinell Loairn, the tribe of Lorne in Argyshire.

⁵ *nox*] The vigil or eve of St. Columba.

dicentes, 'Placetne tibi, Sancte, crastinam tuae festivitatis inter plebeios et non in tua ecclesia transigere diem? facile tibi est talis in exordio diei a Domino impetrare¹ ut contrarii in secundos vertantur venti, et in tua celebremus ecclesia tui natalis² missarum solemnia.' Post eandem transactam noctem diluculo mane consurgimus, et videntes cessasse contrarios flatus, conscensis navibus, nullo flante vento, in mare progredimur³, et ecce statim post nos Auster cardinalis⁴, qui et Notus, inflat. Tum proinde ovantes nautae vela subrigunt: sicque ea die talis, sine labore, nostra tam festina navigatio, et tam prospera, beato viro donante Deo, fuit, ut, sicuti prius exoptavimus, post horam diei tertiam⁵ ad Iouae portum pervenientes insulae, postea manuum et pedum peracta lavatione, hora sexta⁶ ecclesiam cum fratribus intrantes, sacra missarum solemnia pariter celebraremus, in festo die inquam natalis sanctorum⁷ Columbae et Baithenei: cuius diluculo, ut supradictum est, de Sainea insula⁸, longius sita, emigravimus. Huius ergo praemissae narrationis testes, non bini tantum vel terni, secundum legem⁹, sed centeni et amplius adhuc exstant.

¹ *impetrare*] St. Columba was invoked during his life on earth from distant places (ii. 5, 13, 39, 40) and after his decease his intercession was sought in the same way (ii. 44, 45, 46). It never occurred to the congregation of Iona that when their master had been taken from them he would be less able to hear and to help them.

² *Natalis*] *dies* is the festival of a saint, commemorating his birth into the future life 'quia ut saeculo et mundo moriuntur, ita tunc caelo nascuntur.' Beleth, *Div. Off.* 4. See further in Duncange. The day of birth into this world is usually distinguished as *Nativitas*, but, in ii. 9, Adamnan has *Natalitium Domini*.

³ *progredimur*] By rowing.

⁴ *Auster cardinalis*] The wind due south. The cardinal points are those which lie (1) in the direction of the earth's poles (*cardines*, from *cardo* a hinge, pivot, point about which the earth turns), (2) in the direction of sunrise and sunset.

⁵ *tertiam*] It was about thirty miles, a six hours' sail.

⁶ *sexta*] Note that mass was celebrated at noon on this occasion.

⁷ *sanctorum*] On this coincidence see *Intr.* viii. § 1.

⁸ *Sainea insula*] Shuna, in Nether Lorne, parish of Kilchattan.

⁹ *legem*] Deut. xix. 15; St. Matt. xviii. 16; 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

CAP. XLVI.

DE MORTALITATE.

Et hoc etiam, ut aestimo, non inter minora virtutum miracula connumerandum videtur de mortali- The great
tate¹, quae nostris temporibus terrarum orbem plague.
bis² ex parte vastaverat maiore. Nam, ut de ceteris taceam
latioribus Europae regionibus, hoc est, Italia³ et ipsa
Romana civitate, et Cisalpinis Galliarum provinciis, Hispanis
quoque Pyrinaei montis interiectu disternatis, oceani
insulae per totum, videlicet Scotia et Britannia, binis vicibus
vastatae sunt dira pestilentia, exceptis duobus populis, hoc
est, Pictorum plebe et Scotorum Britanniae⁴, The Picts
inter quos utrosque Dorsi montes⁵ Britannici and Scots,
disternant. Et, quamvis utrorumque populorum non
desint grandia peccata, quibus plerumque ad iracundiam

¹ *mortalitate*] The great plague of 664, of which Bede gives an account in *H. E.* iii. 27. There were renewed outbreaks in Ireland as well as in England during the rest of the century. The Four Masters under 684 mention a mortality throughout the whole world for three years in which not one in a thousand animals escaped, and in the same year a frost in which all the lakes and rivers in Ireland were frozen, and there was communication on the ice between Ireland and Scotland. At Jarrow in 685 the services had to be carried on, owing to the plague, by the abbot Ceolfrith and his little pupil, who grew up to be the venerable Bede. The disease was a virulent bilious fever known as the *flava pestis* or *pestis ictericia*. Reeves has collected a number of quotations relating to it.

² *bis*] So *binis vicibus*, just below. Tighernach records a former appearance of the same disease in

Ireland in 550, which Adamnan may have included 'nostris temporibus.' See too the Four Masters under 543 and 548. Under the latter date they call this 'the first Buithe Chonail' (jaundice). Their authorities are of course the original annals.

³ *Italia*, etc.] The Four Masters record under 543 'an extraordinary universal plague through the world, which swept away the noblest third part of the human race.' How it affected St. Columba is related above. *Intr.* vi. § 3.

⁴ *Britanniae*] In later Lives it is said that St. Columba by his prayers during the former plague obtained that it should not pass the Moyola water into Ulster. See above, *Intr.* vi. § 4. The *Scoti Britanniae* were the Irish colony which had existed in some form even before the Dalriadic settlement in 502.

⁵ *montes*] See *Britanniae Dorsum*, i. 34 n., p. 44.

aeternus provocatur iudex; utrisque tamen huc usque, patienter ferens, ipse pepercit. Cui alii itaque haec tribuitur gratia a Deo collata, nisi sancto Columbae, cuius monasteria intra utrorumque populorum terminos fundata ab utrisque ad praesens tempus valde sunt honorificata. Sed hoc quod nunc dicturi sumus, ut arbitramur non sine gemitu audiendum est, quia sunt plerique in utrisque populis valde stolidi, qui se Sanctorum orationibus a morbis defensos nescientes, ingrati Dei patientia male abutuntur. Nos vero Deo agimus crebras grates, qui nos et in his nostris insulis, orante pro nobis venerabili patrono, a mortalitatum invasionibus defendit; et in Saxonia, regem Aldfridum visitantes amicum¹ adhuc non cessante pestilentia, et multos hinc inde vicos devastante, ita tamen nos Dominus, et in prima post bellum Ecfredi² visitatione, et in secunda³, interiectis duobus annis, in tali mortalitatis medio deambulantes periculo liberavit, ut ne unus etiam de nostris comitibus moreretur, nec aliquis ex eis aliquo molestaretur morbo.

and St.
Columba's
people
protected.

Hic secundus de virtutum miraculis finiendus est liber: in quo animadvertere lector debet, quod, etiam de compertis, in eo multa propter legentium evitandum praetermissa sint fastidium.

^a FINITUR SECUNDUS^a LIBER.

^{a-a} FINITVP CHKVNDVC AIBEP *litteris graecis uncialibus* A. explicit liber secundus B. C. F. S.

¹ *amicum*] On the relations between Adamnan and Aldfrith, and on this visit, see *Intr.* viii. § 10.

² *bellum Ecfredi*] The expedition into Ireland reprobated by Bede in *H. E.* iv. 26, A.D. 684, when Ecgfrith sent Beret, his general, 'and miserably wasted that harmless nation.' The invasion may have been occasioned by the Irish having harboured Aldfrith. Ecg-

frith was slain in battle with the Picts in the following year.

³ *secunda*] Adamnan visited his royal pupil at least twice in Northumbria, partly in order to obtain the return of captives taken by Beret. 'Adomnanus captivos reducesit ad Hiberniam sexaginta.' *Ann. Ul.* s. a. 686. Tighernach dates this visit 687, and has a similar entry, s. a. 689.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA¹ TERTII LIBRI.

- DE Angelicis Apparitionibus quae vel aliis de beato viro, vel eidem de aliis, revelatae sunt. (*Praefatio.*)
- De angelo Domini qui eius genitrici in somnis post ipsius in utero conceptionem apparuit. (I.) ||
- De radio luminoso super dormientis ipsius pueri faciem viso. (II.)
- De angelorum apparitione sanctorum, quos sanctus Brendenus, beati comites viri, per campum viderat commeantes. (III.)
- De angelo Domini quem sanctus Fennio beati viri socium itineris vidit. (IV.)
- De angelo Domini, qui ad sanctum Columbam in Himba commorantem insula per visum apparuit, missus ut Aidanum in regem ordinaret. (V.)
- De angelorum apparitione alicuius Brittonis animam ad caelum vehentium. (VI.)
- De angelorum revelata eidem sancto viro visione, qui animam alicuius Diormitii ad caelum ducebant. (VII.)
- De angelorum contra daemones forti belligatione, Sancto in eodem bello opportune subvenientem. (VIII.)
- De angelorum apparitione quos vir Dei viderat alicuius animam nomine Columbi, fabri ferrarii, Coilrigini cognomento, ad caelos evehere. (IX.)
- De angelorum simili visione, quos vir beatus aspexerat alicuius bene moratae feminae animam ad caelum ferre. (X.)
- De angelorum apparitione sanctorum, quos sanctus Columba

¹ *capitula*] Supplied from Cod. B. See note above, p. 66.

obvios in transitu viderat beati Brendeni animae, illius monasterii fundatoris quod Scottice Birra nuncupatur. (XI.)

De angelorum visione sanctorum, qui sancti Columbani episcopi, Mocoloigse, animam ad caelum evexerant. (XII.)

De angelorum apparitione qui obviam animabus sancti monachorum Congelli descenderant. (XIII.)

De angelorum manifestatione alicuius Emchathi animae obviantium. (XIV.)

De angelo Domini, qui alicui fratri lapso de monasterii culmine rotundi in Roboreti Campo opportune tam cito subvenerat. (XV.)

De angelorum multitudine sanctorum visa ad beati condictum viri de caelo descendentium. (XVI.)

De columna luminosa sancti viri de vertice ardere visa. (XVII.)

De Spiritus Sancti descensione sive visitatione quae in eadem insula, tribus continuis diebus, totidemque noctibus, super venerabilem mansit virum. (XVIII.)

De angelicae lucis claritudine, quam Virgnous, bonae indolis iuvenis, qui post, Deo auctore, huic praefuit ecclesiae, cui ego, indignus licet, deservio, super sanctum Columbam in ecclesia, fratribus hiemali nocte in cubiculis quiescentibus, descendere viderat. (XIX.)

De alia prope simili celsae claritudinis visione. (XX.)

De alia parili divinae lucis apparitione. (XXI.)

De alia angelorum sancto manifestata viro apparitione; quos sanctae eius animae obviare incipientes quasi mox de corpore viderat migraturae. (XXII.)

De transitu ad Dominum sancti nostri patroni Columbae. (XXIII.)

^a HIC TERTIUS LIBER ORDITUR,
DE ANGELICIS ^a VISIONIBUS

PRAEFATIO.

IN Primo ex his tribus libellis libro, ut superius commemoratum est, de Prophetiis Revelationibus quaedam breviter succincteque, Domino navante, descripta sunt. In Secundo superiore, de Virtutum Miraculis, quae per beatum declarata sunt virum, et quae, ut saepe dictum est, plerumque prophetationis comitatur gratia. In hoc vero Tertio, de Angelicis Apparitionibus, quae vel aliis de beato viro, vel ipsi de aliis, revelatae sunt; et de his, quae utroque, quamlibet disparili modo, hoc est, ipsi proprie et plenius, aliis vero improprie, et ex quadam parte, sunt manifestatae, hoc est extrinsecus et explorative, in iisdem tamen, vel angelorum vel caelestis visionibus lucis: quae utique talium discrepantiae visionum suis caraxatae locis inferius clarebunt. Sed nunc, ut a primordiis beati nativitatis viri easdem describere angelicas apparitiones incipiamus:

Summary
of the
entire
work.

CAP. I.

Angelus Domini in somnis genitrici venerabilis viri quaedam nocte inter conceptum eius et partum apparuit, eique quasi

^{a-a} incipit textus tertii libri de angelicis visionibus B. incipit liber tertius de angelicis apparitionibus et de transitu sancti columbae C. D. F. S.

quoddam mirae pulchritudinis *peplum*¹ adsistens detulit; in quo
 Cummiā, *veluti universorum decorosi colores florum depicti*
 I. *videbantur; quodque post aliquod breve inter-*
 An angel *vallum eius de manibus repossens abstulit; elevans-*
 appears to *que et expandens in aere dimisit vacuo. Illa vero*
 the mother *de illo tristificata sublato, sic ad illum venerandi*
 of St. *habitus virum, 'Cur a me,' ait, 'hoc lactificum tam*
 Columba. *cito abstrahis pallium?' Ille consequenter, 'Idcirco,' inquit, 'quia*
hoc sagum alicuius est tam magnifici honoris, apud te diutius
retinere non poteris.' His dictis, supra memoratum *peplum*
mulier paulatim a se elongari volando videbat, camporumque
latitudinem in maius crescendo excedere, montesque et saltus
maiore sui mensura superare²; vocemque huiusmodi subsecutam
audierat, 'Mulier, noles tristificari, viro enim cui matrimoniali
es iuncta foedere talem filium editura es floridum, qui quasi
unus prophetarum Dei inter ipsos connumerabitur, innumera-
biliumque animarum dux ad caelestem a Deo patriam est praec-
destinatus.' In hac audita voce mulier *expergiscitur.*

CAP. II.

DE RADIO LUMINOSO SUPER DORMIENTIS IPSIUS PUERI
 FACIEM VISO.

ALIA in nocte, eiusdem beati pueri *nutritor*³, *spectabilis*

¹ *peplum*] Reeves refers to a similar vision of a tree, in the Life of St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise (*Cod. Marshii*, cap. 21), interpreted by St. Enna. Also to a mother's vision about her son Finnian, in Colgan, *Acta SS.* 393 a.

² *superare*] The old Irish Life seems to imply that it reached from Clew Bay, on the coast of Mayo, to the N. E. coast of Scotland.

³ *nutritor*] Foster-father. Many Irish saints are described as placed in childhood with clerical guardians. So St. Cuthbert in the Irish

Libellus de ortu, cap. xv, where we are told of St. Cuthbert's *nutritor* that he was 'vir quidam magnus inter omnes Hybernenses, cui prae multimoda suae sanctitatis opinione nobiliores quique patriae Dei servicio filios suos informandos contradiderant.' Joseph is styled by Adamnan 'Domini Iesu nutritor' (*De Loc. Sanct.* i. 14). Cp. 2 Kings (4 Reg.) x. 5, in the Vulgate. On fosterage in Ireland, see O'Curry, *Manners*, etc., 355, 375; *Laws of Ireland*, Indices, and Joyce, *Hist.* 85.

*vitae vir, presbyter Cruithnechanus*¹, post missam *ab ecclesia ad hospitium revertens, totam invenit domum suam clara irradiatam luce*²; *globum quippe igneum super pueruli dormientis faciem stantem vidit. Quo viso, statim intremuit, et prostrato in terram vultu valde miratus, Spiritus Sancti gratiam super suum intellexit alumnum caelitus effusam.*

Cummian,
II.

A heavenly
light on St.
Columba
when an
infant.

CAP. III.

DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE SANCTORUM QUOS SANCTUS
BRENDENUS BEATI COMITES VIRI PER CAMPUM VIDERAT
COMMEANTES.

Post namque multorum intervalla temporum, cum a quodam synodo³ pro quibusdam veniabilibus et tam excusabilibus causis, non recte, ut post in fine claruit, sanctus excommunicaretur Columba, ad eandem contra ipsum collectam venit congregationem. Quem cum eminus appropinquantem sanctus vidisset Brendenus⁴, illius monasterii fundator quod Scotice Birra⁵ nuncupatur, citius surgit, et inclinata facie, eum veneratus exosculatur. Quem cum aliqui illius seniores coetus seorsim ceteris redarguerent semotis, dicentes, 'Quare coram excommunicato surgere et eum exosculari non renueris?'

The vision
of St.
Brendan
at Teltown.

¹ *Cruithnechanus*] Cruithnechan, diminutive of Cruithnech, Pict.

² *luce*] A regular incident in hagiology, as in the cases of St. Cuthbert and St. Wilfrid, and four Irish saints mentioned by Reeves, who cites two classical examples, Virg. *Aen.* ii. 682; Liv. i. 39.

³ *synodo*] It is not known when this synod was held, or for what St. Columba was condemned. Ussher places it in 561, immediately after the battle of Cuil-Dreimhne, and thinks it was assembled to condemn St. Columba's action in bringing about

that battle. (*Wks.* vi. 468, and Chronological Index.)

⁴ *Brendenus*] St. Brendan, founder of Birr, of the race of Corb Aulam, to be distinguished from St. Brendan of Clonfert. He died on the night before Nov. 29, his day in the Calendar, probably in 573. Ann. Tighernach at 559 has 'Ascensio Brenaind in curru suo in aerem.'

⁵ *Birra*] Genitive of Bior or Bir, a stream, here the proper name of Moyola Water, co. Londonderry, on which the monastery stood. The town Birr is now called Parsonstown.

taliter ad eos inquiring, 'Si vos,' ait, 'videritis ea quae mihi Dominus hac in die de hoc suo, quem dehonoratis, electo manifestare non dedignatus est, nunquam excommunicassetis quem Deus non solum, secundum vestram non rectam sententiam, nullo excommunicat modo, sed etiam magis ac magis magnificat.' Illi e contra, 'Quomodo,' aiunt, 'ut dicis, ipsum glorificat Deus, quem nos non sine causa excommunicavimus, scire cupimus?' 'Ignicomam et valde luminosam,' ait Brendenus, 'columnam vidi eundem quem vos despicitis antecedentem Dei hominem. Angelos quoque sanctos per campum eius itineris comites. Hunc itaque spernere non audeo quem populorum ducem ad vitam a Deo praeordinatum video.' His ab eo dictis, non tantum, ultra Sanctum excommunicare non ausi, cessarunt, sed etiam valde venerati honorarunt. Hoc famen¹ factum est hi² Teilte³.

CAP. IV.

DE ANGELO DOMINI QUEM SANCTUS FINNIO⁴ BEATI VIRI
SOCIUM ITINERIS VIDIT.

ALIO in tempore, vir sanctus venerandum episcopum Finni-
onem, suum videlicet magistrum, iuvenis senem, adit; quem

¹ famen] Reeves gives *tamen*, but Cod. A. has *famen*; cp. βήμα; Adamnan could scarcely know פמן. *Famen* occurs again in iii. 15.

² hi] The Irish preposition *in*, often found before proper names elsewhere, e.g. in Muirchu, Stokes, *Tripart.* 283, 'cuius reliquiae adorantur hi Sleibti,' i.e. in Sletty, and in the *Tripartite.* (ib. 222) ocus luid for muir hicurach oenseiched, 'and he went on the sea in a coracle of one hide.' So in the Calendar called 'of Oengus,' ed. Stokes, clxxv. hicurchan cenchodail, 'in a coracle without a hide.'

³ Teilte] A place in Meath between Kells and Navan, famous in early times for its great Lammas

fair, also a seat of royalty; hence, like Tara, a suitable place for a synod. It is now called Teltown, a name formed from Tailteann, the Irish genitive. The great circular rath, about 100 paces in diameter, still remains in fair preservation. It was 'till recently resorted to by the men of Meath for hurling, wrestling, and other manly sports,' says Dr. O'Donovan in his note on 'Four Masters,' vol. i. p. 22 (1856), but in 1893 a car-driver from Kells drove past it and found it at last with some difficulty.

⁴ Finnio] Cumman calls him Finnianus. Probably St. Finnian of Moville is meant, as he was certainly a bishop, and St. Co-

cum sanctus Finnio ad se *appropinquantem* vidisset, *angelum Domini pariter eius comitem itineris vidit: et, ut nobis ab expertis traditur, quibusdam astantibus intimavit fratribus, inquires, 'Ecce nunc videatis sanctum advenientem Columbam, qui sui commeatus meruit habere socium angelum caelicolam.'* *Iisdem diebus*¹ *Sanctus cum duodecim commilitonibus discipulis*² *ad Britanniam transnavigavit.*

Cummian,
III.

The vision
of St.
Finnio.

Cummian,
IV.

CAP. V.

DE ANGELO DOMINI QUI AD SANCTUM COLUMBAM IN HINBA COMMORANTEM INSULA PER VISUM APPARUIT, MISSUS. UT AIDANUM IN REGEM ORDINARET.

*ALIO in tempore, cum vir praedicabilis in Hinba commoraretur insula, quadam nocte in ecstasi mentis angelum Domini ad se missum vidit, qui in manu vitreum ordinationis regum habebat librum*³: *quem*

Cummian,
V.

lumba was juvenis. But there is no reference to St. Columba in the Life of that St. Finnian, while in the Life of St. Finnian of Clonard, who however is only called a bishop in one place, Columba is mentioned as a disciple, and the present interview is referred to. On the same uncertainty see note on ii. 1, p. 70.

¹ *iisdem diebus*] In Cummian the third chapter ends 'qui sui commeatus habere meruit angelum Domini,' and the fourth chapter begins 'Hiisdem diebus,' etc., and then proceeds to relate the miracle of the water and wine (*supra*, ii. 1). As St. Columba is described as *juvenis* by both writers in both connexions, there seems to be a grave anachronism, for he was forty-two when he sailed over into Britain with twelve disciples.

² *discipulis*] Their names are given in Cod. B. in a later though early hand, probably from records

preserved at Iona, thus: 'Duo filii Brenden, Baithene, qui et Conin, sancti successor Columbae; et Cobthach, frater eius; Ernaan, sancti avunculus Columbae; Diorinitius, eius ministrator; Rus, et Fechno, duo filii Rodain; Scandal filius Bresail filii Endei filii Neil; Luguid Mocuthemne; Echoid; Tochanna Mocufircetea; Cairnaan filius Branduib filii Meilgi; Grillaan.' See Reeves, 1857, p. 245; 1874, pp. lxxi, 228, for ref. to other places where the list appears, and for notes on the names.

³ *vitreum librum*] Perhaps so called from glass or crystal on its covers. Note however that it is not a description of an actual book, but only of an imaginary *codex* seen in an ecstatic vision, like that related by Bede, in which 'candidum codicem protulerunt angeli, deinde atrum daemones.' *H. E.* v. 13.

cum vir venerandus *de manu angeli* accepisset, ab eo iussus, An angel *legere coepit. Qui cum secundum quod ei in libro* instructs St. Columba *erat commendatum*¹ *Aidanum in regem ordinare* to ordain *recusaret, quia magis Iogenanum fratrem eius dili-* Aidan king. *geret, subito angelus, extendens manum, Sanctum percussit flagello*², *cuius livorosum in eius latere vestigium omnibus suae diebus permansit vitae. Hocque intulit verbum, 'Pro certo scias,'* inquiring, 'quia ad te a Deo missus sum cum vitreo libro, ut iuxta verba quae in eo legisti, Aidanum in regnum ordines. Quod si obsecundare huic nolueris iussioni, percutiam te iterato.' Hic itaque angelus Domini, cum per tres continuas noctes, eundem in manu vitreum habens codicem, apparuisset, eademque Domini iussa de regis eiusdem ordinatione commendasset, Sanctus, verbo obsecutus Domini, ad Iouam transnavigavit insulam, ibidemque Aidanum, iisdem St. Columba *adventantem diebus, in regem, sicut erat iussus, prophetias. ordinavit. Et inter ordinationis verba, de filiis et nepotibus pronepotibusque eius futura prophetizavit*³: *imponensque manum super caput eius, ordinans benedixit*⁴.

¹ *commendatum*] This word seems to refer to some special recommendation with regard to Aedhan which Columba thought he saw in the book, probably a suggestion of his own conscience mingling with the vision.

² *flagello*] In a fragment of Caius (c. A. D. 200) preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 28) it is said how one Natalius, who had been a 'bishop' among heretics, was severely beaten by holy angels for a whole night. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* ii. 131. Bede relates how Laurence, Archbishop of Canterbury, had a vision in which he was scourged by St. Peter for thinking of forsaking his flock (*H. E.* ii. 6; see also Alcuin in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 519, and Laurence's epitaph in Elmham's *Hist. Mon. S. Aug. Cant.* Rolls Ser. p. 149). St. Jerome writes how he was scourged while in an

ecstasy for his love of heathen literature (*Ep.* xxii. § 30). See Bright's *Chapters of E. E. Ch. Hist.* 103. In the life of St. Corpheus of Clonmacnoise it is related how Malachi I, king of Ireland, was scourged by demons. Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.* 508. Symeon relates how St. Cuthbert appeared to one Ralph (probably Flambard) in his sleep, and smote the oppressor of his people with his crosier. *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* iii. 20.

³ *prophetizavit*] For a similar prophecy, see i. 9, p. 24.

⁴ *benedixit*] Conventual rather than episcopal rank was the qualification most considered for the consecrator of a Scotie king. And St. Columba stood in the same relation to the Dalriadic kings that the abbot of Armagh occupied towards the sovereigns of Ireland.

Cummeneus Albus¹, in libro² quem de virtutibus sancti Columbae scripsit, sic dixit quod sanctus Columba de Aidano et de posteris eius, et de regno suo, prophetare coepit, dicens, '*Indubitanter crede, O Aidane, quoniam nullus adversariorum tuorum tibi poterit resistere, donec prius fraudulentiam agas in me et in posteros meos.* Propterea ergo tu filiis commenda ut et ipsi filiis et nepotibus et posteris suis commendent, ne per consilia mala eorum sceptrum regni huius de manibus suis perdant. In quocumque enim tempore adversum me aut adversus cognatos meos qui sunt in Hibernia fecerint, *flagellum, quod causa tui ab angelo sustinui,* per manum Dei super eos in magnum flagitium vertetur, et cor virorum auferetur ab eis et inimici eorum vehementer super eos confortabuntur.'

Hoc autem vaticinium temporibus nostris completum est, in bello Roth³, Domnail Brecco, nepote⁴ Aidani, The fulfilment sine causa vastante provinciam Domnill nepotis⁵ ment. Ainmuireg. Et a die illa usque hodie adhuc in proclivo sunt ab extraneis⁶: quod suspiria doloris pectori incutit.

¹ *Cummeneus Albus*] Seventh abbot of Iona. Intr. viii. § 6.

² *libro*] The Life of St. Columba by Cummian. It is the first Life in Colgan's collection, though published by him as anonymous, under the mistaken belief that the second Life therein is Cummian's. It was afterwards published, with small variations, in the works mentioned above, in the Preface.

³ *Roth*] Magh Rath, supposed to be Moira in county Down. The battle was fought in 637.

⁴ *nepote*] Grandson; he was son of Eochodius Buidhe, who as a child had rushed into St. Columba's arms, and been named by him to succeed his father as king (i. 9). From this use of *nepos* comes the older use of

'nephew for grandson,' as in 1 Tim. v. 4.

⁵ *nepotis*] Grandson, being son of Aedh, son of Ainmire.

⁶ *in proclivo ab extraneis*] In decline or decadence caused by strangers. The text of Cummian gives the fulfilment more precisely; '*Quod ita factum est; mandatum namque viri Dei transgredientes, regnum perdidderunt,*' cap. v. Reeves thinks the last words refer to the departure of the sceptre from the house of Gabhran to that of Loarn, which happened about 681, and that, as Cummian died 669, the passage must be a later addition. For *proclivum* (neut. adj. as subst.) see Georges, *Wortformen*, s. v.

CAP. VI.

DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE ALCUIUS BEATI BRITONIS
ANIMAM AD CAELUM VEHEMENTIUM.

Alio in tempore, cum vir sanctus in Ioua commoraretur insula, quidam de suis monachis, Brito¹, bonis actibus intentus, molestia correptus corporis, ad extrema perductus est. Quem cum vir venerandus in hora sui visitaret exitus, paulisper ad lectulum eius assistens, et ei benedicens, ocius domum egreditur, nolens videre morientem. Qui eodem momento post sancti de domu secessum viri praesentem finiit vitam. Tum vir praedicabilis, in plateola² sui deambulans monasterii, porrectis ad caelum oculis, diutius valde obstupescens, admirabatur. Quidam vero frater, Aidanus nomine, filius Libir, bonae indolis et religiosus homo, qui solus de fratribus eadem adfuit hora, flexis genibus, rogare coepit ut Sanctus eidem tantae admirationis causam intimaret. Cui Sanctus, 'Nunc sanctos angelos in aere contra adversarias potestates belligerare vidi; Christoque agonothetae³ gratias ago quia victores angeli animam huius peregrini, qui primus apud nos in hac insula mortuus est⁴, ad caelestis patriae gaudia

¹ Brito] A British monk at Iona, probably St. Odhran.

² plateola] See note on platea, i. 50, p. 63.

³ agonothetae] Originally the superintendent of the public contests in games, here applied to Christ as the witness of a conflict.

⁴ primus mortuus est] There is a curious story in the old Irish Life, quoted by Reeves here, about St. Odhran expressing his willingness to be the first to be buried in Iona, and then dying. The principal and now only cemetery in Iona is still called *Reilig Orain*, the cemetery of Odhran, *Reilig* or *Relic* being a common

Irish term for a cemetery, and connected with *Reliquiae*. The story referred to may be founded on this of Adamnan concerning 'Brito,' or on some other tradition of a real conversation between Columba and Odhran, distorted by passing through minds on which pagan ideas retained considerable hold. It all but implies that Odhran offered himself to be buried alive, to which local tradition long after added the still more ghastly circumstance, that once, when the tomb was opened, he was found alive, and uttering such fearful words that the grave had to be closed immediately. Celtic hagiology affords

evexerunt. *Sed hoc quaeso sacramentum nemini in vita mea reveles.*'

CAP. VII.

DE ANGELORUM REVELATA EIDEM SANCTO VIRO VISIONE, QUI ANIMAM ALICUIUS DIORMITI AD CAELUM DUCEBANT.

ALIO in tempore, quidam Hiberniensis peregrinus ad Sanctum perveniens, per aliquot apud eum ^{A similar} menses in Ioua commanebat insula. Cui vir ^{vision.} beatus alia die, 'Nunc,' ait, 'quidam de provincialibus tuis clericis ad caelum ab angelis portatur, cuius adhuc ignoro nomen.' Frater vero, hoc audiens, coepit ^{||} secum de provincia perscrutari Anteriorum¹ qui Scotice Indairthir² nuncupantur, et de illius beati hominis vocabulo; hocque consequenter intulit verbum, inquires, 'Alium Christi scio miltonem qui sibi in eodem territorio, in quo et ego commanebam, monasteriolum construxit, nomine Diormitium.' Cui Sanctus ait, 'Ipse est de quo dicis, qui nunc ab angelis Dei in paradysum deductus est.' Sed hoc etiam non negligenter adnotandum est, quod idem vir venerabilis multa sibi a Deo arcana, ab aliis celata, sacramenta, nullo modo in hominum notitiam prodi passus sit, duabus, ut ipse aliquando paucis intimaverat fratribus, causis existentibus; hoc est, ut iactantiam devitaret, et ad semetipsum interrogandum, insustentabiles turbas de se aliqua interrogare volentes, divulgata revelationum fama, non invitaret.

at least one other example of a supposed parallel to the Hindoo custom of dharna, in the voluntary self-cremation of Miliuc, St. Patrick's old master (Muirchu in Stokes, *Tripart.* 276). On the same in modern times see Carleton, *Trails*, etc. 1860, ii. 95 n. He says, 'It is not, I believe, more than forty, or perhaps fifty years, since a priest committed his body to the flames for the purpose of saving his soul by an incrematory

sacrifice.' But the legend of St. Odhran has possibly arisen out of the ancient superstition that a building could be made secure by walling up a human being alive (cp. 1 Kings xvi. 34; Joshua vi. 26) or some animal, in the foundations. See Elton, *Origins*, etc., 263.

¹ *Anteriorum*] See i. 43 n., p. 55.

² *Indairthir*] Compounded of *ind*, an old form of article in nom. pl., and *airthir*, easterns.

CAP. VIII.

DE ANGELORUM CONTRA DAEMONES FORTI BELLIGERATIONE
SANCTO IN EODEM BELLO OPPORTUNE SUBVENIENTIUM.

ALIA die, vir sanctus, in Ioua conversans insula, *remotiorem ab hominibus locum, aptumque ad orationem, Cummiā, in saltibus quaesivit; ibidemque cum orare coepisset, IX. subito, ut ipse postea paucis intimaverat fratribus, A conflict between good and evil angels. videt contra se nigerrimam daemonum cum ferreis veribus aciem proeliari: qui, sicuti sancto viro per Spiritum revelatum erat, monasterium eius invadere, et multos ex fratribus iisdem volebant iugulare sudibus¹. Ipse vero contra tales aemulos unus homo innumeros, accepta Pauli armatura apostoli², forti conflictu dimicabat. Et ita ex maiore dici parte utrinque dimicatum est, nec innumerabiles unum vincere poterant, nec eos unus de sua valebat insula repellere; donec angeli Dei, ut Sanctus post quibusdam non multis retulerat, in adminiculum affuere; quorum timore proturbati daemones loco cessere. Eademque die, Sanctus ad monasterium post daemoniorum reversus de sua insula effugationem, hoc de eisdem turmis hostilibus verbum profatur, inquit, 'Illi exitiabiles aemuli qui hac die de huius terrulae, Deo propitio, regione, angelis nobis subvenientibus, ad Ethicam effugati sunt³ terram, ibidemque saevi invasores fratrum monasteria invadent, et pestilentes inferent morbos, quorum molestia infestati, multi morientur.' Quod iisdem*

¹ *sudibus*] Properly stakes, but here the iron darts just mentioned; perhaps to be taken figuratively as referring to the pestilences mentioned below. Cp. Ps. xci. 5. Hom. II. A. 48.

² *armatura apostoli*] Eph. vi. 13-17. Bede represents St. Cuthbert as using the same spiritual armour when he drove the fiends from Farne. Vit. S. C. 17.

³ *effugati sunt*] There is a wild legend of later date to the effect that after St. Patrick had driven

the demons into the sea they emerged and dwelt in the savage wilds of Seangleann in S. W. Donegal, where they remained undisturbed until St. Columba at the bidding of an angel drove them once for all into the sea after a violent conflict, and with the help of his bell, the *Dubhdubaribseach*. The parish of Glencolumbille derives its name from this legend, as told by Manus O'Donnell in 1520.

diebus, iuxta beati praescientiam viri, ita et factum est. Et post, interveniente biduo, ei revelante Spiritu, 'Bene,' ait, 'Baitheneus, auxiliante Deo, dispensavit ut eiusdem ecclesiae cui, Deo auctore, praeest, in Campo Lunge, ieiuniis et orationibus collectio¹ a daemonum defendatur invasione: ubi nemo, excepto uno qui mortuus est, hac vice morietur.' Quod ita, iuxta vaticinium eius, expletum est. Nam cum multi in ceteris eiusdem insulae monasteriis² eodem morbo morentur, nemo, nisi unus de quo Sanctus dixit, apud Baitheneum in sua est mortuus congregatione.

CAP. IX.

DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE QUOS VIR DEI VIDERAT ALICUIUS ANIMAM, NOMINE COLUMBI, FABRI FERRARI, COILRIGINI COGNOMENTO, AD CAELOS EVEHERE.

QUIDAM faber ferrarius in^a mediterranea³ Scotiae habitabat^a parte, eleemosynarum operibus satis intentus, et ceteris iustitiae actibus plenus. Hic, cum ad extrema in bona senectute perduceretur, supra memoratus Columbus cognominatus Coilriginus⁴, eadem hora qua de corpore eductus est, sanctus Columba in Ioua commanens insula, paucis quibusdam se circumstantibus sic profatus senioribus, 'Columbus Coilriginus,' ait, 'faber ferrarius, non incassum laboravit, qui de propria manuum laboratione suarum praemia, emax⁵, felix, comparuit aeterna. Ecce enim, nunc anima eius a sanctis vehitur angelis ad caelestis patriae gaudia. Nam

The soul
of a black-
smith
carried to
heaven.

^{a-a} media parte hybernie que vocatur midi habitabat D.

¹ *collectio*] Called *congregatio* just below.

² *monasteriis*] Adamnan mentions Archain as well as Campus Lunge, and, considering its extent, the ecclesiastical remains and names of places from Saints, etc. are very numerous in Tiree.

³ *mediterranea*] Durrow is placed

there in i. 3, p. 18, where see note; cp. Joyce, *Hist.* 130.

⁴ *Columbus Coilriginus*] A smith in mid-Ireland, possibly of the tribe Cailraighe. Colum Gobha; 'the smith,' is in the Calendars at June 7.

⁵ *emax*] Fond of buying, like edax, bibax, furax, etc.

quodcumque de suae artis negotiatione acquirere potuit, in egenorum eleemosynas expendit.’

CAP. X.

DE ANGELORUM SIMILI VISIONE QUOS VIR BEATUS ASPEXERAT
ALICUIUS BENE MORATAE FEMINAE ANIMAM AD CAELUM
FERRE.

ALIO itidem in tempore, vir sanctus in Ioua conversans
insula, quadam die, subito oculos ad caelum
Also that of a good woman. dirigens, haec profatus est verba, ‘Felix mulier,
felix bene morata, cuius animam nunc angeli
Dei ad paradisum evehunt.’ Erat autem quidam religiosus
frater, Genereus nomine, Saxo¹, a pictor, opus ^b pictorium
exercens, qui hoc audierat verbum ex ore Sancti prolatum.
Eademque die mensis, eodem terminato anno, Sanctus eidem
Genereo Saxoni, ‘Miram rem video,’ ait; ‘ecce, mulier de
qua, te praesente, praeterito dixeram anno nunc mariti sui
religiosi cuiusdam plebei in aere obviat animae, et cum
sanctis angelis contra aemulas pro ea belligerat potestates:
quorum adminiculo, eiusdem homuncionis iustitia suffra-
gante, a daemonum belligerationibus erepta, ad aeternae
refrigerationis locum anima ipsius est perducta.’

CAP. XI.

DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE SANCTORUM QUOS SANCTUS
COLUMBA OBVIOS IN TRANSITU VIDERAT BEATI BRENDENI
ANIMAE, ILLIUS MONASTERII FUNDATORIS QUOD SCOTICE
BIRRA NUNCUPATUR.

ALIA itidem die, dum vir venerandus in Ioua conversaretur

^a A. B. C. D. F. S. pictor Colg. Boll.

^b A. pictorum B. C. D. F. S. pictorium Colg. Boll.

¹ Saxo] See i. 1 n., p. 12.

² pictor] Colgan and the Bollandists, perhaps misled by an error in a transcript, read *pictor*. This reading has led Keller and Westwood to refer to the passage as supposed evidence of the culti-

vation of painting or illumination in Iona, while Dr. John Smith, in his *Life of St. Columba*, has accused Colgan ‘and other Catholics’ of wilfully altering the word to justify paintings.

insula, mane primo *suum advocat* saepe memoratum *ministratorem Diormitium* nomine, eique praecipit, *inquiens*, 'Sacra *celeriter Eucharistiae ministeria praeparantur*. *Hodie enim natalis*¹ *beati Brendeni dies*.' 'Quare,' ait *minister*, 'taliamissarum² solemnia hodierna praeparari praecipis? *nullus enim ad nos de Scotia sancti illius viri obitus pervenit nuncius*.' 'Vade,' tum ait *Sanctus*, '*meae obsecundare iussioni debes*. *Hac enim nocte praeterita*³ *vidi subito apertum caelum, angelorumque choros sancti Brendeni animae obvios descendere: quorum luminosa et incomparabili claritudine totus eadem hora illustratus est mundi orbis*.' ||

Cummian,
VII.

Angels descend to meet the soul of St. Brendan of Birr.

CAP. XII.

DE ANGELORUM VISIONE SANCTORUM QUI SANCTI COLUMBANI EPISCOPI, MOCU LOIGSE, ANIMAM AD CAELUM EVEXERANT.

QUADAM itidem die, dum fratres, se calceantes, mane ad diversa monasterii opera ire praepararent, *Sanctus e contra ea die otiari praecipit, sacraeque oblationis obsequia*⁴ *praeparari, et aliquam, quasi in Dominico*⁵ *prandioli adiectionem fieri*. 'Meque,' ait, 'hodie, quamlibet indignus sim, ob venerationem illius animae quae hac in nocte⁶ inter sanctos angelorum choros vecta, ultra siderea caelorum spatia ad paradisum, ascendit, *sacra oportet Eucharistiae celebrare mysteria*⁷.' Et his dictis *fratres obsequuntur*, et, iuxta Sancti

Cummian,
VIII.

Angels bear the soul of a bishop to Paradise.

¹ *natalis*] See ii. 45 n., p. 124.

² *missarum*] The term *missa* was, as here, commonly applied to the Eucharistic service, but was not limited to it. See Intr. iv. § 7, and note on *vespertinalem missam*, ch. 23, p. 158.

³ *nocte praeterita*] As in the case of St. Columba, the death during the night was commemorated on the following day. *Hac in nocte* is used of the previous night in ch. 12; cp. Cummian viii. (*nocte in hac*).

⁴ *obsequia*] From the classical

senses of obedience, and military service, naturally followed the ecclesiastical senses of pomp, ceremony, ritual. *Obsequia* here means 'ritual requirements.' *Obsequium* and *Obsequiae* came to be used especially of funeral rites, for which special ritual was employed; hence our word *obsequies*.

⁵ *in Dominico*] We have here an early example of the 'Sunday dinner.'

⁶ *hac in nocte*] See note on ch. 11.

⁷ *mysteria*] Cummian adds 'pro

iussionem, eadem *ociantur die*: praeparatisque sacris, ad ecclesiam, ministeriis, quasi die solenni ^a *albat*¹ cum Sancto pergunt. Sed forte, dum inter talia cum modulatione² officia ^b *illa* consueta decantaretur ^b *deprecatio*³, in qua sancti Martini commemoratur nomen, subito Sanctus ad cantores, eiusdem onomatis ad locum pervenientes, '*Hodie*⁴' ait, '*pro sancto Columbano episcopo decantare debetis*⁵.' Tunc omnes qui inerant *fratres intellexere quod Columbanus*⁶; *episcopus Lagenensis*⁷, *carus Columbae amicus, ad Dominum emigraverit. Et post alicuius temporis intervallum, aliqui de Lagenica com- meantes provincia*⁸ *ea nocte eundem obisse nunciant episcopum qua Sancto ita revelatum est*⁹.

^a A. abbati B. C. sabbati Colg. Boll.

^{b-b} illam consuetam deprecaretur prefacionem D.

anima sancta quae nocte in hac inter angelos vecta est.' See note on ch. II.

albat] Used again in chs. 16 and 23, and probably with reference to linen garments, not to white as a 'liturgical colour.' 'Sabbati' is another instance of corruption of the text in Colgan and the Bollandists.

² *cum modulatione*] See i. 42 n., p. 54.

³ *deprecatio*] The *Oratio super Dip-tycha*, represented in the Roman Mass by the *Memento Domine* in the Canon. The Gallican form of the prayer as used at Arles is given by Mabillon (*De Liturg. Gall.* lib. i. cap. 5, num. 12, p. 43) and by Reeves in his note here. Something like this prayer was probably used by the early Irish Church, and it is remarkable that in the list of names which it contains, St. Martin comes last, with the exception of the local Bishop Caesarius, who died in 542, and is not likely to have been commemorated in Iona. St. Martin however was held in special veneration in the Celtic Church by reason of St. Patrick's alleged association with him.

⁴ *Hodie*] Immediately before this word Cummián says 'Et inter sacra sancti sacrificii mysteria.'

⁵ *decantare debetis*] St. Columba directed them to add the name of Columbanus after that of Martin, and perhaps composed on the spot Proper prayers like those in Neale and Forbes' *Ancient Liturgies*, e. g. on p. 305. The seventh century MS. from which these were taken came from the Irish monastery of Bobio (*ib.* p. 205). On prayer for the dead, see Warren, ch. ii. § 10.

⁶ *Columbanus*] sive *Colmanus Mocu Loigse*, i. e. Mac U Loighse, of the clan descended from Loigsech Cennmor, son of Conall Cernach, a famous hero of the first century.

⁷ *Lagenensis*] In, not 'of' Leinster, diocesan episcopacy being then unknown in Ireland.

⁸ *Lagenica provincia*] Leinster. The original name was Galian; this is said to have been changed to Lighen not from the name of a man, but from the use there of a peculiar broad-pointed spear so called. On the termination *-ster*; see i. 2 n.

⁹ *revelatum est*] The whole narra-

CAP. XIII.

DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE QUI OBVIAM ANIMABUS SANCTI
MONACHORUM COMGELLI DESCENDERANT.

ALIO in tempore, vir venerandus, cum in Ioua conversa-
retur insula, quadam subitatione incitatus, signo¹
personante, collectis fratribus, 'Nunc,' ait, 'ora-
tione monachis abbatis Comgelli auxiliemur, hac
in hora in Stagno demersis Vituli²; ecce enim hoc
momento in aere contra adversarias belligerant
potestates, animam alicuius hospitis simul cum eis demersi
eripere conantes.' Tum, post lacrymosam et intentam ora-
tionem cito ante altarium surgens, inter fratres pariter in
oratione prostratos, laetificato vultu, 'Christo,' ait, 'gratias
agite, nunc enim sancti angeli, sanctis obviantes animabus,
et ipsum hospitem, ereptum a daemonum belligerationibus,
quasi victoriales liberarunt belligeratores.'

Angels
come to
the aid
of holy
souls.

CAP. XIV.

DE ANGELORUM MANIFESTATIONE ALICUIUS EMCHATHI ANIMAE
OBVIANTUM.

ALIO in tempore, vir sanctus, ultra Britanniae Dorsum
iter agens, secus Nisae fluminis lacum, subito
inspiratus Spiritu Sancto, ad fratres pariter com-
meantes, 'Properemus,' ait, 'sanctis obviam
angelis, qui de summis caeli regionibus ad prae-
ferendam alicuius gentilici animam emissi, nos
illuc usque pervenientes expectant, ut ipsum, naturale bonum³
per totam vitam usque ad extremam senectutem conservan-
tem, priusquam moriatur, opportune baptizemus.' Et, haec
dicens, sanctus senex in quantum potuit comites festinus
praecedebat, donec in illum devenit agrum qui Airchart-

Angels
come for
the soul
of an aged
convert.

tive is very similar to that of the
death of Haduuald in Bede's *Life
of St. Cuthbert*, ch. 34.

¹ *signo*] See ii. 42 n., p. 118.

² *Stagno Vituli*] In Irish Loch
Laodh, now Belfast Lough.

³ *naturale bonum*] See i. 33 n.,

p. 43, and *Senchus Mór*, iii. 27;
'The law of nature was with the
men of Erin until the coming of
the faith in the time of Laeghaire
son of Nial. It was in his time
Patrick came.'

dan¹ nuncupatur: ibidemque quidam repertus senex, Emchatus nomine, audiens a Sancto verbum Dei praedicatum, et credens, baptizatus est, et continuo, laetus et securus, cum angelis obviantibus ei, ad Dominum commigravit. Sed et filius eius Virolecus credens cum tota domo est baptizatus.

CAP. XV.

DE ANGELO DOMINI QUI ALICUI FRATRI LAPSO DE MONASTERII CULMINE ROTUNDI IN ROBORETI CAMPO OPPORTUNE TAM CITO SUBVENERAT.

ALIO in tempore, vir sanctus, dum in tuguriolo² suo scribens sederet, subito eius immutata facies, et hanc puro de
Cummanian, X. pectore promit vocem, dicens, 'Auxiliare, auxiliare.'

An angel helps one who fell down a round tower. Duo vero fratres ad ianuam stantes³, videlicet Colgu, filius Cellachi, et Lugneus Mocublai, causam talis subitae interrogant vocis. Quibus vir venerabilis hoc dedit responsum, inquires, 'Angelo Domini, qui nunc inter vos stabat, iussi ut alicui

ex fratribus de summo culmine magnae domus⁴ lapso tam cito subveniret, quae his in diebus in Roboreti Campo fabricatur.' Hocque consequenter Sanctus intulit famen⁵, inquires, 'Valde admirabilis et paene indicibilis est angelici volatus pernicitas, ful-

¹ Airchart-dan] Glen Urquhart, locally pronounced Arochdan.

² tuguriolo] See note on i. 25.

³ ad ianuam stantes] From this passage and those referred to in note on i. 25, it would seem that St. Columba while sitting in his cell was usually attended by one or two of the brethren, to receive orders, or take part in study.

⁴ magnae domus] In the heading, *monasterii rotundi*. Dr. Petrie has shown that an ecclesiastical round tower is almost certainly what is meant. (*Round Towers*, 1845, p. 387; but his account of the MSS. is wrong; see Reeves here.) Reeves observes that this passage points to the primary use of round towers

as monastic abodes distinct from the small cells, before they acquired the name of *Cloc teach* or *Campanile* from a secondary use. The building of this *maior domus* seems to be referred to in i. 29. Notker Balbulus says 'Cum sederet in quadam insula scribens, et in alia domus altissima aedificaretur, et quidam de culmine eius enormis fabricae ad terram corruere coepisset,' etc. (*Martyrol. Jun. 9*, in *Canisii Lect. Antiq.* 1725, t. II, pars iii. p. 140). Petrie does not seem to have known of this passage, which is quoted by Reeves in ed. 1857, p. 217. Notker (of St. Gall) died 912.

⁵ famen] See iii. 3 n.

gureae, ut aestimo, celeritati parilis. Nam ille caelicola, qui hinc a nobis nunc, illo viro labi incipiente, avolavit, quasi in ictu oculi, priusquam terram tangeret, subveniens, cum sublevavit; nec ullam fracturam aut laesuram ille qui cecidit sentire potuit. Quam stupenda, inquam, haec velocissima et opportuna subventio, quae, dicto citius, tantis maris et terrae interioribus spatiis, tam celerrime¹ effici potuit.

CAP. XVI.

DE ANGELORUM MULTITUDINE SANCTORUM VISA AD BEATI
CONDICTUM VIRI DE CAELO DESCENDENTIUM.

ALIO itidem *in tempore*, quadam die, vir beatus in Ioua conversans insula, *fratribus congregatis*, cum ingenti animadversione, denunciavit, ad eos Cummian, XI. dicens, '*Hodie in occidentalem nostrae campulum*² *insulae solus exire cupio; nemo itaque ex vobis me sequatur*³. *Quibus obsecundantibus, solus quidem, ut voluit, egreditur. Sed frater quidam, callidus explorator*⁴, *alia means via, in cuiusdam monticelli*⁵ *cacumine, qui eidem supereminet campulo, se occulte collocat; videlicet illius causam solitariae beati egressionis viri explorare cupiens. Quem cum idem explorator de monticelli vertice, in quodam illius campuli colliculo stantem, et expansis ad caelum manibus orantem, oculosque ad caelum elevantem conspiceret, mirum dictu, et ecce subito res miranda apparuit, quam idem supra memoratus homo, ut aestimo, non sine permissione Dei, de propioris monticelli loco, oculis etiam corporalibus aspexerat, ut nomen Sancti et eius honorificentia, quamvis ipso nolente, ob hanc manifestatam visionem postea magis in populis devul-*

Many angels visit St. Columba at the Angels' hill: an over-curious brother.

out at night to watch St. Cuthbert praying in the sea. Bede, *Vit. S. C. x.*

⁵ *monticelli*] Probably *Cnoc Orain*, between the monastery and the Machar, and commanding a view of the Colliculus Angelorum.

¹ *celerrime*] Cp. Dan. ix. 21.

² *campulum*] See i. 37 n., p. 48.

³ *nemo me sequatur*] Not even the ordinary field-work was to interfere with the privacy of the saint.

⁴ *callidus explorator*] Like the Coldingham brother who stole

garetur. Nam *sancti angeli*, caelestis patriae cives, *mira advolantes subitatione, sanctum virum orantem circumstare coeperunt, albatis induti vestibus*; et post aliquam cum beato sermocinationem viro, illa caelestis caterva, quasi se exploratam sentiens, *ad summa citius repedavit caelorum. Beatus et ipse vir, post angelicum condictum, reversus ad monasterium, iterum collectis fratribus, cum quadam non mediocri obiurgatione inquit* quis de illis esset transgressionis obnoxius. Quibus consequenter se nescisse protestantibus, *ille, conscius sui inexcusabilis transgressus, ultra non sustinens delictum celare suum, flexis genibus, in medio fratrum choro, coram Sancto, veniam supplex precatur. Quem Sanctus scorsum ducens, ingeniculanti cum grandi commendat comminatione, ut nulli hominum*

Injunction to silence.

de illa angelica visione in diebus eiusdem beati viri aliquid etiam parvum occultum aperiret.

Post egressum vero de corpore sancti viri, illam caelestis coetus apparitionem *fratribus cum grandi intimavit protestatione. Unde hodieque et locus illius angelici condicti rem in eo gestam suo proprio protestatur vocabulo, qui Latine potest dici Colliculus Angelorum, Scotice vero Cnoc Angel¹.*

Hinc itaque animadvertendum est, et non negligenter perscrutandum, quantae et quales ad beatum virum, *Midnight watchings and visions.* in hyemalibus plerumque noctibus, insomnem, et in locis remotioribus, aliis quiescentibus, *orantem², angelicae fuerint et suaves frequentationes, quae nullo modo venire in hominum notitiam*

¹ *Cnoc Angel*] See ii. 44 n., p. 120. From *sidh*, pronounced *shee*, comes the Irish *bean-sidhe* (Banshee), woman of the fairy mansions, *sidhe* signifying not only the fairies, but their habitations. Joyce, I. 179, *Hist.*, 139; O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 504, and see *N.E.D.*

² *orantem*] O'Donnell states that St. Columba recited the Psalter every night immersed in cold water. As to St. Cuthbert, see p. 145 n. Hence the couplet under

a painting at Carlisle Cathedral,

Her stude he nakyd in y^e se
to all dauid psalter sayd had he.

St. Godric used to pray naked in the Wear the night through, hindered neither by ice nor by snow (*Libell. de Vita*, xxxiii). Reeves gives a number of references to Irish hagiology for subjecting the body to extreme cold. Add to these, for St. Patrick, *Tripartite*, 407, 485.

potuere: quae procul dubio valde numerosae fuerunt; si etiam quaedam ex ipsis quoquo modo ab hominibus, vel in die vel noctu explorari potuerint; quae absque dubitatione paucae admodum ad earum comparationem angelicarum frequentationum, quae videlicet a nemine sciri poterant. Hoc idem similiter et de quibusdam luminosis manifestationibus annotandum, quae a paucis exploratae, inferius ^a caraxabuntur.

CAP. XVII.

DE COLUMNA LUMINOSA SANCTI VIRI DE VERTICE ARDERE VISA.

ALIO in tempore quatuor, ad sanctum visitandum Columbam, monasteriorum sancti fundatores de Scotia transmeantes, in Hinba eum invenerunt insula; quorum illustrium vocabula Comgellus Mocu Aridi, Cainnechus Mocu Dalon, Brendenus Mocu Alti, Cormacus Nepos Leathain. Hi uno eodemque consensu elegerunt ut sanctus Columba coram ipsis in ecclesia sacra Eucharistiae consecraret mysteria. Qui, eorum obsecundans iussioni, simul cum eis, die Dominica, ex more, post Evangelii lectionem¹, ecclesiam ingreditur, ibidemque, dum missarum sollemnia celebrarentur, sanctus Brendenus Mocu Alti, sicut post Comgello et Cainnecho intimavit, quendam crinosum² igneum globum, et valde luminosum, de vertice sancti Columbae, ante altare stantis, et sacram oblationem consecrantis, tamdiu ardentem, et instar alicuius columnae sursum ascendentem, vidit, donec eadem perficerentur sacrosancta ministeria.

Cumman,
XII.

The appearance of a comet on St. Columba's head.

^a taxabuntur D. tractabuntur male Colg. Boll.

¹ post Evangelii lectionem] This looks as if the Gospel were read outside the little church, to persons in the position of catechumens (cp. Bona, *Rer. Lit.* lib. I, cap. xvi. § 1). But there seems to be no positive evidence of such an arrangement. Cumman's words are, 'Sed illi post Evangelii recitationem viderunt quendam' etc.

² crinosum] Hairy, a word added by Adamnan to Cumman's account, to explain that the globe of fire had a tail like a comet. Reeves cites a parallel from Sulp. Severus's *Life of St. Martin*, 'Globum ignis de capite eius vidimus emicare, ita ut in sublime contendens longum admodum crinem flamma produceret.'

CAP. XVIII.

DE SPIRITUS SANCTI DESCENSIONE SIVE VISITATIONE QUAE IN
EADEM INSULA TRIBUS CONTINUIS DIEBUS ET NOCTIBUS
SUPER VENERABILEM MANSIT VIRUM.

ALIO in tempore, cum sanctus vir in Hinba commaneret
Cumman, *insula, gratia sancti spiraminis super eum abunde*
XIII. *et incomparabiliter effusa, per triduum mirabiliter*
Visions in *mansit, ita ut per tres dies totidemque noctes, intra*
Hinba. *obseratam et repletam caelesti claritudine domum*
manens, nullum ad se accedere permetteret, neque manducans
neque bibens. De qua videlicet domo, immensae claritatis
radii, per rimulas valvarum, et clavium foramina, erumpentes,
noctu visebantur. Carmina quoque quaedam spiritalia et
ante inaudita decantari ab eo audiebantur. Sed et multa
quaedam, ut ipse post coram paucis admodum professus est,
occulta ab exordio mundi arcana aperte manifestata vide-
bat: Scripturarum quoque sacrarum obscura quaeque et
difficillima, plana, et luce clarius aperta, mundissimi cordis
oculis patebant. Baitheneumque alumnum¹ non adesse
querebatur; qui si forte adesset illo in triduo, vel de prae-
teritis vel de futuris deinceps saeculis ab ore viri beati
quaedam plurima, ab aliis ignorata hominibus, mysteria
describeret; aliquantas quoque sacrarum explanationes
voluminum. Qui tamen Baitheneus, in Egea insula² venti
contrarietate detentus, usquequo illi trinales illius incom-
parabilis et honorificae visitationis dies, et totidem noctes,
terminarentur, adesse non potuit.

¹ *alumnum*] See Intr. viii. § 1, and p. 130 n. St. Columba appears to have been *nutritor* or foster-father to Baithene.

² *Egea insula*] The island of Eig or Egg, where St. Donnan, an Irishman and disciple of St.

Columba, founded a monastery, and was put to death with his congregation of fifty-two by pirates in 617. After him the church of the island and ten others were called Killdonan.

CAP. XIX.

DE ANGELICA LUCIS CLARITUDINE QUAM VIRGNO, BONAE INDOLIS IUVENIS, QUI POSTEA, DEO AUCTORE, HUIC PRAEFUIT ECCLESIAE¹, SUPER SANCTUM COLUMBAM IN ECCLESIA, FRATRIBUS HYEMALI NOCTE IN CUBICULIS QUIESCENTIBUS, DESCENDERE VIDERAT, CUI EGO, INDIGNUS LICET, DESERVIO².

QUADAM hyemali nocte, supra memoratus Virgnous³, in Dei amore fervens, ecclesiam, orationis studio, aliis quiescentibus, solus intrat: ibidemque in quadam exedra⁴, quae oratorii adhaerebat parieti, devotus orabat. Et post aliquantum quasi horae intervallum unius, vir venerandus Columba eandem sacram ingreditur domum, simulque cum eo aurea lux, de summa caeli altitudine descendens, totum illud ecclesiae spatium replens. Sed et illius exedriolae separatim conclave, ubi se Virgnous, in quantum potuit, latitare conabatur, eiusdem caelestis claritas luminis, per interiorem illius cubiculi ianuam, quae ex minori patebat parte, erumpens, non sine aliquo formidabili repleverat terrore. Et sicut nullus aestivum et meridianum solem rectis et irreverberatis potest intueri oculis, sic et illam caelestem claritudinem ille Virgnous, qui viderat, sustinere nullo poterat modo; quia valde oculorum reverberabat aciem illa luminosa et incomparabilis effusio. Quo fulminati et formidabili splendore viso, in tantum idem supra memoratus frater exterritus erat, ut nulla in eo virtus remaneret. Sanctus vero Columba, post non prolixam orationem, egreditur ecclesiam. Virgnoumque valde timoratum ad se crastina advocat die, hisque brevibus compellat consolatoriis verbis, 'Bene, O filiule,' ingeminans, 'hac praeterita nocte in conspectu Dei placuisti, oculos

Cummian,
XV.

The church
filled with
heavenly
light.

¹ huic ecclesiae] Sc. that of Iona.

² deservio] Referring to Adamnan's abbacy, 679-704.

³ Virgnous] Fergna Brit, fourth abbot of Iona. Intr. viii. § 3.

⁴ exedra] The Erdam or side-house of a Celtic church; see Intr. iv. § 2, and Petrie, Round Towers, 1845, 437-444.

ad terram deprimendo, claritatis timore perterritus eius; nam, si non ita fecisses, illa inaestimabili obcaecarentur tui luce visa oculi. Sed hoc non negligenter observare debebis, ut talem

Injunction to silence.

hanc lucis manifestationem nemini unquam in mea denudes vita.' Haec itaque praedicabilis et admirabilis res, post beati viri transitum, multis, eodem Virgnouo narrante, innotuit. Cuius scilicet Virgnoui sororis filius Commanus, honorabilis presbyter, mihi Adamnano de hac supra visione ^a caraxata aliquando, sub testificatione, enarraverat. Qui etiam enarratam ab ore ipsius Virgnoui, abbatis, et avunculi sui, ab eo in quantum potuit visam, audierat.

CAP. XX.

DE ALIA PROPE SIMILI CELSAE CLARITUDINIS VISIONE.

ALIO itidem nocte, quidam de fratribus, Colgius nomine, filius Aido Draigniche, de Nepotibus Fehreg, cuius in primo fecimus mentionem¹, casu ad ianuam ecclesiae, aliis dormientibus, devenit, ibidemque aliquamdiu stans orabat. Tum proinde subito totam videt ecclesiam caelesti luce repleri: quae scilicet fulguralis lux dicto citius ab eius recessit oculis. Sanctum vero Columbam hora eadem intra ecclesiam orantem ignorabat. Postque talem subitam luminis apparitionem, valde pertimescens, domum revertitur. Postera die Sanctus, illum advocans, asperius obiurgavit, inquires, 'De cetero praecavere debes, fili, ne, quasi explorator, caeleste lumen, quod tibi non est donatum, inspicere coneris, quia te effugiet; et ne alicui in meis diebus quod vidisti enarres.'

A similar vision and injunction.

CAP. XXI.

DE ALIA PARILI DIVINAE LUCIS APPARITIONE.

ALIO itidem in tempore, vir beatus cuidam suo sapientiam discenti alumno², nomine Berchano, cuius cognomentum

^a craxata A. tractata Colg. Boll.

¹ mentionem] See i. 17, p. 30.

² See iii. 18 n., p. 148, and Joyce, *Hist.* 87. Berchan was probably another pupil under 'literary fosterage.'

Mesloen¹, non mediocriter quadam denunciavit die, inquires, 'Caveto, fili, ne hac sequenti nocte, iuxta tuam semper consuetudinem, ad meum appropinques hospitium.' Qui haec audiens, contra interdictum, ad domum beati viri, in noctis silentio, aliis quiescentibus, accessit, callideque explorans², oculos e regione ad clavium foramina posuit, aestimans scilicet, ut res probavit, aliquam intus caelestem visionem Sancto manifestari. Nam eadem hora beati viri illud hospitium caelestis splendore claritudinis erat repletum: quam non sustinens intueri, transgressor juvenis illico aufugit. Quem die crastina Sanctus seorsum ducens, cum magna severitate obiurgans, haec ad eum profatur verba, dicens, 'Hac in nocte, fili, coram Deo peccasti, nam tuae infitialis³ explorationem calliditatis a Spiritu Sancto celari vel abscondi posse inaniter putasti. Nonne ad mei ostium hospitii te illa in hora appropinquantem et inde redeuntem vidi? et nisi ego eodem momento pro te orarem, ibidem ante ianua, aut cadens morereris, aut tui de suis foraminibus oculi eruerentur⁴. Sed tibi hac vice propter me Dominus pepercit. Et hoc scito, quod in tua Hiberni patriam luxuriose vivens, exprobrationem facies tua omnibus patietur diebus vitae tuae. Hoc tamen a Domino orans impetravi, ut quia noster sis alumnus, lacrymosam ante exitum agas poenitentiam, et a Deo misericordiam consequaris.' Quae omnia, secundum verbum beati viri, ita ei postea contigerunt, sicuti de eo prophetata sunt.

¹ *Mesloen*] 'A remarkable form of name, which the editor is unable to illustrate' (Reeves).

² *callideque explorans*] Cp. ch. 16, p. 145.

³ *infitalis*] It does not appear that Berchan had actually denied his inquisitiveness; the word may stand as a strong expression for 'disingenuous.'

⁴ *eruerentur*] O'Donnell has a

curious story of one who peeped through the keyhole of the church door at St. Columba, and whose eye was picked out through the hole by a tame crane that had followed the saint into the church. (*Colgan, Tr. Th.* 408 b, *Acta SS.* 644 b.) A similar story is told in the metrical Life of St. Senan. (*Acta SS.* 607 a.) See further in Reeves.

A similar
light in
the saint's
cell.

CAP. XXII.

DE ALIA ANGELORUM SANCTO MANIFESTATA VIRO APPARITIONE,
 QUOS SANCTAE EIUS ANIMAE OBTINERE INCIPIENTES, QUASI
 MOX DE CORPORE VIDERAT MIGRATURAE.

ALIO in tempore¹, dum vir beatus in Ioua commaneret
 Cummanian, *insula, quadam die sancta facies eius subita mirifica*
 XVI. *et laetifica hilaritate effloruit, oculosque ad caelum*

A vision of *elevans, incomparabili repletus gaudio, valde laeti-*
 angels com- *ficabatur.* Tum, *post modicum alicuius momentioli*
 ing for St. *intervallum, illa sapida*² *et suavis laetificatio in*
 Columba's *soul.* *maestam convertitur tristificationem. Duo vero*

*vir, qui eadem hora eius tugurioli ad ianuam*³ *stabant, quod*
*in eminentiore loco*⁴ *erat fabricatum, et ipsi cum eo valde*
tristificati, quorum unus Lugneus erat Mocublai, alter vero
*Pilu nuncupabatur, Saxo*⁵, *causam ipsius subitae laetationis*
inquirunt, et illius subsequenter maestitiae. Ad quos Sanctus
sic profatur, 'Ite in pace, nec illius laetaminis causam, nec
etiam tristificationis, a me nunc inquiratis manifestari.' Quo
audito, illacrymati, ingeniculantes, prostratis in terra vul-
tibus, suppliciter rogant, scire volentes aliquid de illa re
quae hora eadem Sancto erat revelata. Quos valde tristi-
ficatos videns, 'Quia vos,' ait, 'amo, tristificari nolo. Promittere
prius debetis ne ulli hominum sacramentum quod inquiritis
in vita mea prodatis.' Qui continuo, secundum eius com-
 mendationem, prompte promiserunt. Et, post talem pro-
 missionem, vir venerandus sic ad eos proloquitur, 'Usque in
 hunc,' inquit, 'praesentem diem, meae in Britannia peregrina-
 tionis terdeni completi sunt anni. Interea multis ante diebus
 a Domino meo devote postulavi, ut in fine tricesimi huius
 praesentis anni me de meo absolveret incolatu, et ad caelestem
 patriam illico advocaret. Et haec fuit mei causa laetaminis,

¹ *Alio in tempore*] In 593, thirty years after his coming to Iona, and four years before his death.

² *sapida*] savoury. Cp. 'Book of the Angel' in Stokes, *Trip.* ii. 354,

'anchoritae aelessiae et caeteri religiosi laudes sapidas offerunt.'

³ *ad ianuam*] See ch. 15 n., p. 144.

⁴ *loco*] Not identified.

⁵ *Saxo*] See i. 1 n., p. 12.

de qua vos me maesti interrogatis. *Angelos enim sanctos de excelso vidi missos throno ad meam de carne animam obvios educendam. Sed ecce nunc, subito retardati, ultra nostrae fretum insulae stant in rupe¹, scilicet volentes ad me de corpore advocandum appropriare. Sed propius accedere non permittuntur, mox ad caelorum summa repedaturi; quia Dominus quod mihi totis viribus roganti donavit, ut hac in die ad ipsum de mundo transirem, multarum magis ecclesiarum pro me orationes exaudiens, dicto citius immutavit. Quibus scilicet ecclesiis exorantibus sic a Domino donatum est, ut, quamlibet contra meam voluntatem, quatuor ab hac die mihi in carne manenti superaddantur anni. Haec talis mihi maesta retardatio hodiernae tristificationis non immerito causa fuit. Quibus videlicet quatuor futuris, Deo propitio, terminatis in hac vita annis, subita emigratione, nulla praecedente corporis molestia, cum sanctis mihi obviaturis illo in tempore angelis, ad Dominum laetus emigrabo.* Secundum hæc verba, vir venerabilis, quae non sine magno gemitu et maerore, ut traditur, necnon et ingenti lacrimabilitate, prolocutus est, quatuor postea annis in carne mansit.

Four years
added to
his life.

CAP. XXIII.

DE TRANSITU AD DOMINUM SANCTI NOSTRI PATRONI
COLUMBAE.

ANNORUM supra quatuor memoratorum termino iam ap propinquante, post quorum completionem, finem praesentis vitae veridicus praesagator sibi futurum fore multo ante praesciebat tempore, *quadam die, mense Maio*, sicut in priore secundo scripsimus libro², ad visitandos *operarios fratres senex senio fessus, plauastro vectus, pergit. Ad quos, in occidua insulae Iouae laborantes parte³, sic ea die exorsus est loqui,*

Cummian,
XVII.

St. Columba
blesses Iona
and its in-
habitants.

¹ *rupe*] The rocky coast of the Ross of Mull over against Iona; see the Duke of Argyll's *Iona*, frontispiece, View from the Reilig

Odhraïn; also cp. i. 25 n., p. 37.

² *libro*] Sc. ii. 28, p. 96.

³ *in occidua parte*] In the Machar or *campulus occidentalis*.

dicens, *'In Paschali solemnitate nuper Aprili peracta¹ mense, 'desiderio desideravi'² ad Christum Dominum, sicut et mihi ab eo concessum erat, si maluissem, emigrare. Sed ne vobis laetitiae festivitas in tristitiam verteretur, diem meae de mundo emigrationis paulo diutius protelari malui.'* His ab eo maestis monachi familiares auditis interim dictis valde tristificati sunt: quos in quantum poterat verbis coepit consolatoriis laetificare. Quibus finitis, *ut erat in vehiculo sedens, ad orientem suam convertens faciem, insulam cum insulanis benedixit habitatoribus; ex qua die, ut in supra memorato^a craxatum est libello³, viperarum venena trisulcarum linguarum usque in hodiernum diem, nullo modo aut homini aut pecori nocere potuere. Post eiusdem benedictionis verba Sanctus ad suum revehitur monasterium.*

Tum proinde, *paucis diebus transactis, dum missarum solemniam, ex more, Dominica celebrarentur die, subito,*
Cummian, *sursum elevatis oculis, facies venerabilis viri florido*
XVIII. *respersa rubore videtur: quia, sicut scriptum est,*
 An angel *'Corde laetante vultus floret⁴.'* Eadem namque hora
 visits him *angelum Domini supra volitantem solus vidit intra*
 in the *ipsius oratorii parietes: et quia sanctorum ange-*
 church. *lorum amabilis et tranquillus aspectus gaudium et exultationem*

electorum pectoribus infundit, haec fuit illius subitae causa laetitiae beato infusa viro. De qua scilicet causa inspiratae laetationis, cum qui inerant ibidem praesentes inquirerent, hoc eis Sanctus responsum, sursum respiciens, dedit, 'Mira et incomparabilis angelicae subtilitas naturae. Ecce enim angelus Domini, ad repetendum aliquod Deo carum missus depositum, nos desuper intra ecclesiam aspiciens et benedicens, rursus per parasticiam⁵ ecclesiae reversus, nulla talis vestigia exitus reliquit.'

^a craxatum A. tractatum Colg. Boll.

¹ *Aprili peracta*] Easter-day fell on Apr. 14 in 597.

² *desiderio desideravi*] St. Luke xxii. 15. A Hebraism, perhaps exactly representing our Lord's words.

³ *libello*] Sc. ii. 28, p. 96.

⁴ *Corde, etc.*] The Vulgate of Prov. xv. 13 is, 'Cor gaudens exhilarat faciem.'

⁵ *parasticiam*] An unexplained word, probably denoting the stone

Haec Sanctus. Sed tamē, de qualitate illius depositi ad quod missus est angelus requirendum, nemo de circumstantibus recognoscere potuit. Noster vero patronus sanctum, propriam a Deo sibi commendatam animam, depositum nuncupavit. Quae, sicuti inferius narrabitur, alia, senis interventibus continuis diebus, Dominica nocte ad Dominum emigravit.

*Vir itaque venerabilis in fine eiusdem hebdomadis, hoc est die sabbati*¹, ipse et eius pius minister Diormitius ad proximum pergunt benedicendum horreum. Quod intrans Sanctus cum benedixisset, et duos in eo frugum sequestratos² acervos, hoc intulit verbum cum gratiarum actione, inquiring, 'Valde congratulor meis familiaribus monachis, quia hoc etiam anno, si quoquam a vobis emigrare me oportuerit, annuum sufficientem habebitis.' Quo audito verbo, Diormitius minister tristificari coepit, et sic dicere, 'Huius anni tempore, pater, saepius nos contristas, quia de tuo transitu crebro commemoras.' Cui Sanctus hoc dedit responsum, 'Aliquem arcenum habeo³ sermusculum, quem, si mihi firmiter promiseris, nemini ante meum denudare obitum, de meo tibi egressu aliquid manifestius intimare potero.' Quam cum talem minister promissionem, iuxta voluntatem Sancti, flexis genibus, terminasset, vir venerandus consequenter sic profatur, '*Haec in sacris voluminibus dies Sabbatum nuncupatur, quod interpretatur requies. Et mihi vere est sabbatum haec hodierna, quia huius praesentis laboriosae vitae mihi ultima est, in qua post meas laborationum molestias sabbatizo*³;

Cumman,
XIX.

He blesses
the barn
and the
corn.

³ sermonusculum D.

roof, called *culmen ecclesiae* in the *Vita Secunda* of Colgan, cap. 30 (*Tr. Th.* 329 a).

¹ *sabbati*] See i. 16 n., p. 29.

² *sequestratos*] Probably 'reserved'; cp. 'caro et olera sequestrata' in Trebellius Pollio. (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, xxiv. 22, 2).

³ *sabbatizo*] 1. To keep the Sab-

bath proper. 2. To rest, as in the capitula of Boniface cited by Ducange, 'diebus Dominicis sabbatizare'; Elmham, *Vit. Hen. V*, 'Nec ab infestatione custodum continua ullo dierum per obsidionis tempora sabbatizat.' St. Columba would use the word with reference to Heb. iv. 9.

et hac sequenti media venerabili Dominica nocte¹, secundum eloquia Scripturarum², patrum³ ingrediariam. Iam enim Dominus meus Iesus Christus me invitare dignatur; ad quem, inquam, hac mediante nocte, ipso me invitante, emigrabo. Sic enim mihi ab ipso Domino revelatum est.⁴ Haec maesta minister audiens verba, coepit amare flere. Quem Sanctus in quantum potuit consolari conabatur.

Post haec Sanctus horreum egreditur, et ad monasterium revertens, media residet via, in quo loco postea crux, molari infixi lapidi⁵ hodieque stans, in margine cernitur viae. Dumque ibidem Sanctus, ut praefatus sum, senio fessus, paululum sedens, requiesceret, ecce albus occurrit caballus, obediens servitor, qui scilicet lactariae bovetum⁶ inter et monasterium vascula gestare consueverat. Hic ad Sanctum accedens, mirum dictu, caput in sinu eius ponens, ut credo inspirante Deo, cui omne animal rerum sapit sensu quo iusserit ipse Creator, dominum a se suum mox emigraturum, et ipsum ultra non visurum sciens, coepit plangere, ubertimque, quasi homo, lacrymas in gremium Sancti fundere, et valde spumans flere. Quod videns minister, coepit illum flebilem⁷ repellere lamentatorem: sed Sanctus prohibuit eum, dicens, 'Sine hunc, sine nostri amatorem, ut in hunc meum sinum fletus effundat amarissimi plangoris. Ecce tu, homo cum sis, et rationalem animam habeas, nullo modo scire de meo exitu potuisti, nisi quod tibi ego ipse nuper manifestavi: huic vero bruto et irrationali animanti, quoque modo ipse Conditor voluit,

³ ingrediari C.

¹ nocte] The night preceding Sunday, on which the Sunday services begin.

² Scripturarum] The reference is to Josh. xxiii. 14 and 1 Kings (3 Reg.) ii. 2, 'Ego ingrediariam universae terrae' (Vulg.).

³ molari lapidi] A disused millstone would make a good base

and socket for a wayside cross. See note on i. 45, p. 58.

⁴ bovetum] For buvetum, cow-house, or perhaps cow-pasture. Colgan's *Vita Secunda* here has *bostarium*. See Glossary.

⁵ flebilem] Weeping; cp. 'lamentable' in Dan. vi. 20, A. V.

egressurum a se dominum manifeste revelavit.' Et haec dicens maestum a se revertentem equum benedixit ministratorem.

Et inde egrediens, et monticellum monasterio supereminentem¹ ascendens, in vertice eius paululum stetit, who blesses et stans, ambas elevans palmas, suum bene- the monas- dixit coenobium, inquires, 'Huic loco, quamlibet tery, angusto et vili, non tantum Scotorum reges, cum populis, sed etiam barbararum et exterarum gentium regnatores, cum plebibus sibi subiectis, grandem et non mediocrem conferent honorem²: a Sanctis quoque etiam aliarum ecclesiarum non mediocris veneratio conferetur.³

Post haec verba, de illo descendens monticellulo, et ad monasterium revertens, sedebat in tugurio Psalterium scribens; et ad illum tricesimi tertii psalmi Cummiian, versiculum perveniens ubi scribitur, 'Inquirentes transcribes autem Dominum non deficient³ omni bono,' 'Hic,' ait, the Psalter, 'in fine cessandum est paginae; quae vero sequuntur Baitheneus scribat.' Sancto convenienter congruit decessori novissimus versiculus quem scripserat, cui nunquam bona deficient aeterna: successori vero sequens patri, spiritualium doctori filiorum, 'Venite, filii, audite me, timorem Domini docebo vos,'⁴ congruenter convenit; qui, sicut decessor commendavit, non solum ei docendo, sed etiam scribendo, successit.

Post talem superius memoratum terminatae versum perscriptum paginae, Sanctus ad vespertinalem Dominicæ noctis

¹ *supereminentem*] See p. 40 n. Dr. Reeves thought that the Reilig Orain was on the site of the original monastery, which however was possibly about 300 yards north of the mediaeval ruins, and if so the *mons* or *monticellus* mentioned here and in i. 30 may well have been Cnoc na bristeadh clach, an isolated rocky knoll just outside the remains of the vallum. Torr Abb, which is due

west of the cathedral church, hardly seems to command the more ancient site so well. See Intr. vii. § 2.

² *honorem*] Iona was a favourite burial-place of kings and chieftains for many centuries.

³ *deficient*] The text is as in the Vulgate of Ps. xxxiii. 11 (or xxxiv. 10), except that the Vulg. reads *minuuntur*.

⁴ Ps. xxxiii. 12, Vulg. or xxxiv. 11.

^a *missam*¹ *ingreditur ecclesiam : qua continuo consummata, ad hospitium revertens, in lectulo residet pernox ; ubi pro stramine nudam habebat petram, et pro pulvillo lapidem*², *qui hodieque quasi quidam iuxta sepulcrum eius titulus*³ *stat monumenti. Ibidem itaque residens, ultima ad fratres mandata, solo audiente ministro, commendat, inquires, 'Haec vobis, O filioli, novissima commendo verba, ut inter vos mutuam et non fictam habeatis charitatem, cum pace : et si ita, iuxta sanctorum exempla patrum, observaveritis, Deus, confortator bonorum, vobis auxiliabitur, et ego, cum ipso manens, pro vobis interpellabo*⁴ ; et non tantum praesentis vitae necessaria ab eo sufficienter administrabuntur, sed etiam aeternalium bonorum praemia, divinorum observatoribus praeparata, tribuentur.' Hucusque extrema venerabilis patroni verba, quasi de hac taediali peregrinatione ad caelestem patriam transmeantis, brevi textu narrata deducta sunt.

Post quae, felici appropinquante novissima paulisper hora, *Sanctus conticuit. Tum proinde media nocte*⁵ *pul-*

^a officium B.

¹ *vespertina missam*] The first Vespers of the Sunday, said on Saturday evening, called *missa* in ii. 5, p. 76. So Ducange, '*Missa, pro quovis Ecclesiastico officio quod in aedibus sacris peragebatur, interdum sumitur.*' The original meaning was the same as *missio* or *dimissio*, which seems to have been extended to any service at the end of which the congregation was dismissed, though the connection is not quite clear, and finally to the Eucharist alone. The reading of Cod. B. is in accordance with the later limitation of the term *missa*.

² *lapidem*] St. Kieran of Saiger and St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise both, like Jacob, used stones for their pillows. (Colg. *Acta SS.* 471 a; *Cod. Marshii*, 147 bb).

³ *titulus*] Usually an inscription, or epitaph, but often in the Vulgate, etc., a pillar simply, as in Gen. xxxviii. 18, 22. See Rönseh, *Itala und Vulgata*, 326. The meaning is that the stone pillow stood by the grave telling its own tale. A stone marked with a cross, and exactly of a form suitable for a pillow, is still shown at Iona as that of St. Columba.

⁴ *interpellabo*] See ii. 45 n., p. 124.

⁵ *media nocte*] He had previously attended the *vespertina missa*, rested on his bed, and spoken farewell words to Diormit. He now rose for Matins and perhaps Lauds, referred to below in the expression *hymnis matutinalibus finitis*.

*sata personante clocca*¹, *festinus surgens, ad ecclesiam pergit, citiorque ceteris currens, solus introgressus iuxta altare flexis in oratione genibus recumbit; Diormitius minister, tardius prosecutus, eodem momento eminus totam intrinsecus ecclesiam angelica luce erga Sanctum repleri videt: quo ad ianuam appropinquante, eadem lux visa ocius recessit: quam etiam alii de fratribus pauci, et ipsi eminus astantes, viderant. Diormitius ergo, ecclesiam ingrediens, flebili ingeminat voce, 'Ubi es, Pater?' Et, necdum allatis fratrum lucernis, per tenebras palpans, Sanctum ante altarium recubantem invenit: quem paululum erigens, et iuxta sedens, sanctum in suo gremio posuit caput. Et inter haec coetus monachorum cum luminaribus accurrens, patre viso moriente, coepit plangere. Et, ut ab aliquibus qui praesentes inerant didicimus², Sanctus, necdum egrediente anima, apertis sursum oculis, ad utrumque latus cum mira vultus hilaritate et laetitia circumspiciebat; sanctos scilicet obvios intuens angelos. Diormitius tum sanctam sublevat ad benedicendum Sancti monachorum chorum dexteram manum³. Sed et ipse venerabilis pater, in quantum poterat, simul suam movebat manum, ut videlicet quod voce in egressu non valebat animae, etiam motu manus fratres videretur benedicere. Et post sanctam benedictionem taliter significatam, continuo spiritum exhalavit. Quo tabernaculum corporis egresso, facies rubens, et mirum in modum angelica visione exhilarata, in tantum remansit, ut non quasi mortui, sed*

Cummian,
XXII.

He goes to
the church
again,

gives his
last
blessing,

and dies.

¹ *clocca*] See i. 8 n., p. 24. Cummian here has *campana*.

² *didicimus*] Adamnan was born twenty-seven years after the death of Columba, and came to Iona before he was twenty-eight (Intr. viii. § 9), so that he might very well have known many who knew St. Columba.

³ *dexteram manum*] According to the appropriate and universal

custom. Bishops are commonly represented holding the crosier in the left hand while blessing with the right. Reeves mentions a curious Irish legend that when St. Ulltan cursed the Danes he extended his left hand, but that if he had used his right, instead of the destruction of 150 ships, no foreigner would ever have settled in Ireland.

dormientis videretur viventis. Tota interim personabat maestis plangoribus ecclesia.

Sed non praetereundum videtur quod eadem hora beatæ transitus animæ, cuidam Hiberniensi Sancto revelatum est. In illo namque monasterio quod Scotica nominatur lingua Cloni-finchoil¹, quidam homo erat sanctus, senex Christi miles, qui Lugudius vocitabatur, filius Tailchani, iustus et sapiens. Hic itaque primo mane cuidam aequo Christiano militi, Fergnouo nomine, suam enarravit visionem, cum ingenti gemitu, dicens, 'Hac præterita nocte media sanctus Columba, multarum columna ecclesiarum, ad Dominum transiit, et in hora beati exitus eius Iouam insulam, ad quam corpore nunquam perveni, totam angelorum claritudine in spiritu vidi irradiatam, totaque spatia aeris usque ad aethera caelorum, eorundem angelorum claritate illustrata; qui ad sanctam ipsius animam perferendam, de caelis missi, descenderunt innumeri. Altisona quoque carminalia, et valde suavia audivi angelicorum coetuum cantica² eodem momento egressionis inter angelicos sanctæ ipsius animæ ascendentes choras.' Hanc angelicam manifestationem Virgnous³, ut prædictum est, qui ab ore sancti illius senis cui revelata erat, indubitanter didicerat, iisdem diebus de Scotia remigans⁴, Hinba in insula reliquis diebus vitæ suæ permanens, sancti Columbae monachis sæpius enarrabat. Qui videlicet Virgnous, post multos in subiectione inter fratres irreprehensibiliter expletos annos, alios

¹ Cloni-finchoil] *Chlain finnchoill*, 'meadow of the white hazel.' Perhaps Rosnarea, on the Boyne.

² cantica] So in the Ripon Offices of St. Wilfrid, we read, 'eadem hora non sine magno stupore astantium quidam miræ dulcedinis avium concentus auditus est in nube; fuitque sapientum opinio quod esset congratulatio angelorum.' This singing was at his death; the voices were heard

again at his burial. Offices, Ripon, 1893, p. 27. Eddii, *Vita Wilfr.* 62, 63.

³ Virgnous] called *Fergnouus* above.

⁴ remigans] When we bear in mind the extensive use of oars in marine navigation, as above, ii. 42, 45, pp. 117, 122, there seems to be no occasion, either here or a little below, for Reeves's suggestion of *remigrans*. (*Glossary*, ed. 1857, s. v.)

duodecim¹ in loco anachoretarum in Muirbulemar², vitam ducens anachoreticam, Christi victor miles, explevit. Hanc praedictam visionem, non solum paginis inscriptam reperimus, sed et ab aliquibus expertis senioribus, quibus ipse Virgnous retulerat, sine ullo didicimus cunctamine.

Eadem quoque hora aliam visionem, aliter revelatam, unus ex eis qui viderant, Christi miles, valde senex, cuius nomen etiam potest dici Ferreolus, Scotice vero Ernene³, gente Mocufirroide⁴, qui inter aliorum sancti Columbae monachorum reliquias, et ipse sanctus monachus, in a Dorso a Tomme⁵ sepultus, cum sanctis resurrectionem expectat⁶, mihi Adamnano, illo iuveni⁷ in tempore, cum grandi retulerat testificatione, dicens, 'Illa in nocte qua sanctus Columba de terra ad caelos felici et beato fine transiit, ego et alii mecum viri laborantes in captura piscium in valle piscosi fluminis Fendae⁸, subito totum aerei illustratum caeli spatium vidimus. Cuius miraculi subitatione permoti, oculos ad orientem elevatos convertimus, et ecce, quasi quaedam pergrandis ignea apparuit columna, quae in illa nocte media sursum ascendens ita nobis videbatur mundum illustrare totum, sicuti aesteus et meridianus sol, et postquam illa penetravit columna caelum, quasi post occasum solis, tenebrae succedunt. Huius itaque claritudinem luminosae et praedicabilis columnae, non tantum nos, qui simul in eodem loco ineramus, cum

A heavenly
light
seen in
Donegal.

a. dorso tomae B. dorso thomae C. druim thuama D.

¹ duodecim] See note on i. 22, p. 35.

² Muirbulemar] 'Sea-inlet of the sea.' Possibly in Hinba or Elena insula (Eilean-na-Naoimh) where there are beehive cells that may have been tenanted by Virgnous. See Elena insula, ii. 18 n., p. 86.

³ Ernene] In Latin Ferreolus. Ernan or Ernin is a diminutive of the old word *iarn*, 'iron,' now written *iarann* (with furtive vowel). Cod. D. gives the name in the modern form *Iarannan*.

⁴ Mocufirroide] Mocu or Mac-na-Fir-Roidhe. For Roidhe cp. *Korkureti*, i. 47 n., p. 59, and for Mocu see Glossary.

⁵ Dorsum Tomme] Druim thuama, now Drumhome, co. Donegal. See Joyce, i. 14.

⁶ expectat] So the Irish saints used to speak of the place where they would be buried, as the place of their resurrection.

⁷ iuveni] See p. 159 n.

⁸ Fendae] The Finn, co. Donegal, a tributary of the Foyle.

ingenti admiratione vidimus, sed et alii multi piscatores, qui sparsim per diversas fluminales piscinas¹ eiusdem fluminis piscabantur, sicut nobis post retulerant, simili apparitione visa, magno pavore sunt percussi.' Harum igitur trium miracula visionum eadem transitus hora venerandi apparentium patroni, aeternos ei a Domino collatos protestantur honores. Ad propositum revertamur.

Interea post sanctae egressum animae, hymnis matutinalibus² terminatis, sacrum corpus de ecclesia ad hospitium, Cummiā, unde paulo ante vivens venerat, cum canora XXIII. fratrum reportatur psalmodia, honesteque ternis³ diebus et totidem noctibus honorabiles rite expleantur exequiae. Quibus in Dei sapidis laudibus terminatis, sancti et beati patroni venerabile corpus, mundis involutum sindonibus, et praeparata positum in^a ratabusta⁴, debita humatur cum veneratione, in luminosa et aeternali resurrectorum claritudine.

De supra memoratis ergo tribus illis exequiarum diebus more peractis ecclesiastico, quod nobis ab expertis Cummiā, traditum est, huius prope finem enarrabitur libri. XXIV. Quidam namque aliquando unus de fratribus coram A prophecy fulfilled. venerabili viro simpliciter loquens, 'Ad celebrandas,' ait ad Sanctum, 'tuas, post tuum obitum exequias, totus harum provinciarum populus hanc Iouam remigans replebit insulam.' Quod verbum audiens Sanctus consequenter ait, 'O mi filiolo, non ut loqueris sic res probabit, nam promiscuum populi vulgus nullo modo ad meas poterit exequias venire ;

^a A. B. rata busta F. intra busta C. in rata tabeta D. catabusta suo iure Boll.

¹ fluminales piscinas] Fish-pools ; a pool in a river is called *piscina* Berachi in *Acta SS.* Aug. tom. iii. 66o b.

² hymnis matutinalibus] Matins, and perhaps Lauds.

³ ternis, etc.] See above, ii. 39 n., p. III. But St. Patrick's obsequies are said to have lasted for twelve days, St. Senan's for eight. Seven was the pagan number. (Stokes, *Tripartite*, p. 255 ; Colgan, *Acta SS.*

537 a, 730 a).

⁴ ratabusta] This unique and unexplained term must denote a coffin or a tomb. Reeves suggests that *rata* may have crept into the text from *praeparata*, or be the fem. of *ratus*, fixed (mentally), agreeing with *busta*, a box, or perhaps a form of *bustum*, a grave. Surius reads *intra busta* and the Bollandists in *catabusta*, but Colgan, in *ratā bustā*.

mei soli familiares monachi mea sepulcralia complebunt, et exequialia honestabunt officia. Quod verbum eius propheti- cum, statim post transitum ipsius, omnipotentia Dei adimpleri fecit: nam per tres illas exequiales dies et noctes, grandis sine pluvia facta est ventosa tempestas, qua fortiter prohibente¹, nullus hinc inde navicella vectus transfretare poterat. Et post consummatam beati sepultionem viri continuo tempestate sedata, et cessante vento, totum tranquillatum est aequor.

Perpendat itaque lector quanti et qualis² apud Deum praedica- bilis patronus honoris habeatur, cui aliquando Cummi- an, in carne mortali conversanti Deo dignante, oranti, XXV. tempestates sedatae sunt, et maria tranquillata; Epilogue. et rursus, quando necesse habuit, supra memo- St. Co- rata occasione, orta flamina ventorum, et ventosa, lumba's cum voluit, concita sunt aequora, quae subsequenter, ut miracles. superius dictum est, expletis eius sepulturae ministeriis, in magnam conversa sunt tranquillitatem.

Hic itaque nostro praedicabili patrono vitae terminus fuit, ista meritorum exordia; qui, secundum senten- Reflections tias Scripturarum, aeternis comes triumphis, on his Patribus additus, Apostolis et Prophetis con- death, sertus, numero aggregatus albatorum millium Agnino in sanguine suas Sanctorum qui laverunt stolas³, Agnum ductorem comitatur, virgo immaculatus, ab omni integer

¹ prohibente] In Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert, ch. 36, is a story of a storm that arose to punish certain brethren by detaining them when they hesitated to accept his hospitality in Farne. After a while the storm-stayed and doubtless hungry visitors overcame their shyness, and began to boil the goose which St. Cuthbert had offered to them. Then it came to pass that, as the pot boiled up, so did the sea cease from its boiling.

² quanti et qualis] This expression, here taken from Cummi- an, is used by Adamnan in the *De Locis*

Sanctis, 'quanti et qualis honoris haec electa et praedicabilis civitas,' i. e. Jerusalem.

³ stolas] The word used in the Vulgate of Rev. vii. 14, etc. *Stola* (στολή) originally meant any long outer garment, especially that worn by the Roman matrons, and it is sometimes so used in ecclesiastical Latin, as in the Ambrosian hymn, 'Ad coenam Agni providi, Et stolis albis candidi,' referring to the baptismal robes at Easter. It is used of the chasuble, or, like our word 'vestment,' of a set of vestments. (*Dict. Christian Ant.* s. v.) It is not

labe, ipso Domino nostro Iesu Christo dignante: cui est cum Patre honor, virtus, laus, gloria, et imperium sempiternum in unitate Spiritus Sancti, per omnia saecula saeculorum¹.

Post horum trinalium lectionem libellorum, quisque diligens annotet lector quanti et qualis meriti
 and on
 his fame. sanctus saepe supra memoratus praesul venerandus, quantae et qualis apud Deum honorificentiae fuerit aestimatus, quantae et quales angelicae ad ipsum, et luminosae frequentationes, fuerint; quanta in eo prophetalis gratia, quanta dialium efficientia virtutum; quanta et quam frequens eum divini luminis claritudo in carne mortali adhuc commorantem circumfulserit; quae, etiam post egressum animae de tabernaculo corporis almissimae, sicuti quibusdam electis ostensum habetur compertum, locum in quo ipsius sancta pausant ossa² usque hodie eadem caelestis claritas frequentare non cessat, et sanctorum frequens visitatio angelorum. Et haec etiam eidem beatæ memoriae viro a Deo non mediocris est collata gratia, qua nomen eius non tantum per totam nostram Scotiam³, et omnium totius orbis insularum maximam Britanniam, clare divulgari promeruit, in hac parva et extrema oceani Britannici commoratus⁴ insula; sed etiam ad trigonam⁵ usque Hispaniam,

clear how the term came to be applied to the long band now known as a 'stole.' The most probable explanation is that this band was at first the ornamental border of the original *stola*, which has remained as a survival.

¹ See ii. 32 n., p. 100.

² *pausant ossa*] This expression alone would show that the author wrote earlier than the ninth century, before which time St. Columba's remains were enshrined. Bede uses words to the same effect in *H. E.* iii. 4. On St. Columba's shrine and its migrations, see Reeves, 1857, 312-318. For the use of *pausare* and its deriva-

tives (cp. Greek *ἀναπαύσασθαι*) see note 140, in Warren, p. 264. 'In the old Irish Annals, the death of an ecclesiastic is generally expressed by *dormivit, quievit, pausavit, or obiit*; that of a layman by *mortuus, iugulatus, or occisus est*, as the case might be. *De Loc. Sanct.* ii. 10.' (Reeves, 1857, in Glossary.)

³ *nostram Scotiam*] Adamnan's own country, Ireland.

⁴ *commoratus*] A nominative absolute, 'though he lived.'

⁵ *trigonam*] This term is more obviously applicable to Trinacria (Sicily), but it is applied to Spain by Aethicus in his cosmography, printed with Pomponius Mela, etc.,

et Gallias, et ultra Alpes Peninas¹ Italiam sitam pervenire, ipsam quoque Romanam civitatem, quae caput est omnium civitatum. Tantus et talis honor noscibilis² eidem Sancto inter ceterae divinae donationis munera condonatus scitur a Deo, qui se diligentes amat, et eos qui eum sapidis magnificent laudibus magis ac magis glorificans, immensis sublimat honoribus, qui est benedictus in saecula. Amen.

Obsecro³ eos quicumque voluerint hos describere libellos, immo potius adiuro per Christum, iudicem saeculorum, ut postquam diligenter descripserint, conferant, et emendent⁴ cum omni diligentia, ad exemplar unde^a caraxerunt, et hanc quoque adiurationem hoc in loco subscribant.

*Quicumque⁵ hos virtutum libellos Columbae legerit, pro me
Dorbeneo⁶*

Dominum deprecetur, ut vitam post mortem aeternam possideam.

^a craxerunt A. traxerunt Colg. Boll.

Leyden, 1722, p. 729. For evidence of a colony from Britain in Spain (Gallicia), see Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. ii. pt. i, 99 ff., The knowledge of St. Columba might reach Spain through this colony.

¹ *Alpes Peninas*] The Pennine Alps, between the Valais and Upper Italy.

² *noscibilis*] The non-Irish writers who have mentioned St. Columba are Bede, Alcuin, Walafridus Strabo, and Notker Balbulus, all later than Adamnan. Bede did not know either Cumman's or Adamnan's Life. See *H. E.* iii. 4, 'feruntur scripta haberi.'

³ *obsecro*] There is a similar adjuration preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 20) from a work by Irenaeus now lost, as also, in a Latin translation, by St. Jerome (*De Viris Illustr.* § 35). This is the oldest colophon of the kind by a Christian writer, and is as

follows:—'Ορκίζω σε τὸν μεταγραφόμενον τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο, κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἐνδόξου παρουσίας αὐτοῦ ἧς ἔρχεται κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, ἵνα ἀντιβάλης δ' μετεγράψω, καὶ κατορθώσης αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦτο, ὅθεν μετεγράψω ἐπιμελῶς καὶ τὸν ὄρκον τοῦτον ὁμοίως μεταγράψεις, καὶ θήσεις ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ. Cp. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

⁴ *emendent*] See note on i. 23, p. 36.

⁵ *quicumque*, etc.] There are colophons more or less similar in other famous Irish MSS., as for example in Mac Regol's Gospels, 'Macregol dipin|exit hoc euangellium: Quicum|que legerit | Et intellegit | istam narratio|nem orat (sic) pro | macreguil scripto|ri,' in a coloured border of Irish patterns (*Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels*, Surtees Soc., part iv, frontispiece). In the Book of Armagh, the scribe, who died in 845, appends at the ends

⁶ See note 1 on p. 166.

of various portions 'pro ferdom-
nacho ores.' The colophon of the
Book of Durrow is, 'Rogo beati-
tudinem | tuam sc̄e praesbiter |
patrici ut quicumque | hunc li-
bellum manu te|nuerit memi-
nerit colum|bae scriptoris. qui
hoc scripsi | himet euangelium
per xii | dierum spatium ḡtia d̄n̄i
n̄f̄i s.s.' The only doubtful letters
are 'hi' before 'met'; the colo-
phon appears to be a copy, 'mi'
being omitted by a scribe's error.
There is no contraction mark
over 'gtia,' nor is it known what
the letters s.s. stand for. Below,
'in a more angular, but not later
hand,' follows, 'Ora pro me fra|ter
mi d̄ns tecum | sit.' (*Herma-*

thena, 1892, No. xviii, p. 199;
Book of Trinity College Dublin, 159;
Reeves, 1857, 242). Adamnan *De*
Locis Sanctis has a long colophon,
which Reeves gives from Mabillon,
Acta SS. Ord. Ben. saec. iii. pt. ii.
p. 472. Venet. 1734.

¹ *Dorbheneo*] *Dorbhene*, the
scribe who wrote Codex A., is
probably identical with a *Dor-*
bhene who was abbot of Iona for
five months in 713. See account
of the MS. in the Preface. I
am indebted to the Librarian of
the Stadtbibliothek at Schaff-
hausen for a tracing of the ori-
ginal colophon, which is in red
letters and in the following
form:—

Qui cum q: hor uirtutum
libelloꝝ colúbae lege
rit pro me dorbbeneo
d̄m̄ deprecetur . ut ui
tam poꝛt moꝛtem eter
nam poꝛcedeam

GLOSSARY

A.

Abdicare, to reject, 114.
 Absolvere, to release, from slavery, 101, 109; from difficult childbirth, 114.
 Accola, a resident, 44, 46, 95.
 Aesteus, for *aestivus*, 73, &c.
 Agellulus, a double diminutive of *ager*, 4, &c.
 Agonotheta, ἀγωνοθέτης, used of Christ, 136 n. Cf. Tertull. *ad Mart.* 3, 'Bonum agonem subituri estis, in quo agonothetes Deus vivus est.' But *agonotheta* is more common.
 Albatus, clothed in white robes, 142 n, 146, 163.
 Alnus, a boat, 95 n.
 Alumnus, a foster-son, 15, 148 n., 150, 151.
 Ambis, for *ambabus*, 90 n.
 Amhra, a song of grief, elegy, song simply, xxi. From Ir. *amor*, grief.
 Amphibalus (or -um), a cloak or cowl, 19 n., 77. Rönsch, 254.
 Anmchara, confessor, from the Irish *anim* and *cara*; literally soul-friend, xlvi, lxxi, lxxiii.
 Annum, for *annona*, 155.
 Annot. See xxi n. No derivation really known.
 Anteriores, easterns, 55 n., 137.
 Appetibilis, desirable, 16. Cf. Ambr. *Hexaem.* v. 21, 'vade ad apem . . . appetibilis est enim omnibus et cara.'
 Appropriare, to draw near, 153. Cf. Ex. iii. 5, Vulg.; Bede, *H. E.* iv. 3.
 Axella, for *axilla*, 36 n., 78 n. Not uncommon. See Rönsch, 96.

Axion, ἄξων, an axle, 119. See Humerulus.

B.

Barca, a ship, 39 n.
 Bard. See xx n.
 Bee-hive cells. See p. xxxviii.
 Benedictio: (1) blessing, 110 bis; (2) the vehicle of blessing, 76 n.; 77, 101 n.
 Bibera, a drinking-cup, 101 n.
 Bocetum, a booly (Irish *buaille*, from Lat. *bovile*), cow-pasture, or cow-byre, 156 n.
 Bocola, for *bucula*, 88, 89 n.
 Bostarium, equivalent to *bocetum*, 156 n.
 Brehon. See xxii n.
 Busta. See Ratabusta.

C.

Canaba, a kiln or kiln-house, 58 n. The building with a round pit at Eilean na Naomh (Skene's Reeves, 1874, p. 321, Anderson, *Scotland*, p. 99) has probably been a *canaba*. Carleton in *Traits*, &c. 1860, ii. 204, gives the following account of an 'Inside Kiln' in modern times: 'This kind of kiln is usually—but less so now than formerly—annexed to respectable farmers' out-houses, to which, in agricultural districts, it forms a necessary appendage. It also serves at the time as a barn, the kiln-pot being sunk in the shape of an inverted cone at one end, but divided from the barn-floor by a wall about three feet high. From this wall beams run across the kiln-pot, over which, in 4

- transverse direction, are laid a number of rafters like the joists of a loft, but not fastened. These ribs are covered with straw, over which again is spread a winnow cloth to keep the grain from being lost. The fire is sunk on a level with the bottom of the kiln-pot, that is, about eight or ten feet below the floor of the barn. The descent to it is by stairs formed at the side wall.' Such arrangements for artificial drying would be made necessary by the humid climate of Ireland and of the Hebrides.
- Capsellula**, a double diminutive, 76.
- Caraxare**, to write, 2 n, and *passim*. It is used by Apicius, who also has *incharaxare*, as well as by post-classical writers. Rönisch, 44, 255.
- Carminale**, a song, 160.
- Carnalis**, after the flesh, earthly, 38 n, 109; carnaliter, 47 n.
- Cashel**, an encircling stone-wall. Ir. *caisel*, *caiseal*, xxxviii.
- Cathach**, battle-book, xlii, lxii. Properly an adj. meaning 'warlike,' from *cath*, battle.
- Caupallus**, a boat, 95 n.
- Cellula**, 33 n.
- Clocca**, a bell, 24 n, 159 n.
- Co-arb**, Ir. *comharbha*, pron. *cow-orba*, said to be derived from *comh* (cum), with, and *forba*, inheritance (Colg. Tr. Th., 630, col. 2), xvii.
- Cognationalis**, related by kinship, 62 n, 109, 114.
- Collum**, the neck of a bottle or flask, 31 n.
- Condensatus**, united (in case of broken bono), 76 n.
- Condictum**, an appointment, interview, convention, 61, 63, 77, 121, 123, 146. Not an uncommon word in ecclesiastical Latin; it occurs in the hymn *Altus Prosator*, attributed to St. Columba, thus; 'Quis ad condictum Domini Montem descendit Sinai.'
- Conficere**, to consecrate, 52 n., 57; an established liturgical expression. See Reeves, 1857, 85 n., 442.
- Contulus**, dim. of *contus*; a punt-pole? 96 n; a stake, 105.
- Corniculum**, an inkhorn, 37 n.
- Craticula**, a gridiron, 34 n.
- Crinosus**, hairy, like a comet, 147 n.
- Cristilia**. The sole recorded instance of the word. The context shows that it must mean either bark, from *crusta*, or a projecting knot or something of the kind, from *crista*, 60 n.
- Cumtach**, earlier *cumdach*, (1) building, (2) covering, (3) ornament, probably from *con + teg*, root of *tego, toga*, &c.; a book-shrine, lxii.
- Curuca**, a coracle, 117 n., 122 n.

D.

- Damhliag**, stone church or house, from *dam* or *dom* = *domus*, and *liac* or *liag*, gen. of *lia*, a stone, lxix.
- Depositio**, burial, xlvii.
- Deprecatio**, 142 n.
- Dialis**, divine, sacred, 14 n., and frequently.
- Diminutiva**. Reeves gives a list of eighty-three diminutives occurring in the present work. Ed. 1857, p. 442. Some are double, as *Agellulus*, *Monticellulus*, &c. See lxxxvi.
- Diocesis**, the district subject to the jurisdiction of the head of a federation of monasteries, such as Iona was, 45 n.
- Discursio**, journeying, 118.
- Disert**, a hermit's cell (*desertum*), lxxv n.
- Dolare**, to carve ivory, 109; to hollow out trees for dug-out boats, 121 n.
- Domhnach Airgid**, lit. 'church of silver' = *dominica argenti*, a name of a shrine; hence the enshrined Gospels 'of St. Patrick', so called (see p. xcv), xlv.
- Dorsum**, a mountain ridge, Irish *Druim*, in proper names. See Index s. v.

Druid. See *xix n.* It is in an Irish MS. gloss on 2 Tim. iii. 8 that Jannes and Jambres are called *druidh*.

Duirthech, oratory, *lxix*; 'i.e. *dair-thech*, i.e. a house of oak; or *deir-thech*, i.e. a house in which tears are shed; or *duair-thech*, i.e. a house in which words are poured out' (Transl. from MS. H. 2, 16 in Library of Trinity Coll., Dublin, in Petrie, *Round Towers*, 345). The meaning and etymology are still regarded as doubtful. Petrie prefers the first of the above. In usage it stands for *oratory* as distinct from *church of stone*, as in *Annals of Ulster*, A. D. 839, 'The burning of Armagh, with its *derthechs* and *daimhliag*.' See *Damhliag*, and Petrie, *R. T.* 120, 343-358.

Dun, an earthen rampart; 'two walls with water between them' (O'Curry, *Manners*, &c. iii. 572); Ir. *dun*, Norse *tun*, xxxviii.

E.

Elementum, 71 n.
Emax, fond of buying, 139 n.
Erdamh. See **Exedra**.
Eremus (in *ocean*o vel in mari), a desert island, 22 n, 33 bis, 115.
Esox, a salmon, 87 n, 88, 106.
Eulogia, a gift (charm), 77 n; the holy-bread, 82 n.
Excussorium, a threshing-floor, 89.
Exedra, *exedriola*, ἐξέδρα, the *erdamh* or side-house of a Celtic church, 149 n. The Greek word is frequently used by Josephus in reference to the temple. Adarnan uses the Latin form in *De Loc. SS.* i. 2, 8.
Exenium. See **Xenium**.
Exequiae, burial rites, 53 n, 99, 162; *exequialia officia*, 163; *exequiales dies*, *ib.*
Exintero, for *exentero*, to eviscerate, 92.
Explicit, *expliciunt*, 69 n.

F.

Famen, literally a saying, hence a matter, event, 132 n, 144.
Feria, 29 n, 37 n.
Ferrum, a bronze knife-blade, 97 n.
Festivanox, eve of a festival, 123 n.
Filius, the Gaelic Mac in proper names, frequently.
Flebilis, sorrowful, 156 n, 159.
Floridus, beautiful, 89 n, 130, 154.
Fluminales piscinae, fish-pools, 162 n.
Fossula, the part of a threshing-floor in which the grain collects, 89.
Fretum, the Sound of Iona, frequently. ||
Fulminalis, like lightning, 149.
Furunculus, a poacher, 8 n.

G.

Genitalia, parentage, 5.
Gens, a clan, Irish *cenel*, 28, 33.
Gentilis, a heathen, 43 n, and frequently; *gentilicus*, heathen, 103, 143; *gentilitas*, heathenism, 12 n.
Gergenna, a wooden bar, 85 n.
Graecismi. The following words occur in the present work: *Agonotheta*, *Axion*, *Caraxo*, *Eremus*, *Guberneta*, *Homonymus*, *Lithus*, *Onoma*, *Pira*, *Proselytus*, *Protus*, *Sophia*, *Trigonus*. See p. 1 n.
Guberneta, κυβερνήτης, a pilot, 114.

H.

Hauritorium, a flask or bottle, or any vessel into which liquids could be drawn, 30 n. Cp. *Cummian*, cap. iv.
Hi, (1) Irish prep. for *in*, 132 n.; (2) a form of the name of Iona. In both cases the *h* is purely accentual, and *Hi* = *h-I*.
Hininglas, the green water, i.e. the sea, 82 n.
Hospitium, guest-house, 108 n.
Humerulus, shoulder of axle, 119 n. Cf. 3 Reg. vii. 30, *Vulg.*
Hymni matutinales, *Matins* (and *Lauds*?), 162 n.

I.

- Inclinare, to upset, 37.
 Indicibilis, indescribable, 118, 144.
 Infitialis, disingenuous, 151.
 Ingeniculatio, kneeling, 99 (*De Loc. SS. iii. 4*).
 Iniuriosus, ill-behaved, 19.
 Innocentes, women and children, 93 n.
 Insuadibilis, obstinate, 90.
 Intransmeabilis, impassable, 116.
 Irreverberatus, undazzled, 149.
 Iudicialis, condign, 34.

L.

- Labefactatio, slipping or loosening, 119.
 Lacrimabilitas, tearfulness, 153.
 Lapidum acervus, a cairn, 44 n.
 It should have been mentioned in the note that cairns are still raised in Scotland as well as in Ireland. By the side of the road leading from Glen More to Craignure in Mull is a cairn marking the grave of a well-known character, 'Jones the Pedlar,' who was found dead in that lonely place in 1891, and buried there. A smaller cairn marks the exact spot where he had died.
 Laudes vespertinales, vespers, 50 n.
 Leges poenitentiae, the penitential canons, 35 n, 108.
 Librarium folium, a leaf of a book, 78 n.
 Lignum, a boat, 47.
 Lis, a homestead surrounded by an earthen rampart. Ir. *liss* or *less*, Welsh *llys*, xxxviii.
 Livorosus, 'black and blue,' 134.

M.

- Maceria, a cashel, 51 n.
 Magi, Druids, 10 n, 50, 81, 99, 100, 102.
 Magna domus, a round tower? 144 n.
 Marini vituli, 52 n.
 Martyres. See Reliquiae.

- Matrix ecclesiae, Iona, 21.
 Mediterranea pars, the middle of Ireland, 18 n, 139 n.
 Milito, a soldier (fig.), 137.
 Minare, to drive, 33 n. Very common in the Vulgate. See Rönisch, 236.
 Missa nocturna, vespers, 76 n, 131; vespertinalis, *id.* 158 n; missarum solemnina, the mass, 52, 124 bis, 141 n, 147, 154.
 Mocu or Maccu, perhaps Mac + ua, or it may be a distinct word of similar meaning. See Nepos.
 Modulabiliter, 54 n.
 Molaris lapis, a millstone, 156 n.
 Possibly a mere block of stone, like *μύλας* in Homer (*Il. xii. 161*) or *molares* in Vergil (*Aen. viii. 250*).
 Monasteriolum, a little or subordinate monastery? 4 n, 51, 115, 137.
 Monticellus (double dim.), 157 n.
 Called also *mons*, 40; and *monticellus*, 157.
 Mos Romanorum, stone building, 122 n.
 Mos Scottorum, wood building, 122 n.
 Munitio, a fortress, the Irish *dun*, or circular rampart, xxxviii, 50 n, 61, 62 n, 73, 101, 103.
 Mysterium, a hidden doctrine or exposition, 148; sacrificale, the mass, 70; mysteria eucharistiae, *id.* 52, 141, 147; oblationis sacrae, *id.* 52.

N.

- Natalis dies, a festival of a saint, xlvi, 124 n, 141.
 Naturale bonum, natural good, not in the sense of material, but of moral good, of which the knowledge has been acquired by the use of the natural reason, in contradistinction to that of which the knowledge has been revealed either personally, through grace, or mediately, through sacred books or oral teaching, 43 n, 143 n. So in *Acta S. Albei*, in *Acta SS. Hib. ex Cod.*

Salm. col. 236; 'quidam vir . . . naturali bono perfectus.'

Navigare. See **Remigare.**

Navis. The following equivalent terms occur in the present work: *Alnus*, *Barca*, *Caupallus*, *Curuca*, *Cymba*, *Cymbula*, *Lignum*, *Navicella*, *Navicula*, *Navigium*, *Navis*, *Ratis*, *Scaphus*. See 122 n.

Navis vas, structure of the ship, 81; *sentina*, bilge-water, 82 n; *carina*, *latera*, *puppis*, *prora*, *pelliceum tectum*, 117; *sub navi*, by and under one side of a boat ashore, 60 n; *longa*, 121; *oneraria*, 72.

Nepos, Irish *ua* or *o*, pl. *ui*, dat. pl. *uidh* (*u* in *Mocu*?). *Ui* or *Hy* is rendered *Nepotes*, as in *Nellis Nepotes*, the *Hy-Neill*. It is difficult to determine when *Mac* and *Ua* ceased to represent son and grandson, and came to denote descendant.

Nox festiva, a vigil or eve, 123 n; **venerabilis**, the eve of the Lord's Day, 156 n.

Nutritor, a fosterer, 130 n.

O.

Obex, a lynch-pin, 119 n.

Obsequia, ritual requirements, 141 n.

Offensus, contact, 60 n. This rendering assumes the use of the 2nd decl. for the 4th, as in many cases cited by Rönisch, pp. 260-262. To take it as a participle agreeing with *cullello*, 'being dashed against' (the knee) seems awkward. In that case *dimisso* would be rendered 'being let fall.' Another suggestion is that we ought to have *offensa*, 'being struck,' agreeing with *genicula*. Cf. *offendi*, p. 106.

Ollamh (pron. *Ollav*). The highest rank in any learned profession. See p. xxi. n. O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 2, 3; *Manners*, &c. iii. 592. No derivation known.

Onoma (humanum), personal name (*ὄνομα*), 1 n, 142.

Ordinatio, clerici, 47; regis, 133; ordinationis liber vitreus, *ib.*; verba, 134.

P.

Palmula, the blade of an oar, 117.

Papilio, a pavilion or tent, 12 n.; Ex. xxxiii. 8; Num. xvi. 27; 2 Reg. xi. 11, Vulg.

Paradisus, a garden, 27 n.; the abode of blessed spirits, 137, 140, 141.

Parasticia, vaulting or roof (?), 154 n.

Parricidalis, murderous, 28 n.

Pausare, to rest, 164 n.

Per, over or across, 33.

Per saltum, at one leap or step, in the case of ordination to the higher orders without previous ordination to those below, lviii.

Pincerna, the cellarer, 30 n.

Piscina fluminalis, a fish-pool in a river, 162 n.

Platea, the monastic enclosure, 63 n.; *plateola*, *id.*, 136.

Plumatiuncula, a feather pillow, 29.

Polairi, pl. of *polaire*, a leather case to protect a reliquary, or a precious book, xlix. Also, a writing tablet, Lat. *pugillaris* (Stokes, *Trip.* 655). See **Tiaga**.

Praedicabilis, famous, 5 n, and frequently.

Praepositura, presidency, 57.

Praepositus, a head of a subordinate monastic house, 41 n., 42, 46 n., 53, 87. It often corresponds with the later *prior*, and is sometimes written *propositus*, whence *provost*.

Praetersorium, a stray or trespassing animal (?), 51 bis.

Primaria insula, Iona, 9 n.

Primarius, a religious superior, 30, 46 n.; a chief military officer, 43.

Primule, in the first instance, 30 n.

Proselytus, *προσῆλυτος*, a stranger, 4 n., and frequently.

Protus, *πρῶτος*, first, 71 n.

Provincia, in limited sense, 94 n.

Puer, a youth, 94; an attendant, 94 n, 98.

Pulsare, to nudge, 45 n.

Pyra, πυρά, fervour, 40 n.

Pyramis, a canopy? 19 n.

Q.

Quartodecimans. See xlv.

R.

Ratabusta, a coffin or tomb, 162 n.

Rath, a residence surrounded by an earthen rampart = the rampart itself. An Ir. word, xxxviii.

Refutare, to bid begone, 111 n.

Reliquiae, the 'remains' of the dead, 161. Hence the Irish

Reilig, a burial-place. *Martyres*, Irish *Martra*, was the technical term for a saint's relics; hence Kilnamartry in Cork and Merthyr in Wales.

Remigare, to row, 160 n. In the Life of St. Brendan in *Acta SS. Hib. ex Cod. Salm.*, the equivalent term is *navigare*, as in § 6, 'habebantque prosperum ventum, nichilque eis opus fuit navigare, nisi tantum vela tenere,' and in § 46, 'dum fratres acrius navigare cepissent, ait vir sanctus; Nolite, fratres, super modum navigare vel fatigare vos.'

Reuerbero, to dazzle, 149.

Robur, Roboretum, Roboreus, all express the Irish *Daire*, Oak wood, in place-names, e. g. Derry, Durrow, Kildare.

Romana civitas, the Roman State, 125.

Romanum ius, 39 n; mos Romanorum, 122 n.

Roseta, the hub of a wheel, *Vit. S. Brig.* in 119 n.

S.

Sabbatum, Saturday, 29 n, 155 *ter*; sabbatizare, to rest, 155.

Sacerdos, a presbyter, 33.

Sacramentum, a holy mystery or secret, 55 n, 64, 137 *bis*, 152.

Salacia unda, the ebb, 107 n.

Sapidus, savoury, 152 n, 162, 165.

Sapiens, a sage, 63 n.

Scotica, Irish, 100 n, and *passim*.

Sentina navis, bilge water, 82 n.

Sequestratus, reserved? threshed and winnowed? 155 n.

Sermusculus (sermonusculus MS. D), a little remark, 155.

Si, introducing a question, 115 n.

Signare, to observe? to sign? 100 n.

Signum, a bell, 118 n.

Sophia, σοφία, wisdom, 14 n.

Spiramen sanctum, holy inspiration, divine afflatus, 148. Cf. 4 Esdr. xvi. 63 in Vulg.: 'Et spiramen Dei omnipotentis qui fecit omnia.'

Stagnum, Celtic *loch*, in proper names, 42 n, 45 n.; stagnea aqua, 47 n.

Stola, a robe, 163 n.

Sub, by, in the sense of 'under the side of' (a boat), 60 n.

Subitatio, a sudden or rapid movement, 60, 93, 143, 146, 161.

Sudes, stakes for hurdles, 77 n. In the ancient wattled buildings the stakes were first driven into the ground, and then the withs were woven in and out. Carleton mentions 'a potato-bin, made up of stakes driven into the floor, and wrought with strong wicker-work' (*Traits, &c.* 1860, ii. 224). For 'staking' wild animals, 105; figurative, 138 n.

T.

Tabula, a board of a platform, 37 n; a writing-tablet, 46 n.

Taedialis, weary, 158.

Tailcend, probably Adze-head (Asciciput) from *tal*, adze, and *cenn*, head, xlii n.

Terdeni, thirty, 152.

Tiaga, pl. of *tiag*, a leather bag or satchel for the ordinary carriage of books, xlix. Lat. *theca*. In p. 78 n., read *tiag*.

Tigerna, a chieftain, 54 n.

Titulus, a monument, 158 n.

Transmotatio, shifting, 8. See Transmutare.

Transmutare, to shift, 44. The reading in Codex A. is *transmotata*; see the last word. *Motare* is used in *De Loc. SS.* iii. 4: 'quodcunque Domino consecratur nullo modo redimi possit aut motari; nam si quis motaverit, et quod motatum est, et pro quo motatum, sanctificabitur Domino.' Cf. *Gen. i.* 21, *Vulg.*, 'omnem animam viventem et motabilem.' The confusion of 'o' and 'u' is common in Irish MSS.

Trinales, three, 61, 148, 164; 'Trinalium lignorum,' *De Loc. SS.* iii. 3.

Tuguriolum, St. Columba's cell, 37 n., 45, 85, 144, 152. The form in *Cod. A.*, as in *De Loc. SS. i.* 2, and *Conf. S. Patr.* is *tegoriolum*.

Tunica, the inner garment, 120 n.

U.

Uter lactarius, a milk-bag, 107 n.

V.

Vadum, the Irish *Ath*, ford, in proper names, 74 n.

Vallum monasterii, the rath or cashel, 19 n., 97 n. See *Maceria*.
Venilia unda, the flood tide, 107 n.

Vespertinalis missa, vespers, 158 n.; **vespertinales laudes**, *id.*, 50 n.

Viaticum, provision for a journey; hence, the Holy Eucharist given to the dying, liv. See *Ducange*, s.v. The same idea is suggested by the antiphons, 'Placebo Domino in regione vivorum,' and 'Dirige, Domine Deus meus, in conspectu tua, viam meam,' in the Offices of the Dead. From the latter antiphon comes our word *Dirge*.

Vita comite, while life lasts, 74, 102 n.

Vitreus, made of glass, 101; ornamented with glass?, 133 n.; like glass, 90 n.

X.

Xenium, ξένιον, a ceremonial present, 53 n., 63.

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- Gen. i. 21 (172); xviii. 10, 14 (102); xxxiii. 11 (76); xxxviii. 18, 22 (158).
Ex. iii. 5 (167); xxxiii. 8 (171).
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1 Sam. xxv. 27 (76).
2 Sam. (2 Reg. Vulg.) xi. 11 (171).
1 Kings (3 Reg. Vulg.) ii. 2 (156); vii. 30 (169); xvi. 34 (137).
2 Kings iv. 16 (102); x. 5 (130).
Job xxxi. 22 (47).
Ps. xxxiv. 10, 11 (157); xlv. (50); li. 18 (41); xci. 5 (138); cxlvii. 3 (30).
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4 Esdr. xvi. 63 (172).
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Acts xviii. 16 (33); xxvi. 16 (100).
Rom. ii. 14, 15 (43); vii. 2 (115).
1 Cor. iv. 20 (1); vi. 17 (14); vii. 39 (115).
2 Cor. v. 16 (47); xii. 2 (56); xiii. 1 (124).
Eph. vi. 13-17 (138).
1 Thess. v. 18 (xxxii).
1 Tim. iv. 4 (80); v. 4 (135).
2 Tim. iii. 8 (10).
Rev. vii. 14 (163); xxii. 18, 19 (165).

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 precipitous rocks of gneiss, and
 marked by a beach of brilliant-
 ly coloured pebbles of green
 serpentine, green quartz, and
 the reddest felspar . . . almost
 like a beach of precious stones,'
 Duke of Argyle, *Iona*, pp. 79,
 130. Just above the beach is a
 ridge of shingle overgrown with
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 bottom upward, possibly a long
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